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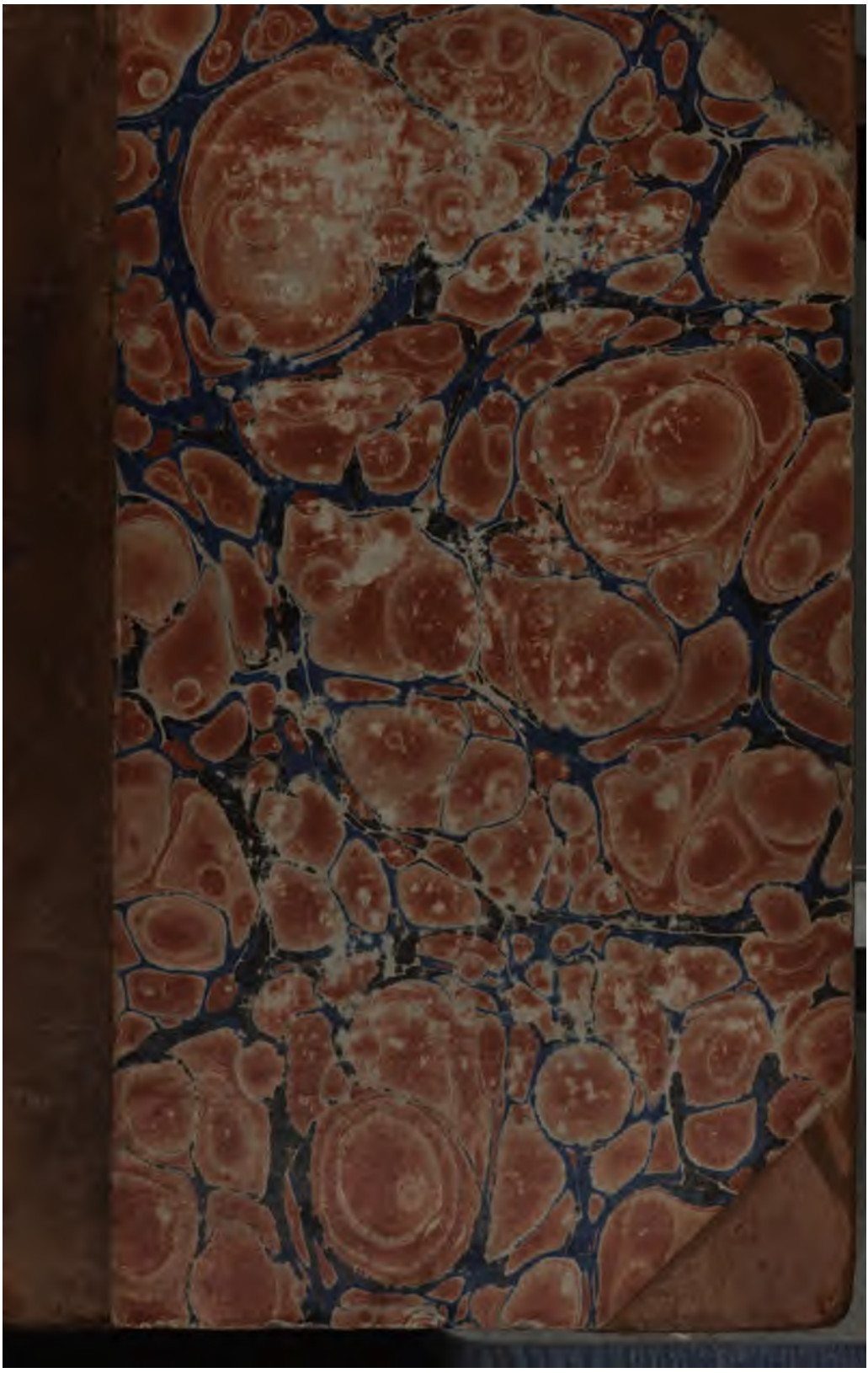

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CORRIGENDA.

ART. I.—*The Greville Memoirs*, p. 45. 'Mr. Reeve gives lists of five Cabinets, or Administrations, as he indiscriminately calls them; and four of his lists are wrong.' We should have said that all five are wrong. In his list of Lord Melbourne's second Cabinet (1835) as originally constituted, he includes Lord Morpeth and omits Lord Holland. In his list of Lord Melbourne's first Cabinet (1834) he erroneously includes Mr. Poulett Thompson (afterwards Lord Sydenham) as well as Mr. Edward Ellice.

P. 50, line 3 from the bottom. For 'Green Room *of* the Garrick,' read 'Green Room *or* the Garrick.'

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QUARTERLY REVIEW.

ART. I.—*The Greville Memoirs: a Journal of the Reigns of King George IV. and King William IV.* By the late Charles C. F. Greville, Esq., Clerk of the Council of those Sovereigns. Edited by Henry Reeve, Registrar of the Privy Council. In 3 volumes. London, 1874. Second Edition.

WE approach the critical examination of the late Mr. Charles Greville's Journal with a sense of more than ordinary responsibility. It has attracted an unusual amount of attention: it has been widely circulated, at home and abroad: our estimate of it differs essentially from that of the great majority of our contemporaries in the Press; and as they have been, we think, unduly prodigal of commendation, the invidious duty is forced upon us of redressing the balance by dwelling more on the demerits than the merits of the book. It has raised, moreover, a question of no slight importance to society: a question which cannot be summarily set aside by assuming that, provided people are interested or amused, it matters little or nothing what feelings are wounded, what confidence is broken, or what reputations are assailed. The very first consideration forced upon us by the perusal was, whether many of the most popular passages ought to have been published for the next fifty years: whether many ought not to have been wholly obliterated or permanently suppressed. But before laying down and applying what we take to be the sound and received doctrine on these points, we must come to a precise understanding as to the position and character of the writer, the conditions or circumstances under which he wrote, and the moral or honourable obligations imposed upon him.

Only two meagre paragraphs are devoted to his biography by Mr. Reeve:

'Of the Author of these Journals it may suffice to say that Charles Cavendish Fulke Greville was the eldest of the three sons of Charles Greville (who was grandson of the fifth Lord Warwick), by Lady Charlotte Cavendish Bentinck, eldest daughter of William

Henry, third Duke of Portland, K.G., who filled many great offices of State. He was born on the 2nd of April, 1794. Much of his childhood was spent at his grandfather's house at Bulstrode. He was educated at Eton and at Christ Church, Oxford; but he left the University early, having been appointed private secretary to Earl Bathurst before he was twenty.

'The influence of the Duke of Portland obtained for him early in life the sinecure appointment of the Secretaryship of Jamaica, the duties of that office being performed by deputy, and likewise the reversion of the Clerkship of the Council. He entered in 1821 upon the duties of Clerk of the Council in Ordinary, which he discharged for nearly forty years. During the last twenty years of his life Mr. Greville occupied a suite of rooms in the house of Earl Granville in Bruton Street, and there, on the 18th of January, 1865, he expired.'

He was born in a wing or side-building of Burlington House, Piccadilly, which had been lent to his father for a residence. He was admitted a student of Christ Church on the 24th December, 1810, on the nomination of Canon Dowdeswell, having entered as a commoner a few days before. He retained his studentship till December 24th, 1814,—as long as he could retain it without taking a B.A. degree; but he resided or kept only seven terms, from January 1811 to June 1812; when, being then in his nineteenth year, he became private secretary to Lord Bathurst. He also obtained a clerkship in one of the public offices; we believe, the Board of Trade. He always regretted that his father's circumstances did not allow of his remaining longer at the University. Once upon a time, pointing out to a lady the rooms he had occupied in his undergraduate days, he paused before a window from which he and two others had dropped after the college gates were closed, to reach a spot where a chaise and four was waiting for them. They dashed off to London to witness the execution of Bellingham, the assassin of Mr. Perceval. Having satisfied their curiosity, or love of excitement, they dashed back again, and were lucky enough to escape discovery.

His net income from his two offices exceeded 4000*l.*; and as, with little or no private fortune, he died worth 30,000*l.*, he was probably a gainer on the turf. He took to it very early in life, and was wont to relate that, having lost 3000*l.* which he was unable to pay, he applied to his uncle, the Duke, who readily lent him the money. As soon as he was in funds, he procured three new Bank of England notes of one thousand pounds each, and presented himself to discharge his debt. 'Oh, no, Charles, keep the money by all means. It will bring you luck. I never meant it as a loan.' Greville made some show of

of reluctance, and unluckily laid the notes on the table. He was quite sure, he said, that if he had offered a bundle of dirty notes, or a cheque, the Duke would have refused still, but the bright, clean notes were too much for his Grace, who placed them, neatly folded, in his pocket-book, saying, 'Well, Charles, since you insist upon it—but whenever you have a bad time of it, come to me.'

Moralising on Lord Bathurst's death, in 1834, after describing him as a very amiable man, with a good understanding, Greville sets down:

'I was Lord Bathurst's private secretary for several years, but so far from feeling any obligation to him, I always consider his mistaken kindness in giving me that post as the source of all my misfortunes and the cause of my present condition. He never thought fit to employ me, never associated me with the interests and the business of his office, and consequently abandoned me at the age of eighteen to that life of idleness and dissipation from which I might have been saved had he felt that my future prospects in life, my character and talents, depended in great measure upon the direction which was at that moment given to my mind.'

When the celebrated Lord Chesterfield was named Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, he chose for his secretary Mr. Lyddel, 'a very genteel pretty young fellow, but not a man of business' (this is his Lordship's description), and addressed him thus: 'Sir, you will receive the emoluments of your place, but I will *do* the business myself.' It is not recorded that Mr. Lyddel went astray, and attributed his aberrations to Lord Chesterfield. There was a time when the heads of noble or princely houses, in which young men of family were bred up, were expected to keep an eye to their morals as well as their manners; but it was a little too much to expect a Cabinet Minister to direct the studies or pursuits of a private secretary fresh from Christchurch, singularly precocious for his years, with an approving uncle and a (we presume) not disapproving father to look after him. By way of consolatory assurance to the families of other people, Mr. Reeve states that 'the Journals contain *absolutely nothing* relating to his own family.' They contain a carefully composed character of his father, who died in 1832: a short graphic outline of his paternal grandfather and grandmother; and several allusions to his mother, who died July 1863, in her eighty-ninth year. Shortly before her death, a celebrated spiritualist, never dreaming that a man of his age could have a mother living, told him, at a *séance*, that her spirit was in attendance and ready to answer any question he might wish to ask. He coolly replied that this was needless, as he had been

conversing with her in the flesh only two hours before. She was a woman of considerable personal attractions, and the Duke of Wellington took much pleasure in her society.

It was all very well in moments of despondency, after a black Monday at Tattersall's or when laid up with the gout, to lament the want of a mentor or good angel in the shape of an old Tory statesman; or to exclaim that, like the bard,

> 'He was born for much more, and in happier times
> His soul would have burned with a holier flame.'

The direction was already given to his mind: the taint or tendency was too deeply ingrained to be eradicated; and Lord Bathurst may be excused for not discerning a capacity for better things in a man to whom the management of a Royal racing establishment was one of the noblest objects of ambition at twenty-six.

'*February* 23*rd*, 1821.—Yesterday the Duke of York proposed to me to take the management of his horses, which I accepted. Nothing could be more kind than the manner in which he proposed it.

'*March* 5*th*.—I have experienced a great proof of the vanity of human wishes. In the course of three weeks I have attained the three things which I have most desired in the world for years past, and upon the whole I do not feel that my happiness is at all increased; perhaps if it were not for one cause it might be, but until that ceases to exist it is in vain that I acquire every other advantage or possess the means of amusement.

'*March* 22*nd*.—I was sworn in the day before yesterday, and kissed hands at a Council at Carlton House yesterday morning as Clerk of the Council.'

Two of these three things are obvious; the third is left in doubt. He told a lady who saw the Journal in MS. that the one cause was an unrequited attachment; 'but,' he added, 'it was best for me as it turned out.' He was sadly compromised in a subsequent love-affair which led to a divorce, and left him a store of depressing memories embittered by remorse. He had ample reason more than once to exclaim with Edgar—

> 'The gods are just, and of our pleasant vices
> Make instruments to scourge us.'

During most of the time covered by the first and second volumes, he lived almost exclusively with the *élite* of the sporting and fashionable world—with the women who ruled Almack's when Almack's was a power, and the men who congregated in the bay window at White's, when White's was a sovereign authority on manners, equipage and dress. His Egeria was Madame de Lieven, and his oracle Henry (Lord) de Ros. As to

to friendship, he probably agreed with Selwyn, 'When I lose a friend, I go to White's and get another.' He imbibed the prejudices and spoke the language of his clique: as when he 'admires' an opulent and well-connected family, at whose country house he was a frequent visitor, for presenting a specimen of 'contented mediocrity;' or when he calls the Coronation Peers of 1830 'a horribly low set;'* or speaks of Rogers' 'Human Life' as a failure, and Luttrell's 'Letters to Julia' as a success, although 'Human Life' abounds in genuine poetry, and 'Letters to Julia,' nicknamed 'Letters from a Dandy to a Dolly,' are merely clever sketches of society in verse. The fastidious aristocrat stands confessed in such passages as these:—

'*London, February 22nd*, 1833.—Dined yesterday with Fortunatus Dwarris, who was counsel to the Board of Health; one of those dinners that people in that class of society put themselves in an agony to give, and generally their guests in as great an agony to partake of.'

'*January 2nd*, 1831.—Came up to town yesterday to dine with the Villiers at a dinner of clever men, got up at the Athenæum, and was extremely bored. The original party was broken up by various excuses, and the vacancies supplied by men none of whom I knew. There were Poulett Thomson, three Villiers, Taylor, Young, whom I knew; the rest I never saw before—Buller, Romilly, Senior, Maule, a man whose name I forget, and Walker, a police magistrate, all men of more or less talent and information, and altogether producing anything but an agreeable party. . . . I am very sure that dinners of all fools have as good a chance of being agreeable as dinners of all clever people; at least the former are often gay, and the latter are frequently heavy. Nonsense and folly gilded over with good breeding and *les usages du monde* produce often more agreeable results than a collection of rude, awkward intellectual powers.'

The reflections are just. But the circumstance to which we wish to call attention is, that Charles Buller, John (Lord) Romilly, Senior, Maule (Sir William), and Walker (author of 'The Original'), were, one and all, personally unknown to him in 1831. He never so much as saw Macaulay till the year following, although Macaulay (to say nothing of Cambridge fame) had

* The Marquis of Headfort, the Earl of Meath, the Earl of Dunmore, and the Earl Ludlow were created Barons of the United Kingdom; and nine Commoners were elevated to the Peerage:—Mr. Fox Maule (Panmure); Admiral, afterwards Earl, Cadogan (Oakeley); Sir George Bampfylde (Poltimore); Sir Paul Lawley (Wenlock); Sir Edward Lloyd (Mostyn); Colonel Berkeley (Segrave); Mr. Chichester, grandson of the second Marquis of Donegal (Templemore); and Colonel Hughes (Dinorben). Here are thirteen heads of families contemptuously disposed of in a sentence. They were in reality a more than ordinarily distinguished set.

flashed

flashed into full metropolitan celebrity by his article on Milton in 1825.

Fifty years since the two great parties were separated by a strict line of demarcation, except on neutral ground like Almack's, and for some years after his entrance into the great world, Greville (to use his own expression) 'herded' principally with the Tories. His brother, Algernon, was private secretary to the Duke of Wellington, another high Tory tie, which had no slight influence on his early opinions. As he advanced in life he widened his circle and gladly availed himself of his numerous opportunities to cultivate intimacy with men of intellectual mark of every class. Gradually, by dint of tact, temper, observation, and experience, he acquired so high a character for judgment, that he became the popular referee, not only in affairs of honour, but in differences of all sorts, social, literary, and political. Although termed the 'Gruncher,' from his habitual tone, he seemed naturally a kind-hearted man, with a wide range of sympathies, and an unfeigned disinterested eagerness to render useful services and oblige. Such, at least, prior to these posthumous indications of character, was the impression of those who knew him best; and the portrait of Sir Gawain, as drawn by the Messrs. Whistlecraft in 1813, might have passed for a flattering likeness of Greville in his prime:—

'On every point, in earnest or in jest,
His judgment, and his prudence, and his wit,
Were deem'd the very touchstone and the test
Of what was proper, graceful, just, and fit:
A word from him set everything at rest,
His short decisions never failed to hit;
His silence, his reserve, his inattention,
Were felt as the severest reprehension.

His memory was the magazine and hoard
Where claims and grievances, from year to year,
And confidences and complaints were stored,
From dame and knight, from damsel, boor, and peer.
Lov'd by his friends and trusted by his Lord,
A generous courtier, secret and sincere,
Adviser-general to the whole community,
He serv'd his friend, *but watched his opportunity.*'*

* 'Prospectus and Specimen of an Intended National Work. By William and Robert Whistlecraft, of Stow-Market, in Suffolk, Harness and Collar-Makers.' John Murray. 1817. Canto i., verses xxiv. and xxv. In an entry of June 21, 1818, Greville sets down:—'I dined at Holland House last Thursday. The party consisted of Lord Lansdowne, Mr. Frere, and Mrs. Tierney and her son. After dinner Mr. Frere repeated to us a great deal of that part of "Whistlecraft" which is not yet published. I laughed whenever I could, but as I have never read the first part, and did not understand the second, I was not so much amused *as the rest* of the company.'

Some

Some clever verses in a less favourable tone that appeared ten or fifteen years before his death, lead to the conclusion that he was not uniformly successful or satisfactory as a referee. We give a specimen:

'Greville's freaks invite my song,
Greville always in the wrong;
Ever plotting, ever peddling,
Master of all sorts of meddling.
Does a Lady make a slip
In morality or scrip,
Is a quarrel to be made up,
Or a balance to be paid up,
Does a husband (wicked wight)
Stay out very late at night,
Is a note to be convey'd
Without bustle or parade,
To the Turk, the Czar, or Devil—
Ring the bell and send for Greville.'

In 1845 he published a work which fully justified him in thinking that he might have achieved distinction in a higher arena had he not misemployed or frittered away the talents with which God had gifted him. It is remarkable for breadth and soundness of view, good arrangement, complete mastery of the subject, and a clear natural style, occasionally rising into eloquence.*

All things considered, few men could be better qualified for producing a valuable and suggestive record of passing impressions and events. In common, therefore, with the whole round of his acquaintance, we looked forward to the publication of his Journal as to a new source of pleasure and instruction, a rich contribution to history, a repertory of observation and reflexion, a fund of anecdote and wit. Any lurking fear or suspicion that might have been entertained of the anticipated revelations was dispelled by the official position, high character and established reputation of the editor, whose name was accepted as an ample guarantee that the soundest discretion would be exercised throughout, and that no rule of taste or conventional propriety, much less any obligation of honour or principle, would be transgressed. Never, therefore, was surprise greater than ours when we were made acquainted with the contents of these volumes, and learnt from the storm of social reprobation

* 'Past and Present Policy of England towards Ireland.' One vol., 8vo., pp. 373. 1845. This book speedily reached a second edition, but, being published anonymously, seems to have escaped the notice of Mr. Reeve, who does not mention it, although it constitutes Greville's best claim to authority as a political writer and thinker.

which

which they called forth that the almost universal impression
Greville's surviving friends and acquaintance was as unfavou
able and painful as our own. It may have been—we belie
it was—the result of some unaccountable misapprehension
instructions or authority on the part of the editor; but be t
cause what it may, we have no hesitation in declaring—wh
we shall presently prove in detail—that the publication, take
as a whole, is one which no well-constituted mind can rega
without indignation and regret.

Mr. Reeve states in a Preface that Greville left the time
publication to his discretion, 'merely remarking that Memoi
of this kind ought not, in his opinion, to be locked up till the
had lost their principal interest by the death of all those wh
had taken any part in the events they describe.' Is this n
much the same as saying that they ought not to be locked u
till those who might be annoyed or injured by them are dead
In the Preface Mr. Reeve also states (what we fully believ
that, in the discharge of this trust, he has been guided by n
other motive than the desire to act in strict conformity wit
his (Greville's) own wishes and instructions. 'He himself,
should be said, had frequently revised them with great car
He had studiously omitted and erased passages relating
private persons or affairs, which could only serve to gratify th
love of idle gossip and scandal.'

The Journal is contained in ninety-one manuscript volume
or copy-books. It is broken by frequent chasms (one of eig
or ten years), and it was discontinued some years prior to hi
retirement from his official life. Shortly before his death, h
was much troubled in his mind about the Journal: being und
cided what to do with it, and apprehensive that portions oug
not to see the light during the living generation, or the next,
not at all. He stated repeatedly that he did not feel equal to
complete revisal. He would occasionally take up a volum
and make a correction or a note; and we could specify tw
important erasures suggested by one of the friends to whom th
manuscript had been lent. On being reminded that he ha
been unjust to Lord Lyndhurst (with whom he had always live
in the closest intimacy), he said he really did not remember th
passages in question, which (he added) must have been writte
long ago, and he intimated a wish that they should be struc
out; which they would have been had he lived a few day
longer. We shall call attention, as we proceed, to many other
which could not have escaped the carefully revising hand.

If Greville had lived till 1874, would he have published hi
Journal as it has been published? Would he have been justifie

in so doing? If not, in what respect does the position of his donee or literary representative differ from his own? The responsibility must rest somewhere; and the essential point is not that the journalist is dead, but that the widows, sons, daughters, and other near relatives or attached friends of the persons offensively introduced (in numerous instances the persons themselves) are alive. If (which we doubt) he really meant the publication to take place so soon after his own personal responsibility was removed by death, he would fall strictly within the principle (we do not say, the letter) of the famous sarcasm levelled by Dr. Johnson against Bolingbroke: 'Sir, he was a scoundrel and a coward: a scoundrel for charging a blunderbuss against religion and morality: a coward because he had not resolution to fire it off himself, but left half-a-crown to a beggarly Scotchman to draw the trigger after his death.' *

A man cannot bestow or bequeath a legal or equitable right he never possessed. No one, morally speaking, has a right to take notes of the private conversation of another, great or small, without his or her knowledge or consent; much less to publish them, or leave them for publication at any time. Shortly after Colonel Gurwood's death, the Duke of Wellington was informed by Sir Charles Smith that Gurwood had been in the habit of taking notes of conversations with the Duke on military subjects. The Duke expressed great indignation at the unwarrantable nature of the proceeding, and immediately wrote to Mrs. Gurwood requesting that the notes might be given up or destroyed; remarking that her husband was no more justified in taking such notes without his (the Duke's) knowledge than in placing a shorthand writer behind the curtains of his dining-room. It turned out that Gurwood, a fortnight before his death, spontaneously and from the pure spirit of honour, had burned the notes, although, from the limited range of topics, they were as inoffensive as notes could be.

There cannot be a stronger example of the manner in which such questions have invariably been judged. Besides, many of Greville's notes relate to proceedings in Council which he had sworn to keep secret. A privileged or official position, inviting the careless confidence of the great, is one which no man of proper feeling would knowingly abuse; and Mr. Reeve suggests rather an aggravation than a palliation when, after dwelling on the liability of those who fill the most exalted stations to the judgment of contemporaries and posterity, he lays down: 'Every

* Boswell's 'Johnson,' ch. xi. Bolingbroke's 'Philosophical Works,' edited by David Mallet, were published in March, 1754, a few days before this sarcasm was uttered.

act,

act, almost every thought, which is brought home to them, leaves its mark, and those who come after them cannot complain that this mark is as indelible as their fame.' Is this a justification for noting down every unguarded word they may let drop, for depreciating nine-tenths of the public men with whom the diarist comes in contact, for imputing the basest motives to statesmen, and heaping the grossest epithets of abuse on kings? If the marks are to be indelible, there ought surely to be a proportionate amount of caution in affixing them.

We begin with a class of notes which it would be difficult to reconcile with official duty, loyalty, or good faith.

'*January* 12*th*, 1829.—Lord Mount Charles came to me this morning and consulted me about resigning his seat at the Treasury.

'He then talked to me about Knighton, whom the King abhors with a detestation that could hardly be described. He is afraid of him, and that is the reason he hates him so bitterly. When alone with him he is more civil, but when others are present (the family, for instance) he delights in saying the most mortifying and disagreeable things to him. He would give the world to get rid of him, and to have either Taylor or Mount Charles instead, to whom he has offered the place over and over again, but Mount Charles not only would not hear of it, but often took Knighton's part with the King. He says that his language about Knighton is sometimes of the most unmeasured violence—wishes he was dead, and one day when the door was open, so that the pages could hear, he said, "I wish to God somebody would assassinate Knighton." In this way he always speaks of him and uses him. Knighton is greatly annoyed at it, and is very seldom there. Still it appears there is some secret chain which binds them together, and which compels the King to submit to the presence of a man whom he detests, and induces Knighton to remain in spite of so much hatred and ill-usage. The King's indolence is so great that it is next to impossible to get him to do even the most ordinary business, and Knighton is still the only man who can prevail on him to sign papers, &c. His greatest delight is to make those who have business to transact with him, or to lay papers before him, wait in his anteroom while he is lounging with Mount Charles or anybody, talking of horses or any trivial matter; and when he is told, "Sir, there is Watson waiting," &c., he replies, "Damn Watson; let him wait." He does it on purpose, and likes it.'

We need hardly say (although Mr. Reeve could not have been aware of the identity) that Lord Mount Charles is the present Marquis of Conyngham. He comes to consult Greville about a personal matter, and then drops into familiar conversation, in the course of which he tells things which he most assuredly would not have told could he have suspected or guessed that they would be

be noted down and the worst possible interpretation put upon them. The diary proceeds:—

'This account corresponds with all I have before heard, and confirms the opinion I have long had, that a more contemptible, cowardly, selfish, unfeeling dog does not exist than this King, on whom such flattery is constantly lavished.'

Greville was actually engaged in collecting charges against the Conyngham family, in the least defensible manner, about the very time when he was encouraging the blind confidence of Lord Mount Charles. Henri Heine (in reference to the familiar axiom) said that a hero is not a hero to his valet, because the valet *is* a valet, not because the hero is not a hero.* But Greville seems to think that the valet point of view is the best for forming a due appreciation of a king:—

'*August* 29*th*, 1828.—I met Bachelor, the poor Duke of York's old servant, and now the King's *valet de chambre*, and he told me some curious things about the interior of the Palace; but he is coming to call on me, and I will write down what he tells me then.'

On the 16th of the following month he sends for Bachelor and has a long talk. On the 13th of May, 1829, Bachelor called and sat with him an hour, 'telling all sorts of details concerning the interior of Windsor and St. James.' The old valet must have been given to repetition, and the diarist to forgetfulness, for many of these are printed twice over. A single specimen will suffice:

'The influence of Knighton and that of Lady Conyngham continue as great as ever; nothing can be done but by their permission, and they understand one another and play into each other's hands. Knighton opposes every kind of expense, except that which is lavished on her. The wealth she has accumulated by savings and presents must be enormous. The King continues to heap all kinds of presents upon her, and she lives at his expense; they do not possess a servant; even Lord Conyngham's *valet de chambre* is not properly their servant. They all have situations in the King's household, from which they receive their pay, while they continue in the service of the Conynghams. They dine *every day* while in London at St. James's, and *when they give a dinner* it is

* This saying is attributed to Mr. Carlyle in 'Social Pressure,' by the Author of 'Friends in Council.' This thoughtful and agreeable book contains an essay on 'Over-Publicity,' which concludes by saying that 'this extreme publicity is a snare and a temptation for the great; that it tends to destroy the just privacy of private life; that it furnishes a worthless occupation for mankind in general; and that it is unwholesome, tedious, detractive, indelicate, and indecorous.' We know no more flagrant case of over-publicity than these Greville Memoirs. At all events, it will be a satisfaction to Her Majesty to know that the present Clerk of the Privy Council is not likely to imitate the bad practices of his predecessor.

cooked.

cooked at St. James's and brought up to Hamilton Place in hackney coaches and in machines made expressly for the purpose; there is merely a fire lit in their kitchen for such things as must be heated on the spot.'

These details, like the story of the loaded waggons leaving Windsor every night, are a palpable exaggeration of a current scandal which it could serve no useful purpose to revive. We are subsequently told, on the authority of the Duke of Wellington, that 'when the King died, they found 10,000*l.* in his boxes, and money scattered about everywhere; that there were above 500 pocket-books, of different dates, and in every one money—guineas, one-pound notes, one, two, or three in each; there never was anything like the quantity of trinkets and traps they found.' We should have thought that the contents of these pocket-books would have been more tempting and available objects of plunder than the bulky articles which it required waggons to convey. There was a caricature representing a stout lady engaged in removing a stuffed camelopard, which is not much more improbable than the conveyance of the dinners in hackney-coaches and machines.

The day after Greville had received a special mark of kindness from the King, he sets down:—

'He sleeps very ill, and rings his bell forty times in the night. If he wants to know the hour, though a watch hangs close to him, he will have his valet de chambre down rather than turn his head to look at it. The same thing if he wants a glass of water; he won't stretch out his hand to get it. His valets are nearly destroyed.'

This is cited as a conclusive proof of the King's selfishness: yet it was notorious, from the nature of his complaints, that there were times when the slightest exertion or change of position would bring on an access of pain. What is the use of royal establishments of servants, if they are to do nothing which their master might do for himself? Why should they not be used as what they are—superfluities? As for the ringing of the bell forty times in the night, and the valets being nearly destroyed, these must be classed among those exaggerations of language which so constantly inspire distrust.

Let it be observed that Greville, on one occasion, sends for the King's valet, and on another calls upon him, for the purpose of collecting these details. What would be thought of a gentleman in private life who should send for the valet of a friend with the view of ascertaining and noting down that friend's maladies and weaknesses? Yet where is the difference between the cases? except, indeed, to the disadvantage of the diarist, who, besides

besides being the intimate friend of the Conyngham family, was basking in the sunshine of the Court, and could have given ample evidence, in the shape of repeated acts of kindness, that it was not all made up of selfishness: —

'*December* 18*th*, 1821.—I came to town, went to Brighton yesterday for a Council. I was lodged in the Pavilion and dined with the King.'

'*March* 19*th*.—17*th*.—I received a message from the King, to tell me that he was sorry I had not dined with him the last time I was at Windsor, that he had intended to ask me, but finding that all the Ministers dined there except Ellenborough, he had let me go, that Ellenborough might not be the only man not invited, and "he would be damned if Ellenborough ever should dine in his house."'

Swearing was then the order of the day, and this act of considerate courtesy was not affected by the expletive, evidently noted down to excite a prejudice, like the incident of the Sailor King remarking, 'This is a d—d bad pen you have given me;' or that of George IV. asking the Clerk of the Council, aside at the Council table, whether he was for the horse or the mare—doing (as His Majesty observed to the Duke of Wellington) 'a bit of Newmarket'—probably whilst some formal document was before the Board. Greville must have heard a story highly creditable to George IV., which better merited a place in his Journal than many which he has set down. When Romeo Coates was in the height of his notoriety, some wag sent him an invitation to a party at Carlton House. He went, unconscious of the trick, of which, fortunately, the Regent got timely notice, and gracefully turned the tables by desiring Coates to be presented, and giving him the most flattering reception as an invited and welcome guest. Mr. Meynell Ingram, of Temple Newsham, was staying with his aunt (the Marchioness of Hertford) at the Pavilion, when a large party was expected from London to dine and sleep. He was taken on a tour of inspection through all the bedrooms by the Regent, who remarked, 'You see, Hugo, my boy, when fellows come all the way from Town to visit one, they expect to be made comfortable.'*

It was not in idle mockery that George IV., when Prince of Wales, was termed the first gentleman of the age, and His Majesty had been so well abused already, that Greville would have been better employed in defending him than in trying to outdo in prose the poetic virulence of Moore, who, besides direct attacks like the 'Lines on the Death of Sheridan,' gives vent to it in places where we should least expect to meet with it. Few

* *Ex relatione* Mr. Meynell Ingram.

of

of the dames or damsels who warble the beautiful melody, 'When first I met thee, warm and young,' and pour their whole souls into the concluding verse, are aware that they are personifying Erin and apostrophising George IV.:

'Go, go, 'tis vain to curse,
'Tis weakness to upbraid thee;
Hate cannot wish thee worse
Than guilt and shame have made thee.'

The scattered accounts of William IV. with the comments on his conduct and estimates of his character, although capricious and contradictory, are so contrived as to leave a bad impression on the whole. The first entry after the accession runs thus:

'Never was elevation like that of King William IV. His life has been hitherto passed in obscurity and neglect, in miserable poverty, surrounded by a numerous progeny of bastards, without consideration or friends, and he was ridiculous from his grotesque ways and little meddling curiosity.'

Turning back to an entry of 1827, relating to the formation of Canning's Administration, we find—

'His' (Canning's) 'first measure was, however, very judicious—that of appointing the Duke of Clarence Lord High Admiral; nothing served so much to disconcert his opponents.'

How could this be, if the Duke of Clarence was without consideration or friends?

In imitation of St. Simon and with questionable taste, for the word sounds coarser in modern English than in the seventeenth-century French, Greville constantly speaks of the Fitzclarences as the bastards or *bâtards*. But he was on intimate terms with them, and had no compunction of conscience in laying them under frequent contribution for his diary. Thus, on his way to the Ascot course (June 1835), he overtook Lord Adolphus, who rode with him, and gave him an account of his father's habits and state of mind. As this entry has gone the rounds of the papers, we shall only extract a sentence:

'After breakfast he reads the 'Times' and 'Morning Post,' commenting aloud on what he reads in very plain terms, and sometimes they hear 'That's a damned lie,' or some such remark, without knowing to what it applies.'

On July 30th, 1830, Greville writes: 'I tremble for him (the King): at present he is only a mountebank, but he bids fair to be a maniac.' Within less than four months, all fears and doubts were seemingly at an end:

'*November 17th*, 1830.—The fact is, he turns out an incomparable King,

King, and deserves all the encomiums that are lavished on him. All the mountebankery which signalised his conduct when he came to the throne has passed away with the excitement which caused it, and he is as dignified as the homeliness and simplicity of his character will allow him to be.'

One would have thought that the King's conduct in delaying the creation of peers and accepting Lord Grey's resignation, would have confirmed Greville's passing good opinion of His Majesty. Unluckily it had the contrary effect:

'*May 17th*, 1832.—His ignorance, weakness, and levity put him in a miserable light, and prove him to be one of the silliest old gentlemen in his dominions; but I believe he is mad, for yesterday he gave a great dinner to the Jockey Club, at which (notwithstanding his cares) he seemed in excellent spirits; and after dinner he made a number of speeches, so ridiculous and nonsensical, beyond all belief but to those who heard them, rambling from one subject to another, repeating the same thing over and over again, and altogether such a mass of confusion, trash, and imbecility as made one laugh and blush at the same time.'

His Majesty may have been too fond of speechifying, and (like all who are so) have said many things that he had better have left unsaid; but we mistrust verbatim reports, especially at second-hand; and it is clear from his own showing that the language Greville puts into the royal mouth is commonly his own; for the King's speeches, as given in the Journal, are anything but rambling and confused.

On September 21st, 1836, he undertakes to report, between inverted commas, a speech (or part of a speech) delivered on the 20th of August, from particulars supplied to him the day before (September 20th) by a person who spoke from memory unaided by a note. The scene is Windsor Castle:

'Adolphus Fitzclarence went into his (the King's) room on Sunday morning, and found him in a state of great excitement. It was his birthday, and though his celebration was what was called private, there were a hundred people at dinner, either belonging to the Court or from the neighbourhood. The Duchess of Kent sat on one side of the King and one of his sisters on the other, the Princess Victoria opposite. Adolphus Fitzclarence sat two or three from the Duchess and heard every word of what passed. After dinner, by the Queen's desire, "His Majesty's health, and long life to him" was given, and as soon as it was drunk he made a very long speech, in the course of which he poured forth the following extraordinary and *foudroyante* tirade:—

'"I trust in God that my life may be spared for nine months longer, after which period, in the event of my death, no regency would take place. I should then have the satisfaction of leaving the royal authority to the personal exercise of that young lady (pointing to the Princess), the heiress presumptive to the Crown, and not in the hands of a person

now

now near me, who is surrounded by evil advisers, and who is herself incompetent to act with propriety in the station in which she would be placed. I have no hesitation in saying that I have been insulted—grossly and continually insulted—by that person, but I am determined to endure no longer a course of behaviour so disrespectful to me. Amongst many other things I have particularly to complain of the manner in which that young lady has been kept away from my Court; she has been repeatedly kept from my drawing-rooms, at which she ought always to have been present, but I am fully resolved that this shall not happen again. I would have her know that I am King, and I am determined to make my authority respected, and for the future I shall insist and command that the Princess do upon all occasions appear at my Court, as it is her duty to do." He terminated his speech by an allusion to the Princess and her future reign in a tone of paternal interest and affection, which was excellent in its way.

'This awful philippic (with a great deal more which I forget) was uttered with a loud voice and excited manner. The Queen looked in deep distress, the Princess burst into tears, and the whole company were aghast. The Duchess of Kent said not a word. Immediately after they rose and retired, and a terrible scene ensued; the Duchess announced her immediate departure and ordered her carriage, but a sort of reconciliation was patched up, and she was prevailed upon to stay till the next day.'

Lord Adolphus Fitzclarence was not the most accurate or discreet of mortals. He was prone to improve upon a story. He did not sit two or three off the Duchess, the whole centre of the table being occupied by the royal family, members of the diplomatic body, the great officers of state, &c.; and a month had elapsed before he made his report to Greville. Against it, we are enabled to set an account of the scene by a highly distinguished person, then a member of the household, who was present, and had, moreover, the best possible opportunities of becoming acquainted with the circumstances which preceded and, in part, led to it.

'The King's constant wish was that the Princess, for whom he entertained the fondest affection, should visit him frequently, in order, as he said, to become acquainted with the details and procedure of public affairs. "I am an old man, and must soon go to my grave. I anxiously wish that the Duchess would let the Princess come to me; but she keeps her away from me." This was not said once or twice; it was constantly before the King's mind, and he referred to it again and again.' Sir Herbert Taylor and our informant expected an explosion on account of this, the fixed idea which possessed their royal master's mind, and waited with corresponding anxiety for the speech. This was delivered in giving the health of the Princess, not, as Greville's report

uld imply, in acknowledging the toast of 'The King' Majesty's Health': a toast, we believe, which never wledged. 'After having uttered, in a voice broken tion, a panegyric on his niece's character, and pointed eat position she must soon be called to fill, he said it ays been his wish to make her acquainted with those conduct by which Sovereigns of the House of Hanover been guided, and also to show her the details of the ffice, which could only be learnt by personal acquaint-h routine. "But a person that is in my eye," that was ssion, looking the Duchess full in the face, "has taken self to prevent it; but, by God's help, she shan't succeed." his the Duchess looked uncommonly uncomfortable. ly (not the Princess) burst into tears; and there was a ustling sound from the whole assembly which drowned words of the King's speech. Recovering quickly from ion, the King said in his usual firm voice, "Let the band and the band played, and the company recovered its

be observed that in Greville's report the essential point l. The Princess is made an object of the tirade as well Duchess; and the grand grievance or gravamen is, that ıcess had been kept, not from personal communication Sovereign, but from his Drawing-rooms. As to the scene' that ensued when the royal ladies retired, it nly in the lively imagination of the narrator, although t they were agitated and distressed.

uly 1st, 1835, Greville reports what he terms 'a most burst of eloquence from His Majesty.' It was addressed harles Grey, who (we are told by Mr. Reeve in a note) been appointed Governor of Jamaica. Unluckily Sir Grey was not appointed Governor of Jamaica till 1843, s after the King's death. If the speech was delivered at ust have been on Sir Charles Grey's appointment to the n mission with Lord Gosford.

small private dinner, including some foreign guests, the peated, *as an anecdote*, the toast given by a Duke of ick in the last century at a ceremonial dinner at Windsor. n verse, and two of the four lines contain words pro-by modern delicacy or prudery, although frequently used ical French writers, male and female, like Madame de and Voltaire. Greville actually represents the King as the toast—'a very coarse toast'—at a great dinner: 'a of ninety guests, all his Ministers, all the great people,

and all the foreign Ambassadors:' in fact, of doing what l described the Duke of Brunswick as having done.

After expressly saying that the King was 'such an ass' th nobody did anything but laugh at what he said, and giving a exaggerated account of a scene with Lord Torrington, Grevil adds: 'Torrington is a young man in a difficult position, or l ought to have resigned instantly and as publicly as the insu was given.' Lord Torrington did resign, and the matter w immediately set right: the King requesting that nothing mo should be said about it. Would it not have been as well inquire whether Lord Torrington had resigned before writir down or publishing that he had not?

In reference to the King's approaching death, Greville r marks: 'The public in general don't seem to care much, ar only wonder what will happen.' This is in marked contrast the impressions of a more trustworthy diarist:—

'*June*, 1837.—The reign is not yet quite a week old, and yet hc many strange occurrences and stranger feelings one wishes to reca that all have passed before the eyes or in the mind in this shc space. First, how strange it is that, in thinking of a departed Sov reign, one can from the bottom of the heart pray, "*May my lati end be like his.*" Who that can look back some years—who wou have thought that he would have died more loved, more lamente than either of his predecessors on the throne? . . . .

'It is very interesting to compare the appearance of the town no with that which it wore after the death of George IV.; *then* few, ve few, thought it necessary to assume the mask of grief; *now* o feeling seems to actuate the nation; party is forgotten, and all mou if not so deeply, quite as unanimously, as they did for Princ Charlotte.'*

In the concluding paragraph of the third volume, qualifi with faint praise, it is said that 'he (the King) always continu to be something of a blackguard and something more of a buffoo strong expressions to apply to the uncle of the reigning Sovereig who stands in no need of an invidious contrast to place h grace and dignity of demeanour in broad relief.

The following memorandum was drawn up by the highly d tinguished person to whom we have been already indebte and we print it verbatim:—

'When the King's end approached, Sir Herbert Taylor se me to London to tell Lord Melbourne that His Majesty wish particularly to go to Brighton; it was thought the sea-a might be of service to him. I went to South Street in t

* 'Diaries of a Lady of Quality.' Second edition, p. 296.

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morning and found Lord Melbourne at his toilet, in the middle of the operation of shaving. "Well," he said, "what have you to tell me?" and he continued to shave. I delivered my message. "Well," he said, "and when will the King go to Brighton?" "Never!" I answered. "Never!" said Lord Melbourne, laying down his razor, "what do you mean?" "I mean," I replied, "that the King is dying; he will never leave Windsor alive." Lord Melbourne looked thunderstruck. "Why," he said, "I have never heard a word of this;" and the conversation then turned upon various matters, among which the King's charities were named. "How much does the King give away in charity?" asked Lord Melbourne. "Thirty thousand pounds a year," I replied. "It's impossible," said Lord Melbourne. I said, "But I have seen the Privy Purse accounts often enough to know that what I tell you is fact; and if you will examine those accounts for yourself, you will find what I say true."

'He seemed quite stupefied by the interview, and sat, half-shaved, musing—musing—musing. After waiting for several minutes, and finding that he asked me no more questions, I left him, still sitting before his glass, and apparently absorbed in a deep contemplation of his razor. He never moved or spoke as I left the room.'

'The first thing the King did, after his accession, was to pay his debts. He then made equal provision for his children. His eldest son, George FitzClarence, wished to be made a Peer and Governor-General of Australia. The King said repeatedly, "The days of Charles II. are gone by; I will never make an eldest son—you (his children) shall share and share alike." And he kept his word. George FitzClarence then applied to Lord Grey to be made a Peer. Lord Grey made known the fact to the King, who said that he would neither make nor meddle in the affair, and that, if Lord Grey thought proper to make his son a Peer, he might do so on his own responsibility; and Lord Grey did make George FitzClarence a Peer on his own responsibility. No sooner was he created Earl of Munster, than he applied to the King by letter to "*doter*" his Peerage. He used that French word. His letter was read and marked, in the usual course of business, "Dotation for Munster Peerage.' 'The King said what he gave him would have to be taken from his brothers and sisters, and as he had steadfastly determined not to imitate Charles II., he absolutely refused his son's application.'*

* William IV. would allow no part of his Hanoverian revenue to be spent out of Hanover; and he left accumulations from it to the amount of £300,000 at the disposal of his successor, King Ernest, instead of dividing the money amongst his children.

'From so much as I have read in extracts of the "Greville Memoirs," I consider that Mr. Greville knew nothing whatever of the *mind* of William IV. Of his truthfulness, kind-heartedness, attention to business, simplicity of life, tenderness to the Queen, love of his children, care of his servants, perpetual thoughtfulness and watchfulness for the public welfare, never failing, even when suffering torture from rheumatic gout in hands and feet, to attend levées, sign papers, and make (for a man of his age) considerable bodily exertion, when others would have sent for the doctor and gone to bed—of all these things I suspect Mr. Greville knew, and apparently cared, nothing.'

'The King, at times, was rough and curt in speech: he carried the quarter-deck into the drawing-room occasionally; but who ever heard a low maxim from this thorough Englishman? He gloried in his country, and, according to the faculties which God had granted him, he served it faithfully, passionately, honestly, loyally. He never forgot an old friend—witness those grey-headed old captains of the merchant-service who so often came to see him at Windsor, and who always called him "Your Royal Highness." The manners of the age had undergone a complete revolution between the date of his birth and that of his accession; and a man who can notice certain peculiarities of manner of the last century (or the commencement of this), and attribute them either to madness or innate ill-breeding, must be as ignorant as he is malevolent.'

'No scandal about Queen Elizabeth, I hope,' exclaims Mr. Sneer in the 'Critic.' Greville is not so scrupulous about Queens. After recording a joke of Lord Alvanley's, utterly unfit for publication (which Mr. Reeve italicises), he makes use of confidential communications to point and elucidate it for the benefit of the uninitiated:—

'*January* 3*rd*, 1833.—Lady Howe begged her Husband to show me the correspondence between him and Sir Herbert Taylor about the Chamberlainship . . . I told him my opinion of the whole business, and added my strenuous advice that he should immediately prevail on the Queen to appoint somebody else. . . . Lady Howe, who is vexed to death at the whole thing, was enchanted at my advice, and vehemently urged him to adopt it. After he went away she told me how glad she was at what I had said, and asked me if people did not say and believe everything of Howe's connexion with the Queen, which I told her they did.'

Then he told her what was notoriously not the fact; and he directly goes on to say that what passed was enough to satisfy him that there was 'nothing in it.' Then why perpetuate the scandal? Are we to suppose that he frequently revised these entries

entries with great care, without its ever once occurring to him that to leave them for publication would be an offence against loyalty, delicacy, and propriety?

After applying sundry offensive epithets to Queen Adelaide's person, Greville does his best, on the strength of a ridiculous blunder, to depreciate her birth and family:

'*August 19th*, 1834.—On Sunday I went all over the private apartments of Windsor Castle, and walked through what they call "the slopes" to the Queen's cottage; all very splendid and luxurious. In the gallery there is a model of a wretched-looking dog-hole of a building, with a ruined tower beside it. I asked what this was, and the housekeeper said, "The Château of Meiningen;" put there, I suppose, to enhance by comparison the pleasure of all the grandeur which surrounds the Queen, for it would hardly have been exhibited as a philosophical or moral memento of *her humble origin* and the low fortune from which she has been raised.'

'*September 4th.*—Errol told me she (the Queen Consort) showed them her old bedroom in the palace (as they call it) at Meiningen—a hole that an English housemaid would think it a hardship to sleep in.'

A gentleman who filled a high position in the Queen Consort's household, has supplied us with a note on this passage:

'The housekeeper, at the period referred to, was an intelligent woman, who knew as well as I did that the model in question was one of Altenstein, a ruined "Schloss," which the Duke of Saxe-Meiningen had the idea of converting into a summer residence. The model had been sent to Windsor for the purpose of enabling Sir Geoffrey Wyatville to prepare a plan for restoring the Schloss. The "Schloss" at Meiningen is a vast substantially-built structure in the usual style of German "Residenzes." The reception rooms were large and handsome, and the private apartments exceedingly comfortable and well furnished.' Is it credible that no better bedroom than a hole could be found in such a residence for a princess?*

The electoral, now royal, House of Saxony (of which the Houses of Saxe-Meiningen, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, and Saxe-Weimar are branches) is one of the most ancient and illustrious of the reigning Houses of Europe; and to talk of the humble origin of the daughter of an hereditary prince and sovereign is sheer ignorance or silly affectation.

Little less censurable is the use Greville makes of the details

* According to the 'Penny Encyclopædia,' the Schloss has a frontage of 500 feet with two wings, and contains a library of 28,000 volumes. It is now used for public offices; a new palace having been built for the residence of the ducal family.

of

of a disreputable affair, which had been confidentially communicated to him by both parties:—

'*August 8th.*—There is a story current about the Duke of Cumberland and Lady Lyndhurst which is more true than most stories of this kind. The Duke called upon her, and grossly insulted her; on which, after a scramble, she rang the bell. He was obliged to desist and to go away, but before he did he said, "By God, madam, I will be the ruin of you and your husband, and will not rest till I have destroyed you both."'

Ten days afterwards, August 18th:

'Yesterday, I met the Chancellor (Lord Lyndhurst) at the Castle at a Council. He took me aside and said that he wished to tell me what had passed, and to show me the correspondence.'

A note is taken of the principal letters, with or without leave, and these are now given to the world. Then (August 22nd) comes Sir Henry Cooke, on the part of the Duke of Cumberland, who wishes Greville to call on him and hear his statement of the facts; which was that Lady Lyndhurst had begged him to call upon her, then to dine with her, and upon every occasion had encouraged him:—

'I heard all he had to say, but declined calling on the Duke. . . . The Chancellor has since circulated the correspondence among his friends, but with rather too undignified a desire to submit his conduct to the judgment of a parcel of people who only laugh at them both, and are amused with the gossip and malice of the thing.'

It can be only to amuse fresh and similar parcels of people that 'the gossip and malice of the thing' are revived, with a completeness and authority which were wanting at the time and which in no other manner could have been conferred upon them. But, of course, scandal loses its noxious quality, or, at all events, ceases to affect 'private persons or affairs,' when a royal duke is the principal performer in the piece.

Of the Duke of York he says: 'I have been the minister and associate of his pleasures and amusement for some years; I have lived in his intimacy and experienced his kindness.' Yet the general impression he conveys of His Royal Highness is far from favourable:—

'Although his talents are not rated high, and in public life he has never been honourably distinguished, the Duke of York is loved and respected. He is the only one of the Princes who has the feelings of an English gentleman; his amiable disposition and excellent temper have conciliated for him the esteem and regard of men of all parties, and he has endeared himself to his friends by the warmth and steadiness of his attachments, and from the implicit confidence they all

all have in his truth, straightforwardness, and sincerity. He delights in the society of men of the world and in a life of gaiety and pleasure. He is very easily amused, and particularly with jokes full of coarseness and indelicacy; the men with whom he lives most are *très-polissons*, and *la polissonnerie* is the *ton* of his society.'

Considering the times, we might be willing to make allowance for the royal taste in this respect, but Greville takes care to remind us of a few other things, such as owing money right and left—play debts included—which jar a little with the *beau ideal* of an English gentleman; and His Royal Highness's alleged depreciation of the Duke of Wellington, coming from a Commander-in-Chief who must or might have been acquainted with the truth, is quite irreconcilable with the frank manliness of his character. It does not mend the matter to be told that his dislike of the Duke arose from a belief that he himself would have been appointed to the command of the Peninsular army instead of Sir Arthur Wellesley had not His Royal Highness been 'betrayed.' As the result of various conversations with His Royal Highness, Greville says (what might easily be disproved): 'I think it not possible for any man to have a worse opinion of another man than the Duke (of York) has of the King.' In the account of the Duchess, the virtues are thrown into the shade by the eccentricities, and she is made to appear not more refined than her husband in point of taste:—

'Her mind is not perhaps the most delicate: she shows no dislike to coarseness of sentiment or language, and I have seen her very much amused with jokes, stories, and allusions which would shock a very nice person.'

The establishment at Oatlands is thus described by the grateful partaker of its hospitality:—

'Oatlands is the worst-managed establishment in England; there are a great many servants and nobody waits on you; a vast number of horses, and none to ride or drive.'

The reckless extravagance of the royal host and hostess is illustrated by the sudden break-up of 'an immense party, the most numerous ever known there. The Duchess wished it to have been prolonged, but there were no funds. The distress they are in is inconceivable.'

The second novel of Boccaccio is the story of the conversion of a wealthy French Jew, which was brought about by a journey to Rome, where he was irresistibly struck by the dissolute habits, impiety, and immorality of the hierarchy and priesthood, from the Pope downwards. Seeing that the Christian religion flourished in spite of all they had done and were doing to discredit

credit it, he came to the conclusion that it must be the truest, the most divine, and was baptized into it forthwith.

On reverting to this novel, it occurred to us that the Clerk and the Registrar of Her Majesty's Privy Council, in their capacity of loyal servants of the Crown, must have meditated the conversion of republicans by an analogous train of reasoning; or why, in a book blazoning their official designations on the title-page, should they have accumulated so many alleged instances of royal vice and folly, except for the purpose of demonstrating the inherent excellence of the monarchy which stands unshaken by the strain? At the same time it may be as well to bear in mind that vice and folly in princes have generally proved less dangerous to free institutions than morality, sobriety, and fixed principles of right. Charles I., a pattern of the domestic virtues, tried to arrest the five members in defiance of the privileges of Parliament, and died on the scaffold. Charles II., a selfish sensualist, passed the Habeas Corpus Act, and died quietly amongst his courtiers, courteously apologising to them for being so long about it, and leaving a safe throne to his more conscientious brother, who bartered it for a Mass.

Lord Byron said or sang of George III. :—

'A better farmer ne'er brush'd dew from lawn.'

Nor, we would add, a better husband or father of a family; but he prolonged the American War of Independence and indefinitely postponed the conciliation of Ireland (which we begin to think never will be conciliated) by dogged adherence to his principles. He had a strong will of his own, and never fully accepted or acted on the constitutional doctrine, *Le Roi règne et ne gouverne pas.* George IV. behaved unexceptionally in this respect. He never insisted long on a line of policy disapproved by his responsible advisers; and the capital charge on which satirists rang the changes was, that he had no personal leanings or was always ready to sacrifice them to expediency.

'I am proud to declare I have no predilections,
My heart is a sieve, where some scatter'd affections
Are just danced about for a moment or two,
And the *finer* they are, the more sure to run through.'*

William IV., again, although he jibbed a little when he thought the Reform Ministry were driving him too fast, held the balance fairly between the conflicting parties, and seemed simply

* Moore's 'Parody of a Celebrated Letter.' (From the Regent to the Duke of York.)

anxious

anxious to consult the welfare of his people and carry out their constitutionally expressed wishes.

It is almost superfluous to add that, whilst indicating the causes which have happily prevented preceding monarchs from weakening monarchy by their extravagance or their eccentricity, we are not blind to the vast increase of strength it has acquired from a reign like the present, in which the domestic virtues of the Sovereign have been no less eminent than her enlightened appreciation and observance of the true spirit of our institutions.

Greville speaks in the same disparaging manner of the great landed aristocracy; admitting all the while that they are the bulwarks of the throne. 'What great men are Lord Lonsdale, the Duke of Rutland, and Lord Cleveland; but strip them of their wealth and power, what would they be? Amongst the most insignificant of mankind.' This recalls Crambo's attempt to form an abstract notion of a Lord Mayor without his furred robe, gold chain, and other ensigns of his dignity.

It is not unusual for Greville to lay down a rule for his own condemnation. In the affair of 'Who's the Traitor?' the charge against Sheil was, that he had approved in private a measure (the Irish Coercion Act) which he had publicly opposed.

'Hill (the accuser) called witnesses; one of whom, Macaulay, refused to speak. He said he would not repeat what had been said in private conversation. The Committee approved, and Hill threw up his case.'

Sir Francis Burdett went further than Macaulay, saying, that his memory was so constituted as not to retain any conversation that passed at or after dinner. Greville calls it 'a silly and discreditable business.' Yet he himself, if summoned as a witness in such a case, might have been served with a *subpœna duces tecum* and required to produce his notes. To name one occasion among a score, he writes down two private conversations with Lord Melbourne, for the express purpose of establishing a charge of political treachery, very similar to that against Sheil.

Whilst the Reform Bill was yet pending (April 1st, 1832), he represents Lord Melbourne intimating a wish that it might be thrown out, and asserting that the Government could not be carried on without the rotten boroughs.

'We had a great deal more talk, but then it is all talk, and *à quoi bon* with a man who holds these opinions, and acts as he does?'

Greville was obviously prone to confound what he himself said in the course of conversation with what was said by others, and

and to mistake a partial agreement, or a courteous non-denial, for unequivocal assent. Lord Melbourne may have regretted the loss of the rotten boroughs, whilst convinced of the impossibility of retaining them. Every sane politician must have felt that it had become impossible. Even Canning, their most eloquent advocate, must have given them up in 1832.

On February 7th, 1832, Lord Melbourne 'extremely surprised' him by stating 'that *all* the members of the Cabinet were *bonâ fide* alarmed at, and averse to, the measure (the Reform Bill).'

'We then parted. Downstairs was Rothschild the Jew waiting for him, and the *valet de chambre* sweeping away a *bonnet* and *shawl!*'

It is a pity he did not peep into the dining-room to see if covers were laid for two.

'Stanley (not the ex-Secretary, but the Under-Secretary) told me last night an anecdote of Melbourne which I can very easily believe. When the King sent for him he told Young "he thought it a damned bore, and that he was in many minds what he should do—be Minister or no." Young said, "Why, damn it, such a position never was occupied by any Greek or Roman, and, if it only lasts two months, it is well worth while to have been Prime Minister of England." "By God, that's true," said Melbourne; "I'll go." Young is his private secretary—a vulgar, familiar, impudent fellow, but of indefatigable industry, and a man who suits Melbourne.'

Lord Melbourne, careless and frank, had a high-bred air which repelled undue familiarity. Tom Young's manner towards him was invariably respectful: rather that of an upper servant than of an equal, or of an intimate member of his society, which, indeed, Young never was. His business was to make himself generally useful. The style of the remonstrance, too, is entirely out of keeping with the character. Greeks and Romans were not at all in Young's line. He began life as a purser; and Greville says he was a writer and runner for the newspapers, which is only half true. He was a runner, not a writer.*

The only statesman or public man of note whom Greville does not systematically depreciate, is Canning, a connection through the Bentincks; and the refusal to join Canning was, we fancy, at the bottom of his persistent hostility to Lord Grey.

'*June 17th*, 1827.—Lord Grey is in such a state of irritation that he will

* Lord Houghton says in his 'Monograph of Sydney Smith': 'He was, indeed, not given to severe censure, but could convey it under light words when he chose; thus, when he checked the strong old-fashioned freedom of speech in Lord Melbourne, by suggesting that "they should assume everything and everybody to be damned and come to the subject."' Sydney Smith never addressed Lord Melbourne in this fashion.

will hardly speak to any of his old friends, and he declares that he will never set his foot in Brookes's again.'

This is sheer fabrication.

'More than this,' (continues Greville,) 'when it was the unanimous opinion of all the Whigs who joined Canning, that they could not join an Administration of which Peel formed part, this opinion was warmly combated by Lord Grey, who contended that there was no reason why they should not coalesce with Canning *and* Peel.'

Lord Grey had formally declared in 1812, that he would be no party to any Government which was not formed on the principle of carrying Catholic emancipation.* Canning's Government was formed on the neutral or open question principle, like Lord Liverpool's. The junction with Peel would have confirmed Lord Grey's objections instead of removing them, and to assert that he contended for it is absurd.

'What induced him to alter his opinion so decidedly and to become so bitter an enemy to the present arrangements does not appear, unless it is to be attributed to a feeling of pique and resentment at not having been more consulted, or that overtures were not made to himself. The pretext he took for declaring himself was the appointment of Copley to be Chancellor, when he said that it was impossible to support a Government which had made such an appointment.'

He could not alter an opinion he never entertained: and he had no need of a pretext for acting on his known and frequently declared views. He, moreover, had distrusted Canning since 1806.

We pass on to December 12, 1830, the third week of the Reform Administration; when, after expressing his conviction that a more overrated man than the new Premier never lived: that he was influenced by pride, still more by vanity, caprice, and 'a thousand weaknesses:' that 'anybody who *is* constantly with him, and can avail *themselves* of his vanity, can govern him;' that 'now Lambton (Lord Durham) is all in all with him'—Greville proceeds:

'Everybody remembers how Lord Grey refused to lead the Whig party when Canning formed his junction with the Whigs, and declared that he abdicated in favour of Lord Lansdowne; and then how he came and made that violent speech against Canning which half killed him with vexation, and in consequence of which he meant to have moved into the House of Lords for the express purpose of attacking Lord Grey. Then when he had quarrelled with his old Whig friends he

* Letter of Lords Grey and Grenville to the Duke of York, dated Feb. 15, 1812, published in the Appendix to 'The Life and Opinions of Charles, second Earl Grey;' by his son, General Grey.

began

began to approach the Tories, the object of his constant aversion and contempt; and we knew what civilities passed between the Bathursts and him, and what political coquetries between him and the Duke of Wellington, and how he believed that it was only George IV. who prevented his being invited by the Duke to join him. Then George IV. dies, King William succeeds; no invitation to Lord Grey, and he plunges into furious opposition to the Duke.'

Here again is a mass of misstatement, with the exception of what relates to the speech against Canning and its effects. Any one would suppose that the Whigs went over in a body to Canning; the fact being that Lord Althorpe, Lord Folkestone, Lord Howick, Sir John Hobhouse, and several others, stood aloof with Lord Grey, who was not required to abdicate. If he did abdicate, when and why did he resume the leadership?

After the lamentable break-up of Lord Goderich's Government, Lord Grey saw no prospect of any but the Duke's, and was, therefore, unwilling to oppose it, until the Duke crossed the Rubicon by his memorable declaration against Reform. This, not the death of George IV., was the turning-point. We have the best authority for stating, as matter of fact, that Lord Grey never contemplated joining the Duke at any time: that no political coquetries passed between them, and that no advance towards a junction was ever made on either side; although it is just possible that feelers may have been put forth by the Duke's friends.* As matter of probability or speculation, if Lord Grey was not only ready to give up the proud position he occupied as leader of the Whig party, but eager to join the Duke of Wellington after refusing to support Canning, all we can say is, he must have been smitten with political blindness of the most unaccountable kind. The grand opportunity for which he had patiently waited was obviously at hand; the Tories were getting weaker and weaker; the Reform cry was in the wind; and this is the time when, towards the close of a consistent and honourable career, he was willing (we are assured) to fling principle and consistency to the winds, to coalesce with the objects of his 'constant aversion and contempt.'

There is not, we repeat, the semblance of plausibility in these charges against Lord Grey, nor are they strengthened by what comes next:

'About three years ago the Chancellor, Lyndhurst, was the man in the world he abhorred the most; and it was about this time that I

* Mr. Frankland Lewis (we have heard) sounded Lord Grey and reported that some measure of Reform was a *sine qua non*. The Duke had taken his ground on Reform when he broke with Huskisson.

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well recollect one night at Madame de Lieven's I introduced Lord Grey to Lady Lyndhurst. We had dined together somewhere, and he had been praising her beauty; so when we all met there I presented him, and very soon all his antipathies ceased, and he and Lyndhurst became great friends. This was the cause of Lady Lyndhurst's partiality for the Whigs, which enraged the Tory ladies and some of their lords so much, but which served her turn and enabled her to keep two hot irons in the fire. When the Duke went out Lord Grey was very anxious to keep Lyndhurst as his Chancellor, and would have done so if it had not been for Brougham, who, whirling Reform *in terrorem* over his head, announced to him that it must not be.'

If Lord Lyndhurst had consented to be Lord Grey's Chancellor he must have adopted Lord Grey's views and become a Reformer, which, by the way, he might have become without more sacrifice of principle than three or four members of Lord Grey's Cabinet who had been as vehement anti-Reformers as himself. It seems agreed on all hands that no offer was actually made to him, and the notion that he would have accepted it, has no better foundation than the language and conduct of his wife.* Except when he acted with the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, there is no act of Lord Lyndhurst's public or political life that can be fairly adduced in impeachment of his consistency.

On April 9th, 1835, the day after Peel's ministry had resigned, Greville sets down:—

'Lord Grey is to be with the King this morning. He was riding quietly in the park yesterday afternoon, and neither knew nor cared (apparently) whether he had been sent for or not. His daughter told me (for I rode with them up Constitution Hill) that his family would not wish him to return to office, but would not interfere. She then talked, much to my surprise, of the possibility of a junction between him and Peel.'

The daughter has no recollection of the incident. Lord Grey advised the King to send for Lord Melbourne: all thought of his own return to office had been given up, and nothing of the sort could have been said.

Whatever Greville's judgment may have become eventually, no reliance could be placed upon it during most of the time

* '*Sept.* 24*th*, 1831.—Dined at Richmond on Friday, with the Lyndhursts. The *mari* talks against the Bill; the woman for it. They are like the old divisions of families in the Civil Wars.' This was Lord Lyndhurst's first wife, who died in January, 1834. His second wife, whom he married in August, 1837, a woman of sense and spirit, always looked up to him with reverential affection, and, from her devotion to his memory, no one has been more severely wounded by this book. She, like her lamented husband, was one of Greville's most intimate friends, and conversed with him on the subject of his Journal a few hours before his death.

included

included in this publication. He had no insight into character. He saw little or nothing in many of his most distinguished contemporaries until their eminent qualities were recognised by the world. Turn, for example, to his first impressions of Prince Leopold (the King of the Belgians), Lord Auckland, Lord Palmerston, Sir James Graham, the late Earl of Derby, Lord Melbourne, the Duke of Wellington, &c. Although he saw fit to change or modify these impressions before he died, and has left notes or memoranda to that effect, they are not the less a test of his original powers of observation; nor can we accept them as what the editor calls 'a contemporary record of opinion, honestly preserved.' They are the opinions of a cross-grained individual who differed widely from his contemporaries, and (except perhaps when the progress of a master-mind, a really superior intellect, is to be traced) we see no use in preserving the opinions of an individual when he was confessedly wrong.*

On the formation of Lord Grey's Government, November 20, 1830, he sets down:—

'Graham Admiralty, Melbourne Home, Auckland Board of Trade—all bad. The second is too idle, the first is too inconsiderable, the third too ignorant.'

The editor remarks in a note:—

'This is a remarkable instance of the manner in which the prognostications of the most acute observers are falsified by events. The value of Mr. Greville's remarks on the men of his time consists not in their absolute truth, but in their sincerity at the moment at which they were made. They convey a correct impression of the notion prevailing at that time.'

They do *not* convey a correct impression of the notion prevailing at that time. We can show from the Journal that they do not. Three weeks afterwards (December 12), reviewing Graham's career, he says:—

'Time and the hour made him master of a large but encumbered estate and member for his county. Armed with the importance of representing a great constituency, he started again in the House of Commons; took up Joseph Hume's line, but ornamented it with graces and flourishes which had not usually decorated such dry topics. He succeeded, and in that line is now the best speaker in the House.'

Why is the term 'inconsiderable' applied to such a man? This is explained in the same entry:—

* Speaking of Guizot in 1830, he described him as 'unused to and unfit for official business.' This Mr. Reeve terms 'a curious estimate, taken at the time of the man who for the next eighteen years had a larger share of official life and business than any other Frenchman.'

'Graham's

'Graham's elevation is the most monstrous of all. He was once my friend, a college intimacy revived in the world, and which lasted six months, when, thinking he could do better, he cut me, as he had done others before. I am not a fair judge of him, because the pique which his conduct to me naturally gave me would induce me to under-rate him, but I take vanity and self-sufficiency to be prominent features of his character, though of the extent of his capacity I will give no opinion. Let time show; I think he will fail.'

If confessedly not a fair judge, why not withhold a judgment? The odd thing about Greville is, that self-examination never acts on him as it does on most others. It exercises no restraining, improving influence on his conduct or his mind. He is like one of the frail *dévotes*, of whom we read in Catholic countries, who confess, receive absolution, and start fresh.

Reverting to Lord Melbourne, he says: 'He has surprised all those about him by a sudden display of activity, vigour, rapid and diligent transaction of business, for which nobody was prepared.' No one who understood Lord Melbourne was surprised, and all who saw below the surface would have agreed with Sydney Smith when, after avowing a belief that 'our Viscount is somewhat of an impostor,' he remarks: 'I am sorry to hurt any man's feelings, and to brush away the magnificent fabric of levity and gaiety he has reared; but I accuse our Minister of honesty and diligence.'

Assuming that Greville's estimates, confessedly superficial and unsound, convey the popular impression of the time, this would prove him an accurate foolometer at best. A collection of vulgar errors may have its uses, but the praise of a 'most accurate observer' can hardly be claimed for the collector who believes in each of them till it is corrected by events.*

With the exception of Lord Grey, the statesman whom Greville most perseveringly vituperates is Peel:—

'*December* 15*th*, 1836.—It is very true (what they say Peel said of him, the Duke of W.) that no *man* ever had any influence with him, only *women*, and those always the silliest. But who are Peel's confidants, friends, and parasites? Bonham, a stock-jobbing ex-merchant, Charles Ross, and the refuse of society of the House of Commons.'

Peel was constantly on the look-out for rising men of talent,

* If Greville's estimate of the Reform Ministry had been correct, they must have speedily broken down from sheer incapacity. He says of the Duke of Richmond, that 'his understanding lies in a nutshell, and his information in a pin's head;' of Stanley, the late Earl of Derby, the political Rupert, that 'he does not appear to be a man of much moral or political firmness and courage, a timid politician, *ignavus adversum lupos*;' of Lord Althorpe, that, 'he would certainly go out in a few months, and *that he would go on the turf*.'

who

who became his attached followers and friends. The late Duke of Newcastle, the late Lord Herbert of Lea, Mr. Gladstone, and Lord Cardwell, are prominent examples.

In reference to the Ministerial interregnum after the resignation of the Reform Cabinet, Greville writes:

'*May 17th*, 1832.—The first impression was that the Duke of Wellington would succeed in forming a Government, with or without Peel. The first thing he did was to try and prevail upon Peel to be Prime Minister, but he was inexorable. He then turned to Baring, who, after much hesitation, agreed to be Chancellor of the Exchequer. The work went on, but with difficulty, for neither Peel, Goulburn, nor Croker would take office. They then tried the Speaker (Manners-Sutton), *who was mightily tempted to become Secretary of State*, but still doubting and fearing, and requiring time to make up his mind. At an interview with the Duke and Lyndhurst at Apsley House he declared his sentiments on the existing state of affairs in a speech of three hours, to the unutterable disgust of Lyndhurst, who returned home, flung himself into a chair, and said that "he could not endure to have anything to do with such a *damned tiresome old bitch*."'

If Lord Lyndhurst did use such an expression, he had high authority for it. 'What's the matter with the auld bitch next?' said an acute metaphysical judge, though somewhat coarse in his manners, aside to his brethren. 'This is a daft cause, Bladderscate . . . What say ye till't, ye bitch?'* Sir Walter adds, in a note, that 'tradition ascribes this whimsical style of language to the ingenious and philosophical Lord Kaimes.'

The subject of the Tory failure to form a Government is resumed in an entry of October 26th, *i.e.* after an interval of six months, during which Greville had recently 'picked up' a good deal from Arbuthnot (described as 'very garrulous'), which he sets down as undoubted fact. Then comes the broad general conclusion, which is to annihilate Sir Robert:—

'I am not sure that I have stated these occurrences exactly as they were told me. There may be errors in the order of the interviews and *pourparlers*, and in the verbal details, but the substance is correct, and may be summed up to this effect: that Peel, full of ambition, but of caution, animated by deep dislike and jealousy of the Duke (which policy induced him to conceal, but which temper betrayed), thought to make Manners Sutton play the part of Addington, while he was to be another Pitt; he fancied that he could gain in political character, by an opposite line of conduct, all that the Duke would lose; and he resolved that a Government should be formed the existence of which should depend upon himself. Manners Sutton was to be his creature; he would have dictated every measure of

* 'Red Gauntlet,' chap. i.

Government;

Government; he would have been their protector in the House of Commons; and, as soon as the fitting moment arrived, *he would have dissolved this miserable Ministry* and placed himself at the head of affairs. All these deep-laid schemes, and constant regard of self, form a strong contrast to the simplicity and heartiness of the Duke's conduct, and make the two men appear in a very different light from that in which they did at first. Peel acted right from bad motives, the Duke wrong from good ones.'

How (if this were true) could Peel be said to have acted right in any sense? That he should have formed such a scheme, that he should have deemed Manners Sutton equal to the emergency, that he should have entertained a momentary hope or thought of keeping such a man Prime Minister long enough to play the part of Addington to his Pitt—all this is so widely improbable, so out of keeping with his admitted sagacity, that Greville should at least have looked closely to his facts; but from a subsequent entry (January 3rd, 1833) it is clear that the suggestion to propose the Premiership to Manners Sutton came from Vesey Fitzgerald, not from Peel; the pith of the sweeping charge against Peel being that it was he who wanted to place Sutton in a position to serve as his warming-pan.

'It is remarkable,' concludes Greville, 'that this story is so little known.' Which story? for we have been told two or three. 'Story! God bless you, I have none to tell, Sir.' We knew long ago all that could be known or was worth knowing about these negotiations, namely, that some of the Tory leaders tried to form a Government, which the more sagacious among them felt to be an impossibility from the first: that there were sundry meetings and conferences ending in nothing; that Peel attended none of them, holding firmly and consistently aloof: that the event did honour to his foresight; and that, instead of losing caste or credit, he was thenceforth regarded as *the* man on whom the future of the great Conservative party must mainly, if not exclusively, depend. That the Duke of Wellington so regarded him, is placed beyond a doubt by the mission of the 'hurried Hudson' in 1834.

On March 22nd, 1835, Greville sets down:—

'Old Sir Robert, who must have been a man of exceeding shrewdness, predicted that his (the son's) full energies would never be developed till he was in the highest place, and had the sole direction of affairs; and his brother Lawrence, who told this to Henry de Ros, said that in early youth he evinced the same obstinate and unsocial disposition, which has since been so remarkable a feature of his character.'

With reference to this paragraph (which was quoted in the

'Edinburgh Review' as one of the gems of the book) Mr. Lawrence Peel writes thus, November 17th, 1874:

'It is impossible I could have said anything of the sort. My eldest brother being thirteen years older than myself, I could have had no opportunity of forming an opinion of his character during his boyhood; and the one attributed to me in this passage is contrary to what I remember having heard my father and other members of my family express, and to the impression made upon my mind by all I ever knew of my brother. Having always entertained the highest opinion of his public and private character, it distresses me greatly to find my name employed in support of an opinion which all who were intimately acquainted with him must know to be incorrect.'

As it is not usual to quote a living against a dead brother, we presume that Mr. Lawrence Peel's existence was forgotten, like that of Lord Conyngham and Lord Torrington.

The Reform Bill was to Greville what the red flag is to the bull. It irritated him to wildness. He saw in it the ruin of our most cherished institutions, including his sinecure and his place. He indiscriminately assails both the supporters and opponents of the measure, although we should have thought that one of the two conflicting parties must have been to some extent in the right. He does not even spare the 'waverers,' although he acted with them.

'*March 26th*, 1832.—Ten days since I have written anything here, but *en revanche* I have written a pamphlet. An article appeared in the "Quarterly," attacking Harrowby and his friends. Wharncliffe was so desirous it should be answered that I undertook the job, and it comes out to-day in a "Letter to Lockhart, in reply," &c. I don't believe anybody read the last I wrote, but as I have published this at Ridgway's, perhaps it may have a more extensive sale.'

This pamphlet was a poor performance, loose in style, and weak in argument. The article to which he replied was not written (as he with characteristic haste and inaccuracy assumed) by Mr. Lockhart, but by Mr. Croker, who contended that, if the measure were to be effectually opposed, the Lords should take the decided course of throwing out the Bill and defy the Government to create peers. It would be fatal, he argued, to admit the principle by voting for the second reading. Greville counselled a different course, maintaining that, if the Bill were suffered to go into Committee, its most objectionable provisions might be struck out or neutralised, and that the Government would not venture or be permitted to create peers to carry matters of detail. His counsels were followed, and

and a diametrically opposite result ensued. An amendment* (Lord Lyndhurst's) carried in Committee led to the resignation of Lord Grey, who urged, with irresistible force, that, the principle of the Bill having been admitted by their Lordships, they were pursuing a factious course in trying to overthrow it by a side-wind. Greville's tactics utterly failed, and he consoled himself by throwing the blame on the two noble Lords who acted on them.

'The unfortunate thing is that neither of our cocks is good for fighting, not from want of courage; but Harrowby is peevish, ungracious, and unpopular, and Wharncliffe carries no great weight.'

Greville's fussifying efforts to stop the Reform Bill irresistibly recall the image of Mrs. Partington endeavouring to keep out the Atlantic with her mop. But however slightly he was mixed up in an affair, he fancied himself the motive power in it; and he was apt to think that he was doing a great deal when he was really doing nothing. If we are to believe him, the partial support the leading journal gave to the Conservative Government of 1834–35, was entirely owing to him and Lord de Ros. He states (November 24th, 1834) that Barnes, the editor, 'was much gratified by an offer Lyndhurst made to see him, and proposed a meeting:' that 'a gastronomic ratification was to wind up the treaty between these high contracting parties': that Barnes dined with Lord Lyndhurst at a dinner expressly made for him: that it was a badly composed party for the purpose; and that the dinner made a great uproar, as he (Greville) thought it would.

Lord Lyndhurst and Barnes were college friends of long standing, and Barnes was an active member of Lord Lyndhurst's committee, when he stood for the University of Cambridge in 1826. They had been always on the most intimate terms; and it was remarked that, in the height of the Reform conflict, nothing personally offensive to Lord Lyndhurst ever appeared in the 'Times.' They certainly stood in no need of Lord de Ros or Greville to bring them together; the dinner was an

* The object of Lord Lyndhurst's amendment, which brought on the crisis, was the postponement of the disfranchising clauses. When Mr. Charles Wood (Lord Halifax) urged that they must be taken first, Greville says: 'He talked a great deal about the country expecting this, and that they would not be satisfied if it was not done, and all the usual jargon of the Reformers, which it was not worth while to dispute.' The event speedily proved that Lord Halifax had formed the correct estimate of the situation. Greville, knowing nothing of the greater public, fancied that a nation's destiny could be decided by a party manœuvre or intrigue conducted by himself and De Ros. His summary of the beneficial results of the measure which he dreaded and decried is one of the most remarkable passages in the book. (See vol. iii. p. 29.)

ordinary dinner; and that it made 'a great uproar,' is about as true as that the conciliatory tone of the all-powerful journal towards the Conservative Government was (as Greville states) adopted at the suggestion of Lord de Ros.

'No man,' we are assured in the preface, 'was more disinterested in his judgments on public affairs, for he had long made up his mind that he had nothing to gain or to lose by them.' On the contrary, he had made up his mind that he had a great deal to gain or lose by them; that half, if not the whole, of his income was at stake. He worked with might and main for the party that was least hostile to sinecures; and he came forward in due season to claim at their hands the preservation of his own.

'*June 30th.*—Yesterday I went to the Duke of Wellington and gave him my case to read, requesting him to exert his influence with his Tories, and get them to attend the Committee and defend me there. He read it, approved, and promised to speak to both Peel and Herries. I had previously desired George Dawson to speak to Peel. I might certainly, after the very essential services I rendered Peel and his Government, go with some confidence to Peel or any of them and ask for their aid in my difficulty; but it is not wise to remind men of an obligation; if they do not feel it without being reminded they will not be made to do so by any hint, and an accusation of ingratitude will be implied, which will only excite their resentment; if they are sensible of the obligation they will return it without any reminder.'

The Peelites, especially Mr. Gladstone, Sir James Graham, and Lord Lincoln (the late Duke of Newcastle) bestirred themselves actively on his behalf, rather, we fancy, from personal feeling than from any sense of obligation. He intimates as much when he confesses to 'a kind of whispering sensation that they must be a little shocked at the cause they advocate.' When the Committee divided, he was saved by the narrow majority of ten to nine. Having already spoken of 'the determination of this morose and rigid millionaire to strip me of my property,' he exultingly exclaims:—

'It is really amusing to see the joy with which the news of Baring's defeat has been hailed by *every member of his own family, and all others who have heard of it.* The goodwill of the world (a very inert but rather satisfactory feeling) has been exhibited towards me, and there is mixed up with it in all who are acquainted with the surly reformer who is my adversary a lively pleasure at his being baffled and mortified.'

Considering that Baring (afterwards Lord Northbrook, and not a millionaire) was simply carrying out the principles with the

the full concurrence of the Liberal party, it is surprising that a man of sense should be hurried into such extravagance, still more surprising that an editor, with such conclusive proofs of interested prejudice before his eyes, should assert that, 'in the opinions he (Greville) formed, and on occasions energetically maintained, he cared for nothing but their justice and their truth.' Five out of six of the opinions he formed were warped by his personal feelings: he was impartial in nothing but the distribution of indiscriminating abuse to all parties.

For a knowing man of the world, conversant with the practices of the turf, Greville was unaccountably credulous. Again and again does he accept statements, and draw conclusions from them, without weighing either the internal or external evidence of their truth. We will give another example which should alone suffice to put readers on their guard. He is speaking of the debate on the Ministerial Explanations on February 18th, 1828:

'The great event of the night was Duncombe's speech, which was delivered with perfect self-possession and composure, but in so ridiculous a manner that everybody laughed at him, although they were amused with his impudence and at the style and objects of his attack. However, the next day it was discovered that he had performed a great exploit; he was loudly applauded and congratulated on all sides, and made into the hero of the day. *His fame was infinitely increased on a subsequent night*, when Herries again came before the House and when Tommy fired another shot at him. The newspapers were full of his praises. The Whigs called at his door and eagerly sought his acquaintance. Those who love fun and personality cheered him on with loud applause, and he now fancies himself the greatest man going, and is ready to get up and abuse anybody on the Treasury bench. To me, who knew all the secret strings that moved this puppet, nothing can be more amusing.'

This then, we presume, is one of the revelations of the 'less known causes and details of public events' which we were promised in the Preface. *Ex uno disce omnes.* It is introduced with a grave reflection of a nature to invite attention and command implicit trust.

'The history of Tom Duncombe and his speech is instructive as well as amusing, for it is a curious proof of the facility with which the world may be deceived, and of the prodigious effect which may be produced by the smallest means, if they are aided by some fortuitous circumstances and happily applied. Tommy came to Henry de Ros and told him that his constituents at Hertford were very anxious he should make a speech, but that he did not know what to say, and begged Henry to supply him with the necessary materials. He advised him to strike out something new, *and having received his assurance*

assurance that he should be able to recollect anything that he learned by heart, and that he was not afraid of his courage failing, Henry composed for him the speech which Duncombe delivered. But knowing the slender capacity of his man, he was not satisfied with placing the speech in his hands, but adopted every precaution which his ingenuity suggested to avert the danger of his breaking down.

'He made him learn the speech by heart, and then made him think it over again and put it into language of his own, justly fearing that, if he should forget any of the more polished periods of the original, it would appear sadly botched by his own interpolations. He then instructed him largely as to how and when he was to bring it in, supplying him with various commonplace phrases to be used as connecting links, and by the help of which he might be enabled to fasten upon some of the preceding speeches. I saw Henry de Ros the day before the debate, when he told me what he was doing, and asked me to suggest anything that occurred upon the subject, and at the same time repeated to me the speech with which he had armed his hero. I hinted my apprehensions that he would fail in the delivery, but though he was not without some alarm, he expressed (as it afterwards appeared a well-grounded) confidence in Duncombe's extraordinary nerve and intrepidity.'

The editor states in a note, that 'the incident related in the text appears to have been his (Duncombe's) début in political life. Fresh from a contested election,—no bad school,—Duncombe had spoken in the same tone and manner on the second night of the Session (January 31), and appears to have already acquired that style of speaking which always ensured him a hearing whatever the disposition of the House.* Lord de Ros, with all his cleverness, was unknown as a speaker. We are not aware that he ever opened his mouth in public. Yet, assuming him to have been a practised rhetorician, the grand difficulty remains. To introduce a prepared speech or prepared passages effectively by the adroit use of commonplaces, is an advanced step in oratory, and to succeed twice in rapid succession would indicate a master of the art. To make the pupil first learn by heart the speech he was *not* to deliver, was one of the oddest expedients ever hit upon to prevent him from being embarrassed by the so-called polished

* 'He (Duncombe) was courteous and pleasant in manner, and members like to sit by him in the House for the sake of his remarks on men and things. His voice was originally very fine—rich and full—though he mouthed his words like a dandy of the Regency, a character that cropped up in all he said or did. His careless effective style was evidently the result of great care and pains; and he managed to hit exactly the amount of impudent *sang-froid* which his power justified and the House would bear. He was just the man for saying at the right moment what everybody wished to be said and nobody had the courage to say; and he was clearly a favourite, being generally called for if anyone else rose at the same time.'—*The Times*, Jan. 7, 1868.

periods of the original. And when, the day before the debate, Lord de Ros repeated to Greville 'the speech with which he had armed his hero,' which speech did he repeat?

The effect of the speech is grossly exaggerated; it is not mentioned by the 'Times,' and its tendency is misunderstood. The telling shots were not fired at Herries. They were fired at higher game; at sundry influences behind the Throne, the existence of which Duncombe declared to be matter of notoriety:—

'They are known' (he continued) 'to have been too busy in the underplot of the recent revolution. "I believe their object to be as impure as the means by which their power has been acquired, and I denounce them and their agents as unknown to the British Constitution and derogatory to the honour of the Crown." He trusted that the Duke of Wellington and the Right Hon. Secretary for the Home Department would not allow the finances of this great country to be controlled any longer by a Jew (Rothschild), or the distribution of the patronage of the Crown to be operated upon by the prescriptions of a physician (Knighton). (*Loud laughter.*)'

Greville's recklessness of statement, or *gobemoucherie*, is still more remarkable in his account of the (so called) second speech.

'Duncombe's speech on the second night was got up *precisely in the same manner*, and although it appeared to arise out of the debate and of those which preceded it, the matter had been all crammed into him by his invisible mentor. The amusement to him and to me (especially at the honours that have been thickly poured upon him and the noise which he has made in the world) is indescribably pungent.'

The subject had been dropped till what Greville calls the second night (Feb. 21st), when there was no debate, and no question before the House. Herries having risen to answer a question about the Malt Tax, said that 'while he was on his legs, he might as well take the opportunity of removing one or two erroneous impressions that had gone abroad as to part of a statement he had made on a preceding evening.' This brought up Duncombe, who briefly pointed out the disagreement between the explanation just given by Herries and the preceding one. The two or three sentences spoken by the 'hero of the night' would be incorrectly described as a speech: the ministerial explanations were considered at an end; and no one could have guessed that Herries would reopen them on that or any other night to stultify himself. Now for the philosophical deduction and the moral:

'Thus Duncombe and his speech have made what is called a great sensation, and he has the reputation (no matter whether justly or not) of having thrown the enemy's camp into greater confusion by the boldness of his language than anybody has ever done, because nobody has ever before dared to mention those whom he dragged forward.

To

To the ignorant majority of the world he appears a man of great promise, of boldness, quickness, and decision, and the uproar that is made about him cannot fail to impress others as well as himself with a high notion of his consequence.

'Knighton is gone abroad, I have very little doubt, in consequence of what passed, and as nobody inquires very minutely into the real causes of things where they get apparent ones with ease, it is said and believed at once that Duncombe is the man who has driven him out, and that he has given the first blow to that secret influence which has only been obscurely hinted at before and never openly attacked. *These are great and important matters*, far exceeding any consequences which the authors of the speech anticipated from its delivery at the time. And what are the agents who have produced such an effect? A man of ruined fortune and doubtful character, whose life has been spent on the race-course, at the gaming-table, and in the green-room; of limited capacity, exceedingly ignorant, and without any stock but his impudence to trade on, only speaking to serve an electioneering purpose, and crammed by another man with every thought and every word that he uttered.'

The ignorant majority of the world were right. Duncombe *was* a man of capacity, boldness, quickness, and decision. If his private life was to be held up to reprobation, we have yet to learn that his habits and pursuits differed materially from those of Greville and Lord de Ros. Nor is there anything extraordinary in the production of important effects through the instrumentality of men of ruined fortune. What were Mirabeau and Wilkes? But the Journal teems with proofs that no such effects were produced on this occasion; that Knighton was not driven out; and that the secret influence continued unimpaired.*

An unsafe guide through the mazes of political intrigue and supplying no trustworthy materials for history, Greville cannot

* See vol. ii., pp. 144 and 154, quoted *ante*, p. 10. Knighton had started on one of his numerous foreign missions the day before Duncombe's speech. He returned shortly afterwards, and the attack is mentioned in his *Memoirs* as 'having proved the means of establishing him still more firmly in the estimation of his sovereign and his friends.' The letters to him from George IV. and the rest of the Royal Family printed in the *Memoirs* materially vary the impression which Greville's entries convey. For example, during Knighton's illness:

'Dear Friend,

'For God's sake, for all our sakes, pray, pray take care of yourself, and do not think, upon any account, of stirring until to-morrow morning. It is true, I am jaded and quite worn, and writing from my bed, where I have lain down for a little; but to-morrow will be quite time enough. Little or no advance, I regret to say, has as yet been made amidst, almost perhaps, unravelable perplexities.

'St. James's Palace, 'Yours affectionately,

'Friday, April, 1827.' 'G. R.

There is no alteration of tone at any time, and the letters of William IV. to Knighton do credit to both.—*Memoirs of Sir William Knighton. By Lady Knighton.*

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be accepted as an authority for those episodes in our social annals to which he recalls attention; at all events, the judgments he passes on the actors in them should be carefully collated with the facts.

'*May 17th*, 1835.—These elections and the affair between Alvanley and O'Connell have been the chief objects of attention; all the newspapers are full of details, which I need not put down here. Alvanley seems to have behaved with great spirit and resolution. There was a meeting at De Ros's house of De Ros, Damer, Lord Worcester, and Duncombe to consider what was to be done on the receipt of Morgan O'Connell's letter, and whether Alvanley should fight him or not. Worcester and Duncombe were against fighting, the other two for it. Alvanley at once said that the boldest course was the best, and he would go out.'

There was no such meeting. There was neither occasion nor time for it. The old laws of honour were then in full force, and Morgan O'Connell's letter left no alternative. Besides denouncing Lord Alvanley's conduct as 'braggadocio and ungentlemanlike,' he spoke of him as 'a man whom I sincerely believe to have been appropriately designated by my father,' *i.e.* as a bloated buffoon.

According to Colonel Hodges' printed statement, this letter was delivered to Lord Alvanley at half-past three in the afternoon of May 4th. According to Colonel Damer's, he had just returned from a review at Woolwich at that hour when the letter was placed in his hands by Lord Alvanley. He went at once to the Junior United Service Club to make the requisite arrangements with Colonel Hodges, who proposed the next morning, to which Damer replied that there would be light enough that same evening; and the meeting took place soon after six in a field off the Barnet Road, near the Regent's Park. The ground was measured, the combatants were placed, and the pistols delivered:

'I was proceeding' (writes Damer) 'to instruct the gentlemen concerned, as to the signals that were to be their guide, and I had said, Gentlemen, I shall use the following words, "*Make ready! Fire!*"; when Mr. O'Connell, thinking that I had given the signal, through mistake, discharged his pistol. I then had a short discussion with Colonel Hodges as to the light in which that shot was to be considered, when Lord Alvanley desired me to waive the right I conceived he had to return the fire.'

An exchange of shots then took place without effect. O'Connell did not fire in the air, as he should have done, and Damer then said that the affair should stop; but Hodges insisted on an apology or another exchange of shots, to which Damer

Damer consented, to avoid (he said) all possibility of misapprehension. Having once agreed to regard the first shot as a nullity, he was obviously precluded from reverting to it; and the whole question turns on whether he should have withdrawn his man after the first shot.

'Damer' (writes Greville) 'seems to have been a very bad second, and probably lost his head: he ought not to have consented to the third shot upon any account. Alvanley says he execrated him in his heart when he found he had consented to it. Hodges acted like a ruffian, and had anything happened, he would have been hanged.'

The late Sir Robert Peel defined a good second to be one who would bring you off with flying colours or make you fight. Would Lord Alvanley have been brought off with flying colours had he been withdrawn? On the contrary, he would have been exposed to every sort of taunt and misrepresentation. This was a party duel, a class duel, a duel of defiance, and both he and his second judged rightly that, if it was to be fought at all, the boldest and most uncompromising mode of conducting it was the best.

In the autumn of 1843, Lord Alvanley, Colonel Damer, and an English friend, were breakfasting in the public room of the Hôtel de Flandre, at Brussels, when Lord Alvanley quizzed a Belgian officer so unmercifully, that the 'brave Belge' left the table in a huff. 'That fellow,' said the friend, 'will call you out.' 'And if he does,' was the reply, 'I'll have you for my second; for Damer—and be d—d to him—let Morgan O'Connell have three shots to two.' This possibly is the sort of execration which was uttered to Greville. In the course of the ensuing conversation Lord Alvanley expressed his high satisfaction at the manner in which the affair had been carried through.

'The value of every story depends on its being true. A story is a picture of an individual, or of human nature in general: if it be false, it is a picture of nothing.' This was a favourite axiom of Johnson's, which seems to have had no weight with Greville or Mr. Reeve: Greville seldom, if ever, taking the trouble to verify a story or anecdote, whilst the editorial notes afford little aid in the correction or elucidation of the text.

'Lord Holland told stories of Lord Thurlow, whom he mimicks, they say, exactly. When Lord Mansfield *died*, Thurlow said, "I hesitated a long time between Kenyon and Buller. Kenyon was very intemperate, but Buller was so damned corrupt, and I thought upon the whole that intemperance was a less fault in a judge than corruption, not but what there was a damned deal of corruption in Kenyon's intemperance.'

The vacancy (of the Chief-Justiceship) was created by the *resignation*

resignation of Lord Mansfield, who lived nearly five years afterwards, and the words which Lord Holland must have repeated, if he adopted the authentic version, were these:

'I hesitated long between the corruption of Buller and the intemperance of Kenyon. Not but what there was a damned deal of intemperance in Buller's corruption and a damned deal of corruption in Kenyon's intemperance.'

In reference to the dispute between Sir John Malcolm, Governor of Bombay, and the Judges of the Supreme Court, Mr. Reeve states:

'Lord Ellenborough took Malcolm's part with great eagerness, and said of the Chief Justice, Sir J. D. Grant, that "he would be like a wild elephant between two tame ones." This expression was long remembered as a joke against Lord Ellenborough.'

The joke must be unintelligible to those who do not know that Lord Ellenborough had just been sending out two new Judges when he wrote, 'Sir John Grant will be like a wild elephant *led away* between two tame ones.'

In a note on Sir Robert Adair, Mr. Reeve says: 'It was he whom Canning *once* called Bobadare-a-dool-fowla.' It was he who was ridiculed in a celebrated *jeu d'esprit* of the *Antijacobin*, entitled, 'Translation of a Letter (in Oriental characters) from Bawba-dara-Adul-Phoola (Bob Adair, a dull fool) to Neek-awl-Aretchid-Kooez (Nicholl, a wretched Goose).'

Note on Paul, the first Lord Methuen:—

'Paul Methuen, Esq., M.P. for Wiltshire. It was to him that O'Connell made the memorable, but somewhat profane retort, "Paul, Paul, why persecutest thou me?"'

The House was in Committee, and in a half-sleepy state, when Kearsley, Tory member for Wigan, a coarse humourist, flustered with drink, began a rollicking speech, setting all rules of decorum at defiance. Methuen, who had also the appearance of having dined, rose repeatedly to call him to order, till Kearsley, who was short-sighted, put his glass to his eye, shook his head with mock solemnity, stretched out his arm to its full length, and spoke the words in a hollow sonorous tone. One of the most extraordinary scenes ever witnessed ensued: during several minutes the House was so convulsed with laughter that all serious business was at a standstill; Sir Robert Inglis, shocked by the profanity, being the only member who looked grave. What added to the effect was the contrast. Some one said Kearsley, short and rotund, looked like a retired tallow-chandler, which he turned out to be. Methuen was a fine gentleman of the Regency, with a shade of pomposity. Such a

retort

retort from O'Connell, who, moreover, sat on the same side of the House as Methuen, would have excited a very different feeling from laughter.

Greville (January 12th, 1831) happening to set down that an envoy had been sent here from the Poles, Mr. Reeve appends this note:—

'This Envoy was Count Alexander Walewski, a natural son of the Emperor Napoleon, who afterwards played a considerable part in the affairs of France and of Europe, especially under the Second Empire. During his residence in London in 1831 he married Lady Caroline Montagu, a daughter of the Earl of Sandwich, but she did not live long. *I remember calling upon him in St. James' Place, and seeing cards of invitation for Lady Grey's assemblies stuck in his glass.* The fact is he was wonderfully handsome and agreeable, and soon became popular in London society.'

Would it not have been more to the purpose to state simply that the envoy was Count Walewski, afterwards French Ambassador at the British Court.

Greville having mentioned the 'Cateatonenses,' Mr. Reeve has this note:—

'The "Musæ Cateatonenses," a burlesque narrative of a *supposed* expedition of Mr. George Legge to Cateaton Street in search of a Swiss Chapel. Nothing can be more droll. The only copy I have seen is still at Saltram. This *jeu d'esprit* (which fills a volume) was composed by Canning and his friends, one Easter recess they spent at Ashbourne.'

If this *jeu d'esprit* fills a volume, why is that volume called '*Musæ* Cateatonenses?' Because, in addition to the narrative, it contains from twenty to thirty sets of verses on the expedition, which was undertaken by Lord Boringdon (the first Earl of Morley) and the Hon. and Rev. A. G. Legge, in search of a Swiss preacher; Canning having mystified them by saying that they would find one in Cateaton Street. The expedition was real, although the narrative was supposititious; and the whole point turns on its being joint.

In explanation of Serjeant Spankie's repartee to the elector of Finsbury, Mr. Reeve says:—

'Wakley's house was burnt, and he brought an action against the insurance office, which declined to pay his policy. I forget what was the result of the trial, but that of the evidence was a conviction of his instrumentality.'

The action was tried on the 21st June, 1821, before Lord Tenterden and a special jury, and the result was a verdict for the plaintiff for the full amount claimed, which was paid by the office

office with costs. On the 14th July, 1844, Mr. Wakley made so effective a reply to the imputation in the House of Commons, that the late Sir Robert Peel pronounced a decided opinion of its groundlessness. The charge having been revived in a medical journal, Mr. Wakley brought an action for libel, which (June, 1854) ended in a verdict, by consent, for the plaintiff and an apology.

'*Note.*—Hon. Frederick Byng, formerly of the Foreign Office, universally known *at this time* (1829) as "The Poodle," *probably* because he once kept a fine animal of that breed.'

Universally known to this hour under that name, notoriously because, when tilburys were the fashion, he used to drive one with a poodle seated by his side. A different but erroneous solution has gained currency from a comic French epitaph, in which he is mentioned as '*surnommé Poodle à cause de sa chevelure et sa fidélité.*'

Speculating (June, 1829) on the causes which had kept Lord Palmerston back for twenty years, Greville says:—

'The office he held was one of dull detail, and he never travelled out of it. He probably stood in awe of Canning and others, and was never in the Cabinet; but having lately held higher situations, and having acquired more confidence, he has launched forth, and with astonishing success.'

Lord Palmerston had been in three Cabinets—Canning's, Lord Goderich's, and the Duke's; and retained the same office, the Secretaryship of War, the only office he ever held prior to 1830, under each.

Mr. Reeve gives lists of five Cabinets, or Administrations, as he indiscriminately calls them; and four of his lists are wrong. His list of Canning's omits Lord Palmerston and includes Tierney; of the Duke's (as originally constituted) omits Lord Palmerston; of Lord Grey's (as originally constituted) includes Lord John (Earl) Russell and the late Lord Derby, and omits Lords Holland and Carlisle; of Lord Melbourne's (1834) includes Edward Ellice. We should like to know where Mr. Reeve gets his lists. We are content with the Annual Register.

The strangest of Mr. Reeve's notes is the one relating to Madame du Cayla, which we cannot allow to grow into an authority, since we believe it to be uncharitable and unjust. Greville has told all that required to be told of this lady; her birth, her introduction to Louis XVIII., and the nature of their connection, saying expressly that 'there was no sexual question in the matter, as what the King wanted was merely some one to whom he could tell everything, consult with on occasions, and with

with whom he could bandy literary trifles.'* But this does not satisfy Mr. Reeve, whose note begins:

'Madame du Cayla had been the *soi-disant* mistress of Louis XVIII., or rather the favourite of his declining years. *Il fallait une Esther*, to use her own expression, *à cet Assuérus.*'

If she compared herself to Esther, the purest of the pure, how could she be the *soi-disant* (self-styled) mistress of the King? Mr. Reeve must mean 'so-called.' Then, after recapitulating the biographical details stated by Greville:—

'The King was touched by her grace and beauty, and she became indispensable to his happiness. His happiness was said to consist in inhaling a pinch of snuff from her shoulders, which were remarkably broad and fair.'

We know of no better authority for this bit of prurient gossip than a scandalous caricature. Then come three verses of Béranger, supposed to be addressed to the lady under the name of Octavie. One will suffice:

'Peins-nous ces feux, qu'en secret tu redoutes,
Quand sur ton sein il cuve son nectar,
Ces feux dont s'indignaient les voûtes,
Où plane encore l'aigle du grand César.'

The second line is printed in italics by Mr. Reeve. We have not a notion what it means; but the *feux* of the gouty old epicure could hardly have alarmed the lady or scandalised the arches. The note ends with what is meant for a philosophical reflection:

'It is curious that in 1829, the last mistress of a King of France should have visited London under the reign of the last mistress of a King of England.'

It is not usual, nor in accordance with the *convenances*, to apply this term to ladies who retain their position in society. Madame du Cayla came to England with the Duchesse d'Escars, and was received in all the best houses. It was not (as we have seen) Lady C. alone, but the whole C. family (husband, son, and daughter) that were domesticated in her royal friend's palaces.

To point a story against George IV., Greville calls Lord Bathurst 'stoneblind,' knowing very well that he was only short-sighted. Twice over (uncorrected by Mr. Reeve) he calls Louis Philippe the descendant of Louis XIV.

'*May 29th*, 1829.—The day before yesterday there was a review for the Duke of Orleans; and the Marquis of Anglesey, who was

* Vol. ii. p. 306.

there

there at the head of his regiment, contrived to get a tumble, but was not hurt. Last night at the ball the King said to Lord Anglesey, "Why, Paget, what's this I hear? they say you rolled off your horse at the review yesterday." The Duke as he left the ground was immensely cheered, and the people thronged about his horse and would shake hands with him.'

It was the Duke of Wellington who got the tumble. He was riding at the head of his regiment, the Grenadier Guards, wearing the bearskin cap, which embarrassed him and led to the accident. At the next levée, the King, who was not sorry to have a hit at the Duke, addressed Lord Anglesey loud enough for everyone to hear: 'Anglesey, *you* are not the man to fall off at the head of your regiment.' The incident obtained great notoriety, and was long remembered. When, in 1847, Lord Ponsonby presented his credentials to Ferdinand I. of Austria, the Emperor said to him: '*Vous savez que je suis tombé de cheval, mais la même chose est arrivée à votre fameux Duc de Wellington.*'

The career of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, culminating in the Peerage and the Garter, is one of the most distinguished in the annals of diplomacy; and the refusal of the Russian Court to receive him as resident Ambassador in 1833 was really a compliment to his well-known firmness and sagacity. A similar compliment had been paid to Lord Macartney after a special mission to Russia, during which he was not found so pliable as could have been wished. The Emperor Nicholas distinctly stated that he had no personal objection to Lord Stratford, and the difficulty notoriously originated with Count Nesselrode and Madame de Lieven. This lady was, after all, the principal sufferer from the intrigue, being obliged to leave England whilst the Russian embassy was withdrawn. A story against Lord Stratford, told by her on the authority of a third person and dressed up by Greville, will hardly command implicit assent, and the great Elchee has no recollection of the dramatic colloquy with M. Dedel of which the scene is laid in the ante-room of the Foreign Office. It was a rule with Lord Palmerston, from which he never deviated, to admit visitors in the order of arrival, without regard to rank, and it is not unlikely that this was explained by Lord Stratford to M. Dedel.

We have the authority of another eminent diplomatist for denying what Greville has set down regarding him:

'*September* 23*rd*, 1834.—He (Lord Melbourne) told me, what I did not know before, that the King of Prussia had desired to have Lord Clanwilliam recalled from Berlin.'

Lord Clanwilliam was, and is, under the impression that he was

was in high favour at the Court of Berlin during the entire period of his embassy; and we learn from other sources that he was particularly acceptable to the King.

'*August 27th*, 1830.—At Court the day before yesterday. General Baudrand came and delivered his letter, also a private letter "from the Duke of Orleans to the Duke of Clarence," as the French King called them, *anciens amis*.'

Both the letters (which are extant in the French King's handwriting) are addressed as from King to King.

'*October 25th*, 1830.—I told him (Arbuthnot) to give a notion how meanly Aberdeen was thought of, that Alvanley had told Talleyrand not to notice him, but to go at once to the Duke (of Wellington) when he had any important business to transact, and that he (Arbuthnot) might tell the Duke this, if he pleased, but no one else.'

This is a specimen of Greville's half-knowledge. Lord Alvanley had the folly to tell Talleyrand not to notice Lord Aberdeen; but Talleyrand at once repeated what Lord Alvanley had said to the Duke and Lord Aberdeen, accompanying the communication with some caustic remarks on the bad feeling of Lord Alvanley in trying to lower his Sovereign's Minister for Foreign Affairs in the eyes of a foreign Ambassador, and his curious forgetfulness that Talleyrand was intimately acquainted with Lord Aberdeen. If Lord Aberdeen was thought so meanly of, how did he manage to maintain his ground so long in the Foreign Office? How did he become Prime Minister in 1852?

We now come to a class of story which ought never to appear in print at all: a class in which inaccuracy, combined with publicity, is an offence against truth, justice, good feeling, and propriety. After mentioning a forgery case in which Brougham had got a man off who, in Greville's opinion, would have been hanged had Lord Lyndhurst been Chancellor, he sets down December 12th, 1830:

'This was a curious case, as I have since heard. The man owes his life to the curiosity of a woman of fashion, *and then to another feeling*. Lady Burghersh and Lady Glengall wanted to hear St. John Long's trial (the quack who had *man*-slaughtered Miss Cashir), and they went to the Old Bailey for that purpose. Castlereagh and somebody else who, of course, were not up in time, were to have attended them. They wanted an escort, and the only man in London sure to be out of bed so early was the Master of the Rolls, so they went and carried him off. When they got to the court there was no St. John Long, but they thought they might as well stay and hear whatever was going on. It chanced that a man was tried for an atrocious case of forgery and breach of trust. He was found guilty, and sentence passed; but he was twenty-three and good-looking. Lady Burghersh could not bear h

he should be hanged, and she went to all the late Ministers and the Judges to beg him off. Leach told her it was no use, that nothing could save that man; and accordingly the old Government were obdurate, when out they went. Off she went again and attacked all the new ones, who in better humour, or of softer natures, suffered themselves to be persuaded, and the wretch was saved. *She went herself to Newgate to see him, but I never heard if she had a private interview, and if he was afforded an opportunity of expressing his gratitude with all the fervour that the service she had done him demanded.*

Lady Burghersh is the Dowager Countess of Westmoreland, by birth a Wellesley and niece of the Great Duke, a lady whose intellectual distinction and personal qualities should inspire respect independently of her connections and her age. Yet this is the person who is deemed the fitting object of a coarse insinuation and a ribald sneer. Her own account of the incident (in a letter to a relative) is so complete a model of clear, terse narrative, that we shall give it without the alteration of a word:

'The account in the Greville Memoirs has a foundation in truth, but much distorted. Lady Glengall and I did go to the Old Bailey, intending to hear the trial of the Quack Doctor. Neither Lord Castlereagh nor any one else accompanied us, as far as I remember. Certainly not the Master of the Rolls. We found the trial of the Quack Doctor was put off, and being there, and never having heard a trial, I wished to stay and hear something of what was going on. It was a case of forgery, and the accused, far from being "twenty-three and good-looking," appeared to me a miserable, stupid-looking lad, who seemed half-witted. The penalty at that time was death. I was told that the lad's mother was in court and had fainted.

'I was very intimate at that time with Lord Lyndhurst, and, when I left the court, I drove to his house, and asked if anything could be done to save the life of the wretched boy. He told me he would undertake it if he found it to be possible. I asked him if I might give the *hope* to the poor mother, and he said "Yes," and I did so.'

Lord Lyndhurst was no longer Chancellor; and, at his suggestion, the case was brought to the notice of Lord Melbourne, then Home Secretary, who reduced the sentence of death to transportation for life. A point that weighed strongly with him was that no one had lost or been injured by the forgery. The slightest inquiry would have made clear that this was not the case mentioned by Lord Brougham.

It would be difficult to surpass the last example of misrepre-

 sentation;

sentation; but there are entries which run it hard for ill-nature and discourtesy:

'*August 11th*, 1831.—I went to the play last night at a very shabby little house called the City Theatre—a long way beyond the Post Office—to see Ellen Tree act in a translation of "Une Faute," one of the best pieces of acting I ever saw. This girl will turn out very good if she remains on the stage. She has never been brought forward at Covent Garden, and I heard last night the reason why. Charles Kemble took a great fancy for her (she is excessively pretty), and made her splendid offers of putting her into the best parts, and advancing her in all ways, if she would be propitious to his flame, but which she indignantly refused; so he revenged himself (to his own detriment) by keeping her back, and promoting inferior actresses instead. If ever she acquires fame, which is very probable, for she has as much nature, and feeling, and passion, as ever I saw, this will be a curious anecdote. [She married Charles Kean, lost her good looks, and became a tiresome, second-rate actress.]'

Mrs. Charles Kean lives surrounded by friends, who will be surprised to learn that she ever ceased to be a favourite with the public, or lost more of her good looks than (*eheu fugaces!*) will vanish with youth. Old play-goers will be equally surprised to hear that she was never brought forward at Covent Garden, where she was one of the greatest attractions of the theatre during the seasons of 1829–31,* under Charles Kemble's management. The base of the story falling, the superstructure falls with it, but we give her refutation in her own distinct emphatic language in a letter dated Dec. 16th:

'It is only very recently that I was told of the passage relating to Mr. Kemble and myself, and I feel as indignant as either of his daughters can be. There is not the *shadow* of a foundation for Mr. Greville's calumnious insinuation. The grossness was in Mr. Greville's mind, not in Mr. Kemble's conduct, who ever treated me with the utmost kindness and the utmost *respect*.'

The Covent Garden season had closed when Greville saw her at the City Theatre, then under the management of her brother-in-law, Mr. Chapman. The oldest frequenters of the Green Room of the Garrick have no recollection of this scandal in the most evanescent shape, but the faintest surmise would be enough for Greville to build upon. If he had been present at the con-

* 'In 1829, she transferred her services to Covent Garden, and made her first appearance as Lady Towneley in "The Provoked Husband." For her benefit she played "Romeo" to Miss Fanny Kemble's "Juliet," and her success was so great that the manager (Kemble) entrusted to her the heroine in Miss Kemble's play of "Francis the First."'—*Men of the Time: containing Biographical Notes of Eminent Characters of both Sexes*, 1872.

versations

versations in the 'School for Scandal,' he would have noted down as facts that Miss Letitia Piper had been brought to bed of twins, and that Miss Nicely had pressing reasons for marrying her footman.

There is one of our expectations from this Journal which has not been disappointed. Its popularity is largely owing to the style. The vigour and idiomatic flow of the language give a delusive plausibility to the statements, and a false look of philosophy to the reflexions. It seldom or never occurs to the common run of readers that a man who writes so well, so energetically, with such an air of decision and superiority, can be wrong in fact or inference, can think he is thinking when he is indulging in paradox or commonplace. He thus speculates on happiness:—

'I wonder the inductive process has not been more systematically applied to the solution of this great philosophical problem, *what is happiness*, and *in what it consists*, for the practical purpose of directing the human mind into the right road for reaching this goal of all human wishes. Why are not innumerable instances collected, examined, analysed, and the results expanded, explained, and reasoned upon for the benefit and instruction of mankind?'

He proceeds to announce as a discovery that 'healthy body, healthy appetite, healthy feelings, though accompanied by mediocrity of talent, will outstrip in the race for happiness the splendid irregularities of genius, and the most dazzling successes of ambition.' Who ever doubted that they would? But how is this enviable mediocrity to be reached? How are the higher natures to be brought down or the lower natures to be elevated to it? How are we to make sure of the sound mind in the sound body? His Golden Mean or Happiness Made Easy may pair off with the philosopher's stone or the elixir of youth. His contrivance for attaining 'this goal of all human wishes' is about as feasible as that for catching sparrows by putting salt upon their tails.

He is not more happy when he generalises on gaming and the turf:

'How anyone can play who is not in want of money, I cannot comprehend; surely *his* mind must be strangely framed who requires the stimulus of gambling to heighten his pleasures.'

There is no frame of mind so common, as he had only to look round him to be aware. The majority of the rich and noble friends with whom he played whist and betted were not in want of money, and obviously required the stimulus.

His meditations on moral or intellectual subjects want depth:

his mind, like heated amber, attracted and fixed the feathers and flies that float or flutter on the surface of society: it never penetrated to the undercurrents of thought and feeling which were in silent operation when he wrote. It would be amusing, therefore, were it not irritating, to hear his book hailed from the pulpit as a proof that the generation of which it treats were deficient in high aims and purposes; as if these were wanting to the men who carried the great measures of civil and religious liberty, who voted twenty millions for the abolition of slavery, who reformed the poor law, simplified the administration of justice, humanised the criminal code, and laid the foundation of all that has been done since to diffuse education and improve the condition of the labouring class.*

The rapid changes of mood which occur so frequently in his journal may be traced to his impressibility. He was the slave of impulse. With him the present, the immediate, excluded both the future and the past. He seldom pauses to compare, to inquire, to investigate; but dashes down the impression or conclusion without thinking or caring whether it agrees with what goes before or is to come after it. His fondness for generalisation is another fruitful source of error and inconsistency. He draws a broad conclusion from an insulated speech or action, and within an incredibly short time draws an opposite one from equally insufficient premises. Thus the Duke of Wellington is a very great man and a very little man by turns. It never occurs to Greville that conduct may vary, or intellectual power fluctuate, without any essential change in character or capacity. *Aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus.* If he had found Homer napping, he would have written him down a dull, sleepy, heavy-headed fellow, and have forgotten all about his genius till reminded of it by happening to take up the Iliad or fall in with Mr. Gladstone.

It follows, that Greville shows to most advantage in narrative and description. What can be more vividly sketched than the memorable scene in the House of Commons (May 1832), when the hopes of the waverers and anti-Reformers were scattered to the winds: when Baring hurried to Apsley House and told the Duke that he would face a thousand devils rather than such a House? Or, again, than the banquet in St. George's Hall during the Ascot week of 1831; or the first meeting of the Council on the accession of the Queen? His Italian Tour is

* We allude to the Sermon of the Bishop of Manchester, mentioned in the 'Times' of Dec. 15th. The right reverend prelate most erroneously assumes that Greville's description of the society in which he lived is accurate. Canon *Liddon has* fallen into a similar error.

very

very good, and shows of what he was capable when removed from the arena of party politics and the feverish agitation of the turf. Some of his characters also (looking merely to effect) are admirably drawn; the distinctive traits judiciously selected, and the lights and shades artistically worked in. Take, for example, his Luttrell, his Lady Harrowby, or (best of all) his Byron. What too often mars the workmanship is the fastidiousness, the cynicism, the irresistible tendency to find spots or mingle bitters with the sweets:

'Medio de fonte leporum
Surgit amari aliquid quod in ipsis fontibus angat.'

Where was the necessity for spoiling the touching tribute to Lady Worcester by the remark, that 'her defects may be ascribed to her education, and to the actual state of the society in which she lived;' feeling, as he should have felt, that the surviving members of that society, including those nearest and dearest to her, would regard the observation as a slur? Or why accept without inquiry the statement that she died in the arms of Dr. Hume, when any member of the family would have told him that she died in the arms of her husband, with her mother and two sisters in the room?

'Let blameless Bethell if he will, excel
Ten metropolitans in preaching well.'

'Whom did Pope mean?' asked Boswell after quoting this couplet. 'I don't know, Sir,' replied Johnson, 'but, depend upon it, he meant to vex somebody.' Greville has been suspected of the same charitable intention when, the day after his arrival in town, after taking Panshanger on his way from Newmarket, he writes:

'My journal is getting intolerably stupid, and entirely barren of events. I would take to miscellaneous and private matters if any fell in my way, but what can I make out of such animals as I herd with and such occupations as I am engaged in?'

His first meeting with Macaulay at Holland House is graphically told, and his altered estimate of the brilliant essayist at a subsequent period is one of the few instances in which his change of opinion may be accepted as an indication of the fact. Macaulay was a very different man in 1833, when Sydney Smith called him a 'book in breeches,' from what he had become in 1850, when Greville sets him down as 'a marvellous, an unrivalled (in his way), and a delightful talker.' Brougham is overdrawn; although it was no easy matter to exaggerate either the

the marvellous range and flexibility of his intellectual powers or his eccentricities.

In speaking of style, we make, of course, the Horatian allowance for blots. Greville's vernacular epithets are in exceedingly bad taste, and he has favourite words which he commonly misapplies. The imputation of madness is peculiarly annoying, because it affects the family as well as the individual. But it is a frequent imputation with Greville. Erskine was mad, so was Brougham; so were both the Kings he served under; Wilkie was 'rather mad;' indeed, every one guilty of the slightest oddity or eccentricity is mad; and, tried by this criterion, most of us are mad: *semel insanivimus omnes.*

'Vulgar' and 'vulgarity,' again, are of constant occurrence, when 'common,' 'common-looking,' or 'coarse,' would be more appropriate. Poor William IV. is vulgar as well as mad. Washington Irving is 'rather vulgar' (he was not at all). Thiers is 'a little man, about as tall as Sheil, and as mean and vulgar-looking.' As to Macaulay, 'it was not until he stood up that I was aware of all the vulgarity and ungainliness of his appearance.' In each of these instances the term is misapplied and the observation superficial—

> 'In Conrad's form seems little to admire,
> Though his dark eyebrow shades a glance of fire;
> Yet, on the whole, who paused to look again,
> Saw more than marks the crowd of vulgar men.'

At a dinner duly recorded, 'Lord Holland said that Fox made it a rule never to talk in Johnson's presence, because he knew all his conversations were recorded for publication, and he did not choose to figure in them.' Did it never occur to Greville, or his editor, that other people might feel like Fox? that this practice of journalising, conducted on such principles, may end by becoming the plague, the bane, the curse of society? Fixing and perpetuating current scandals to be mistaken at no distant period for facts, is like condensing noxious vapours instead of allowing them to evaporate into thin air, or bottling and laying by decoctions of laurel leaves without labelling 'Poison' on the flasks. It is not only the great that must be content to live like bees in a glass hive:

> 'All their faults observed,
> *Set in a notebook*, learn'd and conn'd by rote.'

It is not only kings and princes that must refrain from being easy, careless, and communicative in the presence of any member of their suite. No one of any rank or station will be safe. No one,

one, man or woman, can be sure at any distance of time, that some careless expression may not crop up against them, to wound a relative or alienate a friend: that some long-forgotten calumny, some scandal refuted and lived down, may not be suddenly revived when the lapse of time, or the nature of the charge, has rendered disproof impossible. Mr. Reeve states, or means to state, that he has sought to publish nothing which could give pain or annoyance to persons still alive.* In other words, he conceived himself invested with a discretionary power of suppression, and has exercised it with the best intentions. Then how, without admitting to be right what we feel to be wrong, are we to avoid questioning his knowledge of the world, his acquaintance with society, his experience of the ordinary springs of action, of the commonest feelings that influence mankind?

Is it not pain or annoyance to a Sovereign to find such terms as beast, dog, ass, blackguard, buffoon, coward, applied to her uncles and immediate predecessors on the throne? Are the whole Royal Family of England supposed to be wanting in sensibility and self-respect? Can it be otherwise than galling to one nobleman to have an indiscreet conversation brought up against him, or to another to be told that he tamely submitted to an insult for the sake of place? Is it not pain or annoyance to a gentleman to be accused of depreciating an honoured brother, or to a lady to be made to bear witness against a revered father? Is it consistent with any known code of honour or courtesy to insinuate that a woman of rank took a fancy for a convict and sought a private interview with him in his cell? or to print in plain language that a charming actress, after undergoing a sort of persecution for her good looks, lost them and became something like a bore? Will Mr. Reeve make no allowance for natural feelings of any kind? for filial love, brotherly affection, honest pride, or excusable self-love? Does he suppose a new peer likes to be told that he is one of a horribly low set, or a great landed noble, that he would be utterly insignificant without his broad acres? The book fairly bristles with points of annoyance. It is running over with deleterious or dangerous matter; and to hurry edition after edition through the press, without regard to consequences, is to act like the lighterman who steers a loosely-packed cargo of gunpowder and benzoline through a

* 'The only omissions I have thought it right to make are a few passages and expressions relating to persons and occurrences in private life, *in which* I have sought to publish nothing which could give pain or annoyance to persons still alive.'—*Preface.*

populous

populous district, with a fire in his cabin and a lighted pipe between his teeth.

There is another consideration which might well have impressed the necessity of greater caution upon Mr. Reeve. The reputation confided to him, of which at all events he assumed the guardianship, was at stake. To what has it been brought? *Ubi lapsus? Quid feci?* By asserting that he has simply obeyed instructions, he cuts the ground from under us when we try to find excuses for Greville, but he does not strengthen his own position. He was surely free to disobey instructions which affected third parties or compromised his friend. If the living Greville had sent him a libellous, treacherous, or improper letter for publication, would he have published it?

There are people who think it a mitigation that the principal sufferers or complainants belong to the higher class, that monarchy and aristocracy are the main objects of attack. But even monarchy and aristocracy, princes and nobles, are entitled to fair play. Let them be subjected to the fiery ordeal of public discussion (which they have stood and will stand again) by all means. They claim no immunity. 'Bare the mean heart that lurks beneath a star'; but don't defame or libel them: don't distort their conduct or motives: don't set down all the bad you hear about them and suppress all the good; and if they occasionally cry out or turn upon their assailants, don't rail at them like the fishmonger who cursed the eels for not lying still to be skinned.

'A mixture of lies,' says Bacon, 'doth ever add pleasure. Doth any man doubt that if there were taken from men's minds vain opinions, false valuations, imaginations as one would, and the like *vinum dæmonum*, but it would leave the minds of a number of men poor shrunken things.' If this book were subjected to a similar operation—if vain opinions, false valuations, and imaginations as one would—if all the ingredients to which its popularity is mainly owing were taken from it, the result would be much the same: it would be left a poor shrunken thing, a thing of shreds and patches, like Jack's coat (in the 'Tale of a Tub') when the gold lace and embroidery were stripped off. No amount of correction or revision would remove the all-pervading taint of cynicism, or confer the inestimable quality of truth.

We are not aware that we have overstepped by a hair's breadth the strictest limits of literary courtesy in our strong condemnation of this book. We have tacitly assumed that Greville wrote the most objectionable passages without a view to publication, and that Mr. Reeve published them without intending to injure or annoy anybody. What is done cannot be undone.

But

But a grave error has been committed, which must not and (we think) will not be repeated. We venture to prophesy that the remaining portions of the Journal will not see the light in our time—certainly not in the same crude, mischievous, unsatisfactory form. Nor will the world be much the losers should any meditated publication of the same sort be deferred for the next hundred years. If contemporary history cannot be written without the aid of such memoirs, we had rather do without contemporary history —we can wait; for it is our firm conviction that any information or entertainment which may be derived from them is far more than counterbalanced by the annoyance they create, the distrust they inspire, the angry feelings they foster, and the false impressions of character and conduct they diffuse.

ART. II.—1. *Compendium Theologiæ Moralis.* Auctore P. Joanne Petro Gury, S.J. Romæ, ex Typographiâ Polyglottâ S. C. de Propagandâ Fide. 2 vols. 1872.

2. *Casus Conscientiæ.* Auctore P. J. P. Gury, S.J., Theologiæ Moralis Professore. Editio in Germaniâ Prima. Ratisbonæ, 1865.

3. *Compendium Theologiæ Moralis ad usum Theologiæ Candidatorum.* A J. P. Moullet. 2 vols. Prati, 1846.

4. *La Chiesa e lo Stato del P. Matteo Liberatore, D. C. D. G.* Seconda Edizione, corretta ed accresciuta. Napoli, 1872.

WONDERFULLY supple as may seem to be the Mechanism of the Society of Jesus (a sketch of which we gave in our last Number), it constitutes the mere skeleton of a system that derives animation from essences of doctrine too subtle to be compressed within the bounds of palpable provisions. Of such essences there exists but one visible symbol, the mystic letters A.M.D.G. (*ad majorem Dei gloriam*) conspicuously emblazoned as a sacred sign on the frontispiece of every work, structure, or creation, with which the Order acknowledges itself to be identified. Through the motto abbreviated into these four initial letters the Society of Jesus ostentatiously advertises itself as in possession of a superior knowledge in divine things, that can furnish means of specific efficacy for ensuring the upward progress of humanity towards a state of purified existence capable of reflecting the bright imagery of God's enhanced glorification. No other religious corporation has ever put forth kindred pretensions. It will be our endeavour to inquire what particular lights of thought and doctrine mark off this Jesuit illumination from

from that dimmer enlightenment which can suffice (as we gat
from the Society's motto) only for an inferior glorification
God. For the knowledge we are in quest of we shall turn
the writings of Jesuit Fathers fully qualified to be conside
authoritative spokesmen of their Order. It is however well
establish first the degree of guarantee implied by the Socie
official *imprimatur* affixed to a book by a Jesuit writer; i
in his rejoinder to Pascal, Father Daniel pleaded that it co
not fasten on the Order any responsibility for the opinions
forth in such publication. This plea is wholly untenable.
the 'Constitutions' it is written that 'no differences of opin
are admissible, whether in conversation or public discourse
written books, which last it is not allowable to publish with
approval and consent of the General, who, however, may con
their examination to three men endowed with sound doctrine
eminent judgment.'* Again, the faculties of these Examir
are absolutely limited to inquiry into writings transmitted
the General, and to the draughting of an opinion, on which '
General can take such decision as may to him seem suitat
The Father Revisors have merely consultative powers; they ne
can sanction publication; they are not even allowed to receiv
book for review from any one but the General; in every insta
the sanction for publication expressed by the word *imprim*
must emanate directly from the General himself at his abso
discretion.†

It would be a labour of supererogation to show what has b
proved over and over again, that certain Jesuit Fathers in for
days did broach gravely questionable opinions. No inte
could attach to a repetition of work done so admirably for
times by Pascal. But interest may attach to the demonstrat
that the spirit of casuistry, riddled by his pungent invective,
flourishes with unimpaired vigour, and that the same maxi
which it might have been deemed that the shafts of Pascal's p
cing wit must have banished for ever, are being inculcated at
present day in every Roman Catholic school, college, and se
nary where Jesuit doctrine prevails, and this comprises
vast majority. The works on which we shall rely for evide
cannot be open to challenge. No modern treatise can sho
more formidable array of guarantees than Father Gury's 'C

* Const. iii. cap. i. Inst. S. J., vol. i. p. 372.

† See 'Regulæ quæ a Patribus Revisoribus in recognoscendis nostrorum L
observandæ sunt,' 1650. Reg. v., 'Absolutis cujusque libri consultationibus
ejus libri approbationem, tam censuras, Patri Nostro subscriptas exhibebu
de his statuat quod convenire videbitur.' Reg. x., 'Nullum librum scriptur
quoquam recognoscendum accipient præterquam a P. Generali aut ejus no
a P. Secretario.'

pend

pendium of Moral Theology.' It has been appointed, in Roman Catholic seminaries in all lands, as the standard Manual of Moral Theology. It has been printed in every country, and translated into every tongue. The Roman edition of 1866 is called the seventeenth, but we do not feel sure whether this reckoning comprises other than Italian issues. The one we quote from was issued in 1872 from the presses of the 'Propaganda' at Rome—the highest possible voucher for the entire approval of every line and every word in the book by the supreme representatives of the Roman Catholic Church. The volume on 'Cases of Conscience,' by the same author, is a commentary in practical elucidation of the larger work. The 'Compendium,' by Moullet, first appeared in 1834, at Freiburg, in Switzerland; and was particularly recommended by the Bishop of Lausanne 'to the whole clergy of the diocese,' on the special ground that the author's conclusions were eminently distinguished for their happy mean between 'rigorism and laxity.' The edition before us, printed at Prato in 1846, again enjoys the episcopal endorsement of its contents, while Gury brings the cumulative weight of his recognition to the value of Moullet, by referring to him as a decisive authority for the soundness of a particular opinion.

Advocate and antagonist will alike admit that the system of lax opinion popularly charged against Jesuit divines rests on three cardinal propositions—of Probabilism, of Mental Reservation, and Justification of Means by the End. We shall begin by examining whether those who now address us as approved organs of the doctrine of the Order have at all abandoned, as to these three heads, the sentiments which caused so great scandal when propounded by former Jesuit celebrities. 'Je vois bien que vous ne savez pas ce que c'est que la doctrine des opinions probables; c'est le fondement et l' A. B. C. de toute notre morale,' says Pascal's imaginary Jesuit in the 'Provinciales;' a statement amply corroborated by Father Gury. The first section in his ponderous volumes is devoted to an analysis of human actions and of their constituent motives. In the chapter on Lust we come across this axiom: 'Temptation when greatly protracted need not be *positively* withstood continuously, inasmuch as that would be over-irksome and render one liable to innumerable scruples.'* We then have definitions of conscience in various conditions, and of the moral facts from which it would be justified in deriving elements for its guidance and satisfaction. Prominently amongst such moral facts is ranked the *opinio probabilis*, which is explained to be 'any judgment resting on some really

* Gury, vol. i. p. 15, Resol. 6.

grave

grave motive, even though combined with dread of the opposite.'* This means that notwithstanding an irrepressible inward impression that truth is really in opposition to a given *opinio probabilis*, yet any opinion in behalf whereof can be adduced what is technically termed a 'grave motive,' may be safely accepted as full warrant for taking action in its sense. It is of such essential importance to grasp thoroughly the import, as expounded by the Father himself, of this doctrine which is the corner-stone in his system, that we must request the reader's attention to some illustration on the matter. We have had probable opinion declared to be an adequate justification for conscience to act upon it: but we have not yet learned what are the tests for an opinion to be judged probable. Father Gury is explicit on this head. If a person be of 'learning and uprightness,' then for any opinion he may entertain to become 'assuredly probable' for his own guidance, it suffices that he 'should be conscious of having thought it out diligently' and persuaded himself to his own satisfaction of its correctness;† for the general public one single author 'of exceptional superiority' is capable of rendering probable any opinion he may express, 'even though his teaching be contrary to what is commonly held';‡ while in the case of a person 'unversed in letters' it is enough that he can point to a particular opinion as having fallen from any one whom 'he himself deems to be possessed of learning and insight,' for his confident acceptance of such opinion as a rule of action.§ As in the immediately subsequent line the efficacy of probable opinion is declared 'to ensure its rendering the dictate of conscience practically confident,' that is, to remove it beyond the reach of all disturbing scruples,‖ it is evident how far-reaching must be a doctrine which makes it justifiable to act on the authority of opinions, notwithstanding irrepressible inward misgivings as to their correctness, on the mere ground that they are found in type in some book, which for some reason is affirmed to be the production of a man of learning, or that they have been uttered by a person affirming that he has clearly argued himself into their truth. But this is not all we are taught in reference to probable opinions. Father Gury affirms,

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* Gury, vol. i. p. 36, Cap. 4. De Conse. Prob.

† Id., vol. i. p. 38, Conclusio 4. ‡ Id., Concl. 7.

§ Id., vol. i. p. 39, Concl. 8.

‖ Id., p. 39. Filliucius says this: 'Dico licitum esse sequi opinionem probabiliorem, relictâ minus probabili, etiamsi sit magis tuta . . . . licitum esse sequi opinionem minus probabilem, etiamsi minus tuta sit.'—Quæst. Morales, Lugduni, 1633, tom. ii. p. 12. And Moya, 'Quamvis opinio sit falsa, potest quilibet tutâ conscientiâ illam practicè sequi propter auctoritatem docentis.'—Opuscula, p. 27.

in

in a special proposition, that the fact of *extrinsic* probability, which consists in the merely clerical circumstance of a particular opinion being within the literal sense of terms employed by a particular writer of reputed authority, of itself gives to that construction all the value of probability;* and this even though, by another ruling of the Father, the justificatory range of probable opinions reaches to points of divine as well as of positive legislation.† Accordingly we are instructed that it is no part of the duty of a spiritual adviser to disturb peace of mind derived from opinions the probability whereof is to him gravely doubtful. 'Is it lawful or incumbent on a Confessor,' asks the Father, 'to absolve a penitent bent on following an opinion, probable indeed, but contrary to the judgment he himself holds?' And his reply is in the affirmative, on the ground 'that the penitent has the right to follow any opinion truly and wholly probable, while the Confessor has no right to impose his own opinion even though it be more probable. For a Confessor is *no judge of the opinions his penitent should follow*, but is only a judge of his disposition.'‡ Do we not here become instinctively conscious of being in presence of those *adoucissements*, which were so scornfully lashed by Pascal?

The foregoing propositions are so many applications of the principle of dispensation, and the latitude involved therein acquires a range absolutely unlimited, when brought into correlation with the supreme depositary of sacerdotal essence. The query 'whether the Pope can dispense from God's precepts' is thus solved: 'He can dispense therefrom for a just cause in cases where divine law comes into action through human will, as in vows and oaths. In other cases the point is one of controversy, whether he is empowered *actually to dispense for some very grave causes or only to declare God's law suspended for the time.*' 'But,' adds Gury, not a little significantly, 'in *practice* the *difference* is of *small consequence.*'§ Without, however, bringing into play the supreme agency of

* Gury, vol. i. p. 53. Amongst the authorities cited in support of this proposition is a decision of the Congregation of the Holy Penitentiary that the material fact of an opinion being in St. Liguori's writings is ample warrant for its adoption without any need to weigh his reasons.

† Ib., vol. i. p. 52, Quær. 78. 'An licitum sit, uti probabilitate, non tantum in materia juris positivi sed etiam juris divini et naturalis?'

‡ Id., vol. i. p. 52. This ruling is repeated, vol. ii. p. 360: 'An possit absolvi pœnitens qui vult sequi opinionem sententiæ Confessoris oppositam? Resp. Affirm. si sit vere probabilis.'

§ Id., vol. i. p. 77. It should be noticed that in the section on Laws and their binding force, every Papal utterance or Brief, even though not inserted in the Corpus Juris, is declared to be possessed of the full force of law (see p. 89), a statement which would cover the *oracula vivæ vocis.*

Pontifical

Pontifical plenitude, many concrete cases are given by Fath Gury, in which a notable departure from the received accept tion of the law is justified, and some of these cover precise the points in the history of the Order that have caused muc controversy. Thus we are told that it is certainly not unlawfi to adopt the symbols and vestments of pagans if only the are considered by the wearers in the character of prevalei national customs, and therefore not necessarily *per se* referab to a particular worship.* But even 'if they should be th vestments and symbols of religion,' Father Gury sees a wa to justify their adoption by Christians; they might be lawfull worn if only 'the vestments were not exclusively distinctiv between sect and sect, for then their primary use would b to cover the body, and only their secondary use to distinguish th sect'—a ruling that very appositely meets in part the cas of the Chinese rites. The Jesuit missionaries were, howeve accused besides of having materially modified articles c Christian doctrine to suit the Chinese intellect, so as eve to have excised such points as the Incarnation and Cruc fixion. If they did so, they did only what Father Gury di: tinctly affirms to be quite legitimate. The query is gravel mooted, whether '*explicit* belief in the Mysteries of the Hol Trinity and the Incarnation be indispensable in a Christian, to which Father Gury replies, that opinions are divided o this head; but, says he, 'the one which is the more probabl is in the negative, for the reason, that a merely *implicit* beli sufficed before Christ, and therefore should also suffice after hi coming.'

He then considers whether 'absolution can be obtained b one who ignores the Mysteries of the Trinity and the Incai nation;' and, again, after some circumlocution, his conclusio is, 'that according to the more probable opinion, he can b *validly* absolved if only he be living in invincible ignorance.' Here we have met with a term of first-rate importance i the system of our Jesuit divines, but also of singular elas ticity, the bearing of which it is essential to grasp. Let an indi vidual be surrounded by preachers straight from heaven, speakin with tongues of divine persuasion, and yet, according to th definitions given of what constitutes invincible ignorance, h might, with impunity, withhold acquiescence, alleging moral in

* See Gury, vol. i. p. 124.

† Gury, vol. i. p. 125. 'An requiratur fides explicita mysterii SS. Trinitatis c Incarnationis de necessitate medii?'

‡ Gury at least puts his proposition as admitting of some controversy. Moya language is even more positive: 'Fides explicita de Mysteriis Incarnationis e Trinitatis non est medium necessarium ad salutem.'—'Opusculum,' p. 36.

abilit

ability to comprehend what was spoken, while in fact he was obdurately bent on not expressing assent, from the design to establish a plea for the indulgence of a selfish purpose. Invincible ignorance should be a natural malformation of the intellect (except in cases where physical means of knowledge are absent), which prevents a fact being recognised and a truth being felt, just as insanity in the eyes of the law exempts an individual from its consequences, as incapacitated for discriminating between right and wrong. There is, however, this capital distinction between the methods by which the relative pleas are established, that, whereas legal tribunals apply objective tests to confirm the existence of insanity, it is enough that invincible ignorance should be persistently alleged by a party for it to be admitted, with all its consequent exemptions. The scope of a rule can be found only within the terms in which it is laid down; and our contention is, that in the definitions and exemplifications given by Father Gury in regard to invincible ignorance, no term can be found which would render it necessary, before the validity of this plea is admitted, that there should be aught adduced in its support besides the obdurately persistent insistance of the party interested in not acquiescing in a particular proposition, or in not admitting a particular fact. No language can be more precise than Gury's as to the degree of relief from obligations ensured by invincible ignorance. 'Invincible ignorance,' says he, 'wholly removes all voluntary element, for nothing can possibly be voluntary where there is no cognition. . . . according to the axiom, Nothing can be willed unless it be previously contemplated. Therefore, *no deed proceeding from invincible ignorance can ever be made the ground for accusation against the doer.*'*

The case of the Jesuit missionaries in China, judged by these grave sentences, would therefore stand thus:—For Christians to adopt Pagan customs, when to omit doing so might be attended with some inconvenience, is quite legitimate; only they must say to themselves inwardly that they mean merely to conform to a local practice, irrespective of its intimate relation to heathen observances. Again, it is not at all essential for a Christian to believe explicitly in the Trinity or the Incarnation; should, therefore, missionaries boast of numerous converts, none of whom have been indoctrinated in these dogmatic points, there would be no ground for charging the missionaries with laxness, as they would only have omitted to teach what was not essential, or for denying to these neophytes the character of thorough Christians, their

* Gury, vol. i. p. 13.

ignorance

ignorance on these points of established secondary importance being plainly invincible; consequently in all they did in China the Jesuit Fathers must be held wholly beyond reproach.*

Let us now see what we can learn in reference to Mental Reservations, the second capital count in the popular indictment against Jesuit principles. 'Une chose des plus embarrassantes qui s'y trouve,' exclaims our Jesuit of the 'Provinciales', 'est d'éviter le mensonge et surtout quand on voudrait faire accroire une chose fausse. C'est à quoi sert admirablement notre doctrine des *équivoques.* Mais savez-vous bien comment il faut faire quand on ne trouve point de mots équivoques?' 'Non, mon père.' 'Je m'en doutais bien,' dit-il; 'cela est nouveau; c'est la doctrine des *Réservations Mentales.*' Father Gury carefully points out that Mental Reservations are of two kinds, the *strictly* and the *latently* mental. The first are absolutely unlawful, as involving the use of terms from which the hearer never could infer the concealed sense of the speaker. But 'for grave reasons' it is 'lawful at times to make use of *latent* reservations, as also of equivocal terms,' it being quite essential, however, that the terms be such 'as may make it possible for the listener to understand a matter as it really is, and not as it may sound.'† In other words, it is a condition *sine quâ non* for this device to pass muster, that it should be carefully constructed out of terms into which a double meaning can possibly be imported. Consistently with this ruling, we learn that no oath need be binding, on which it can be alleged that a sense of pressure conduced at the time to its having been sworn. Coercion may very fairly be taken as an extenuating circumstance for departure from an engagement; but it is startling to find it enunciated as a principle in the standard Handbook for the instruction of Roman Catholic youths in Moral Obligations, that an oath may be repudiated with perfect impunity, if only the person who has sworn pleads to having been at the time influenced in his mind by some apprehension of possibly injurious consequences, unless he did so swear.

It is well to follow out Gury's doctrine as to the force of solemnly contracted promises. In the section about Contracts

* Gury reverts to this matter in the 'Casus Conscientiæ' (p. 60). 'Can a missionary,' he asks, 'for purposes of concealment assume the dress of ministers of a false religion so that he may seem one of them?' which is answered in the affirmative, the same qualifying grounds of distinction as above being adduced 'for dresses primarily serve for covering the body, and are not merely declaratory signs of some sect.' This ruling meets the case of the Jesuit who in Sweden occupied a chair of Protestant divinity.

† Gury, vol. i. p. 280. 'Quomodo præcisè distinguatur restrictio latè mentalis a restrictione strictè mentali?'

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we find this query: 'If a donation has been promised on oath, but has not yet been delivered, is it still binding?' which is answered negatively,* on the ground that, as the deed is incomplete, it is void in substance, and consequently no oath in reference thereto can be held to have binding force. Father Gury—and he is in accord with the divines of his Order—has, however, more to say in limitation of the obligations following on oaths. He lays it down, that according to more probable opinion no oath is binding 'if made with the intention indeed of swearing, but not of binding,'† though he admits that to go deliberately through the semblance of an oath without any intention to keep it does involve 'a venial sin amounting to a lie, with a taking in vain of God's name.' To remove all doubt as to what is implied, this explanation is given: 'The binding force of an oath has to be interpreted according to the tacit conditions either included or implied (*subintellectas*) therein; which are: 1st, if I could have done so without grave injury; 2nd, if matters had not notably changed; 3rd, if the rights and will of the superior were not contrary; 4th, if the other had kept his faith; 5th, if the other does not waive his right.' Whatever may be said for several of these relieving conditions, the first virtually puts it within every one's power to repudiate his oath whenever he sees fit to allege that its observance would be accompanied by what he himself thinks to be serious discomfort; for here again, no qualification limits the faculty of the interested party to impart, of his own mere will, a justification to the action that may suggest itself as pleasant for adoption.

The prohibitions against spiritual advisers interfering to make so-called penitents entertain a rigid sense of duty are elaborately explicit. Though he might have grounds to entertain 'doubts as to the sincerity of the penitent,' ‡ the Confessor is yet simply to accept his statements. Even in the case of 'having certain knowledge that a sin has been kept back or denied,' the Confessor is not to extract its admission unless in a roundabout manner, but he shall grant absolution because the penitent must be believed, whether speaking for or against himself; and 'if he really did commit the sin in question, it may be presumed he has forgotten it, or confessed it to another, or has some great cause for keeping it secret, or that the informers were deceived.'§ What room for equivocation is afforded by this ruling the following exemplification will show. 'Anna having been guilty of adultery,

* Gury, vol. i. p. 483.

† Gury, vol. i. p. 200, 'Non valet probabilius juramentum factum cum animo quidem jurandi sed non se obligandi, nec vice versa.'

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 355. § Ibid. vol. ii. p. 355.

and being interrogated by her husband, who has formed a suspicion, answers, the first time, that she has not violated wedlock; the second time, having in the interval obtained absolution, she replies, *I am guiltless of such crime.* The third time, she absolutely denies the adultery, and says, *I have not committed it* meaning within herself such particular adultery as I am bound to reveal, or, I have not committed an act of adultery that has to be revealed to you. Is Anna to be blamed?'* Gury's reply, too long to give here, justifies each answer of the adulterous woman supporting his ruling by a grave array of Jesuit authorities amongst which figure Suarez and St. Liguori.

In illustration of the equivocation that has been practised by the Order in its corporate capacity, the facts connected with the purported condemnation by its General of the doctrines of Tyrannicide, and the Supremacy of the Pope over Princes maintained by Suarez in his treatise, '*Defensio Fidei Catholicæ*, are of interest. The first edition appeared at Coimbra in 1613 and in September, 1614, Paul V. conveyed to Suarez, in a Brief, his Pontifical approbation of its contents. Despite this august sanction, the treatise excited controversy, and in 1618 it was even condemned by the Parliament of Paris to be burnt by the public hangman. Thereupon the Jesuits came forward with a Brief alleged to have been issued by their General Acquaviva as early as August, 1614—that is, a month before the Pope's congratulatory Epistle — prohibiting all public discussion by members of the Order on the two points that had given rise to the objectionable propositions. This Brief has been reprinted in the Institutes† and reads there as a general instruction to all Provincials not to tolerate within their jurisdictions any disquisition as to the Pope's Supremacy or Tyrannicide, without special authority from Rome. But Juvencus, in his History, printed with official approval a century later in Rome, informs us incidentally that this Brief never was a general instruction, but was addressed to France alone, having been written solely to allay the unpleasant controversy there awakened by Suarez's propositions.‡ This statement at once deprives the document of the character sought to be given it by Jesuit apologists. There is

* See Gury, 'Casus Conscientiæ,' Restrictio Mentalis, p. 129.

† Inst. S. J., vol. ii. p. 5. 'Præceptum Provincialibus circa editionem Librorum.'

‡ 'Abunde jam provisum fuerat a Præp. Gen. Societatis ne tractarentur a nostris scriptoribus hujus generis argumenta . . . Exstabat editum ante annos quatuor, super eâ re decretum, quod *in Hispaniam tamen et in Lusitaniam non perlatum erat, quia nulla ibi lis ejusmodi movebatur, atque decretum Acquavivæ a Patribus Gallis fuerat procuratum, sic ad eos proprie putabatur.*'—Juv., p. 88, lib xii. Romæ, 1710.

however

however, something more to be observed. By this document most certainly all publications on the said topics are professedly prohibited for the future, without special permission from Rome. Suarez's volume has been re-issued,—in 1619 at Cologne, in 1655 at Mayence—without a trace of such special permission, and without disapproval from the General. Had the special sanction then been given clandestinely? If it had not, why did the Order never reprove the new issues? It is certain that at no time has the Order levelled a word of public censure against Suarez. On the contrary, he is proclaimed as a light of the first magnitude in the firmament of doctrine by Father Gury, in his most recent editions:—'Inter Theologos post D. Thomam eminens, a Paulo V. et Bened. XIV. *doctor eximius* nuncupatus, et apud omnes ingenio, *doctrinâ*, et *sapientiâ* admodum commendatus.' We shall have occasion to advert to certain propositions of quite modern date as to the Pope's Supremacy over Princes; and then it may possibly be deemed that the principles embodied in the objectionable doctrines, on account of which Suarez's treatise was publicly burnt, are to be found at the present day in the approved writings of the great organs of Jesuit learning and doctrine.

In our former article we dwelt on some matters which apparently countenance the allegation, that clandestine affiliation is a thing not absolutely repudiated by the Society. It is not without relevancy to this point, and specially to Mental Reservation, that clandestine conversions to, and protracted clandestine professions of, the Roman Catholic faith, are declared quite permissible practices under certain circumstances. At page 60 of the 'Casus Conscientiæ,' we read the following interesting case:—'Paternus, a Protestant clergyman and in extreme peril of death, having come to believe the Catholic religion to be alone true, has requested a priest to be called in, but that he should come dressed as a layman, to avert all suspicion of the convert's being about to abjure heresy. To this priest Paternus opens his mind, attaching however two conditions; that in the event of his succumbing to the illness, he be allowed to die concealing the Catholic faith and the baptism he had received; and that, in the event of recovery, he be allowed to postpone his public profession until such time as this could be done free from any injury to his estate. To both conditions the priest assents readily.' The question is, Was the priest justified in doing so? and Gury's argumentation is eminently typical of the spirit pervading all Jesuit doctrine—which finds expression in the apparently emphatic affirmation of a rigid principle, coupled with the immediate introduction of terms which practically make the observance of the affirmed prin-

ciple a matter of option at the dictate of expediency. With ste
rigorism our Father begins by declaring it hardly conceivab
how the first condition could be conceded, 'for Paternus w
bound before death to profess the true faith and recant t
errors he had taught, otherwise as one not properly dispos
he could not be admitted to the grace of baptism. Besid
every true believer is bound to profess his faith, no matt
what injury may confront him, whenever the glory of Gc
and the salvation of his neighbours demand this, and in t
given circumstances, the glory of God and the salvation of h
neighbours did alike demand a public profession from Paternus
tending towards the extirpation of the errors he had been teaching
At this point our moralist breaks abruptly away from this pr
lude of rigorism, couching the remainder of his utterances in
very different tone. 'Should however,' are his words, 'despi
every possible effort, Paternus prove incapable of being pe
suaded [to waive his conditions], as a last resource, he migl
be induced to attest before more witnesses than one that he pr
fessed and wished to die in the Catholic religion, or he migl
at all events affirm that he had entrusted some secret of gre
moment to the priest, to be declared after his death. In th
manner he might satisfy his obligations. *A fortiori* this tran
action would be feasible, should Paternus be not a clergyma
but a simple heretic. But,' adds the cautious Gury, 'it woul
be prudent in the priest not at once to manifest the entire obl
gation, but first to declare only the lighter portion, so that thi
having been accepted the penitent might be led on to th
greater.' There remains, however, the condition as to postpon
ment of a public declaration, in the event of recovery, unt
such time when the convert may consider himself secured again
all risk to his worldly interests; and to this conditio
Gury distinctly asserts there can be no objection, provided
fairly serious motive can be adduced, 'for it is lawful t
dissemble the true faith for a while in consideration of *seve
inconvenience* that might accrue from public profession.' Th
only limitation on this indulgence, which Gury considers prope
is that a clergyman, after clandestine profession of the Catholi
faith, should evade the direct performance of any sacerdotal offic
connected with the service of his secretly disowned Churc
With this single exception, we are unable to gather from Gur
(and he cites in concurrence two great luminaries of Jesui
doctrine, Elbel and Tamburini), that there can be any materi
obstacle, if some motive of expediency recommended the pr
ceeding, against a convert being admitted to embrace the Roma
Catholic faith in strict secrecy, and being afterwards allowed f

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an unlimited period to go about the world, carefully concealing from its sight the fact of his profession. It is true that the grant of indulgence seems limited to cases where specially serious consequences would be entailed on immediate public profession. But to any one familiar with Gury's terms this qualifying limitation reduces itself to nothing, as it is dependent on no other standard than the stubborn insistance of the neophyte himself to exact the concession, and the appreciation of the priest as to which is worth more to the Church—the proffered accession of a particular neophyte on his own terms, or the stern enforcement of a rigid principle.

We now come to the third great count in the indictment against the teaching of the Jesuits, that they have affirmed the maxim of means being justified in virtue of the end to which they are applied. No charge has more powerfully tended to raise popular prejudice against the Jesuit Fathers. The champions of the Order have indignantly denied that this maxim has been broached. They challenge the quotations in support of this allegation, as marked with misprision or prompted by a spirit of misconstruction. It is essential in a review of Jesuit doctrine, however summary, to arrive at an understanding in reference to this point. We believe it to be demonstrable that the maxim has been broached clearly and definitely, by an unbroken chain of Jesuit divines of first-rank standing, from Busenbaum down to Gury and Liberatore.

In substantiation of this statement we submit a series of quotations from writers whose authority cannot be disowned by the Order. The first is from Busenbaum (who may be called the Patriarch of the Maxim), whose 'Medulla' has gone through more than fifty editions, and, by its reprint not many years ago in Rome at the press of the 'Propaganda'* can claim the continued and solemn approval of the supreme authority of the Church. 'Cum finis est licitus, etiam media sunt licita,' are his words, and again, 'Cui licitus est finis, etiam licent media' (pp. 320 and 504, ed. Francoforti, 1653). Amongst Jesuit luminaries of first magnitude ranks Layman, of whom Gury says, 'Inter maximos theologiæ moralis doctores sine dubio referendus.' In his 'Theologia Moralis' (Munich, 1625) we meet with the same proposition in almost the identical formula, 'Cui con-

* The plea that no responsibility is implied by permitting such reprint is confuted by the course adopted in another case. Emmanuel Sá, having given expression in his 'Aphorismi Confessariorum' to some opinions which in Rome were deemed objectionable, these had to be expunged in subsequent editions. Why has this not been done, at all events, in the recent editions of Busenbaum, issued as they are from the Propaganda press, if any portion of his doctrine had been taken exception to in Rome?

cessus

cessus est finis, concessa etiam sunt media ad finem ordinata In 1762 the Jesuit Wagemann, Professor of Morals at the Un versity of Innspruck, published a Synopsis of Moral Theolog duly authenticated by official approbation, in which occu this passage: 'Is the intention of a good end rendered vicio by the choice of bad means? Not if the end itself be intende irrespective of the means,' a proposition which he thus exemplifie 'Caius is minded to bestow alms, without at the time takir thought as to the means; subsequently, from avarice he elects give it out of the proceeds of theft, which to that end he cons quently commits;' and so Caius would be entitled to the meri of charity though he has aggravated the offence of violence l the motive of avarice. Wagemann is not a doctor who deals obscure words, for he says: 'Finis determinat probitatem actû a definition of singularly neat precision.

Our next extract is taken from the widely disseminate treatise on 'Moral Theology' by Father Voit. He puts the fo lowing case:—'Arcadius kills Caius in some city where the la inflicts capital punishment on a murderer. Arcadius is deliver up and condemned to death, but he escapes, forcibly breakir out of prison, though foreseeing that he may render his gaole liable to grievous injury. The question is whether Arcadius, l escaping after sentence had been pronounced, has done wron My answer is in the negative. . . . Has Arcadius then do wrong by rupturing his chains and forcibly breaking out prison? . . . He has done no wrong, *cui enim licet finis, et media permissa sunt.*'* The estimation in which Voit held would be sufficiently evidenced by the fact of the editi we quote from being the twelfth; but we have heard of thr other editions of modern date—one printed at Rome in 183 another at Ancona in 1841, and the last at Würzburg 1860. Indeed, the soundness of his language has received crowning illustration in the circumstance that his formula a his exemplification have been adopted almost textually by t two most signally honoured modern luminaries of Jesuit teac ing—Fathers Liberatore and Gury. In an essay, original inserted in what has been proclaimed by Pius IX. the speci organ of true doctrine, the 'Civiltà Cattolica,' Father Liberato after an elaborate argument in support of the indefeasible title the Church to press into her service the agency of physical mear thinks to strengthen his position by the maxim 'that fro the obligation to attain an end arises the right to procure t

* 'Theologiæ Moralis a P. E. Voit, ed. duodecima, accurate emendata et et studio Domini M. Gauthier.' Parisiis, 1843, vol. i. p. 99.

mea

means needful and useful for obtaining the same.'* Finally amongst Gury's hypothetical problems is one as to the justification for an individual guilty of a gross theft first to deny his guilt, and then, after condemnation, to escape from prison by violent means, such as perforating walls and breaking open doors. By common consent it is declared, that before condemnation a guilty party is certainly entitled to escape, while, though there is controversy as to whether this is lawful after sentence, Gury adduces the opinion of 'several' who hold it to be always lawful to break away from very stringent imprisonment, '*carcerem durissimum*,' on the ground 'that it would be an act of heroism to undergo very severe punishment when it was possible to escape easily.'

But be this as it may, of one thing Gury speaks with confidence;—'In all cases where it is not unlawful for a guilty individual to escape, he does no wrong in breaking open doors and perforating a wall, *quia ubi licitus est finis, etiam licita sunt media per se indifferentia.*'† No doubt there appears here to be introduced a qualification through the introduction of the last term; but if the reader will have a little patience, it will be seen that the limitation involved in this term shrinks into infinitesimal proportions. Unless we grievously misunderstand Father Gury, his test for the *indifference* of an act resides exclusively in the question, whether or not it must necessarily be wicked under all conceivable circumstances. For instance, an act of adultery could never be indifferent, though an act of stabbing can be so considered, inasmuch as the operation of plunging a knife into a living human body need not be, under all conditions, hurtful, but might possibly be beneficial, as in a case of surgery. This will become clearer when we come to what Father Gury says as to evil intentions not rendering wicked an indifferent act. Here we confine ourselves to the opinion—and we assure those who challenge our view that we have arrived at it not lightly—that, according to Father Gury's definitions, the words 'per se indifferentia' cannot be held to limit in any effective degree the licence involved in the other terms of the proposition. We submit, therefore, that the quotations given establish that the maxim of the end justifying means has been broached by a successive chain of eminent and approved Jesuit divines, and that the approbation of the said maxim has been continued to our day, as evidenced by the repeated recent issue, with authoritative sanction, of the works by former writers containing the

* 'La Chiesa e lo Stato,' 2nda Edizione, p. 185.
† Gury, 'Casus Conscientiæ,' p. 332.

doctrine

doctrine in question, and the reiteration of the same by Fathers Liberatore and Gury.

Having satisfied ourselves as to the views held by those best entitled to represent the actual teaching of the Society in regard to these three main principles—Probabilism, Mental Reservation, and Justification of Means by the End—we proceed to some consideration of their attested application, as far as this can be gathered from positive rulings by the same high authorities. This inquiry falls aptly into two divisions, corresponding to the two groups into which cases arrange themselves naturally: one comprising the dealings between Man and Man which arise out of the relations of individual life, the other comprising points that touch the relations between Man as a Citizen and the Community as a State. We commence with the first category.

Amongst not a few Christians it has become an accredited notion that Charity is a virtue of capital merit; but if we accept Father Gury's ruling, we can hardly avoid looking upon it as a trivial, if not a downright silly practice. In the section devoted to a definition of what is demanded by 'Love of one's neighbour'* we find the following canon:—'First Rule —Every one is bound *simply* and *absolutely* to love himself more than his neighbour, for the reason that every one stands nearer to himself than does any one else. Hence, love of oneself is by Christ laid down as the standard for love of a neighbour—*Love thy neighbour as thyself.* This, besides, is clear from the natural and insuperable disposition to love oneself more than one's neighbour; whence the common maxim—*Charity, well understood, begins at home.*' In Montaigne or La Rochefoucauld such a sentence would have sounded not out of character, but in an approved 'Handbook of Morals,' it falls on us with a rather startling ring. Yet the terms are perfectly normal according to Jesuit theology. If we refer to Moullet we meet with these words: 'In the order of *effective* charity, it is our duty to love ourselves more than a neighbour.'†

To clear away all ambiguity, Father Gury explains that acts of charity are incumbent only on those who 'are tolerably well off, and either the absolute lords or administrators of their properties;'‡ and that in cases of 'ordinary necessity,'

* 'De Amore Proximi,' Gury, vol. i. p. 1319.

† Moullet, 'Comp. Theol. Mor.,' De Charitate erga Proximum, vol. i. p. 244. This is a maxim of old standing. Maldonatus ('Summula,' Coloniæ, 1605) already says, 'Quod attinet ad affectum, nemo tenetur præcepto tanto affectu alios diligere, quanto se.'

‡ 'Quinam debeant, aut possint eleemosynam facere? Illi soli generatim qui sat commode vivunt, et sunt veri domini vel bonorum suorum administratores.' Gury, vol. i. p. 145.

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the obligations of charity cannot involve more than certain assistance 'out of superfluities, to the extent of some privation of pleasures.'* Even in cases of 'extreme necessity .... no one is bound to lay out any large sum of money for relieving a poor man from peril of death.'† Only in cases of the gravest necessity does a call exist for some contribution 'out of the strict necessaries for the donor's station,' which are enumerated as comprising not merely 'what is needful for the education of the family, but also the maintenance of servants, the reception of guests, the cost of fitting presents, and of customary entertainments.'‡ It seems to us that in virtue of this definition of 'necessaries,' any one disinclined to charity might escape its calls on the plea of impecuniosity, while this had been artfully incurred by deliberately wasteful expenditure on lavish feastings, with the express view of securing a plea, which must be held valid by a Jesuit confessor, for shirking an irksome obligation. For Father Gury lays it down distinctly, that no evil intention can render wicked any deed which in itself must not by nature be necessarily evil §—a proposition illustrated by various remarkable exemplifications. A judge is declared free from blame who may have condemned a murderer to death, though he was actuated in pronouncing the sentence by personal hatred, because the sentence was within his legal attributes. The same rule is held to apply to a landowner, who, with the deliberate intention of injuring his neighbour, diverts a stream into a particular channel, if only he can allege that in its old course it had caused some annoyance to himself, for he would be merely availing himself of a faculty within his strict right.

Father Gury does not shrink from extending justifications under this head even to acts designed with the view of compassing death. 'An individual sets poison or a snare in a locality where his enemy, though very rarely, passes, with the express intention that he might perish if he should chance

* On the same page (vol. i. p. 144) we have some curious calculations as to the proportion, not of gross income but of what remains over outgoings—of loose pocket-money—that need be bestowed in alms to fulfil all ordinary obligations of charity. According to the opinion best entitled to acceptance, one-fiftieth is said to be ample, and even this proportion need not be so expended where the superfluous sum is very large. Some doctors, indeed, he adds, as, for instance, Concina, characterised as 'sententiarum rigidarum fautor' (vol. ii. p. 631), are disposed to claim for the poor a twentieth, and even possibly a tenth.

† 'In necessitate gravi vel extremâ .... nemo tamen tenetur magnam pecuniæ summam erogare ad pauperem a periculo mortis liberandum.'—Gury, vol. i. p. 144.

‡ See various definitions, Gury, vol. i. p. 144.

§ 'Ad injuriam non sufficit mala intentio.' Gury, vol. i. p. 405. See also p. 366.

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to come by. A physician applies the degree of attention he is bound strictly by his calling to exercise, but out of hatred is resolved to apply none beyond, in order that the patient's death might ensue.' Gury asks whether these men should be held guilty of having wrongfully caused death, if this actually came about from circumstances prepared with so much deliberation. His answer is distinct, that according to the *more accredited* opinion they should be held exempt from guilt, 'because, on the one hand the external act is not unjust, inasmuch as, in human dealings, the mere possibility of another man's injury has not to be taken into account, and on the other hand an internal act is not rendered unjust in virtue of intention, for intention has influence neither for the efficacy of a cause, nor for peril of injury. Consequently the result must be said to have happened by mere accident, and on this an evil intention does not change the nature.'* We venture to affirm that no one who has thoroughly drunk in the essence of Father Gury's teaching—and it cannot be too often repeated that his teaching is now systematically administered in most Roman Catholic seminaries—need ever be disturbed in his conscience as to any moral liabilities being consequent on intentions however wicked, if these have only been artfully connected with agencies of which, by some ingenuity, it could be plausibly pleaded that in some conceivable contingencies they might prove possibly harmless.

It must be admitted that Gury is elaborately precise when dealing with points of conscience that arise out of transactions which, to unsophisticated minds, seem acts of fraud or theft. It may perhaps cause surprise to hear it gravely questioned, in a Handbook of Moral Duties, whether 'you are bound to make any reparation for the harm that has befallen another in consequence of your unjust deed, as for instance, if the theft were imputed to him of that which you yourself had stolen.' Father Gury will not even admit the possible probability of this notion, and he gives three grounds, respectively *probable*, more *probable*, and *certain*, against such obligation, 'even though you should have expressly striven to get your own action imputed to him;' the basis of his argumentation being laid in a casuistic distinction between what is accidental and what is inherent, and in the assumed inefficacy of evil intention to render evil any action of which the possible indifference can be pleaded.† Astounding in

* See for all this Gury, vol. i. pp. 366–7.

† Gury, vol. i. p. 404, Resp. 2 and 3 ad Quæst. 13. 'An tenearis reparare damnum alicui obveniens occasione injustæ tuæ actionis, v. gr. si furatus fuerit et furtum ipsi imputetur. . . . Imo probabiliter etiam negandum est, *licet* ‹ *industriâ egeris*, ut actio tua ipsi imputetur, quia semper hæc actio est tantum cau

ing as this may sound, the following exemplification of what roguery may perpetrate, with every security against disturbance of conscience, will probably seem yet stranger. 'Quirinus, with the intention to steal a piece of cloth, breaks into a shop at night and lights a candle, taking due precaution to guard against the danger of fire; but, by some sudden chance, for instance the leap of a cat, the candle is pitched into the straw; quickly the whole shop is in flames, and the thief taking flight only just gets off safe. What about Quirinus? Why *he is liable for nothing*, inasmuch as he never contemplated the danger. He is certainly not liable for the cloth it was his intention to steal, even though he had laid his hand on it, for its destruction also is involuntary; neither is the seizing of the cloth the cause of the injury, nor did the carrying of the candle create the immediate peril of conflagration, sufficient care having been employed.'* The necessary conclusion from this exemplification is, that should some one have broken into a dwelling, with deliberate intentions of burglary, and should he have become the direct agent of an occurrence which but for his unlawful presence at that very time never could have happened, involving intensely aggravated injury to the already wronged owner of the invaded dwelling, nevertheless this burglarious individual would be entitled to dismiss from his conscience all idea of his being under obligations of reparation (provided he himself has also lost the goods on which he had laid burglarious hands)—as regards the consumed dwelling, because his instrumentality had been unpremeditated,—as regards the purloined articles, because they had subsequently slipped out of his hold.

The whole theory which is propounded by our Jesuit divine, in regard to the laws that should regulate distinctions between Mine and Thine, departs so widely from what are generally held to be fundamental principles, that we must say a few more words on a matter so intimately affecting the capital relations of society. Although we were told that not even the direst distress could establish a call to make any such disbursement in charitable relief as would encroach on our comforts, we learn that not merely a sense of pinching necessity but the bare apprehension of its imminence would entitle an individual to help himself out of his neighbour's property. Here again we encounter that capital feature which, like a red thread, runs through the whole system of Jesuit doctrine, providing the unfailing sanction for laxness in the appli-

causa damni *per accidens* et non *per se*; non enim in illud ex naturâ suâ efficaciter influxit. Prava enim intentio non efficit ut injustum sit illud opus, quod ex se respectu tertii injustum non est.'

* See Second Case. Gury, vol. i. p. 406.

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cation of principles—namely, the unlimited discretion accorde to the individual in assertion of justificatory pleas. Just as fc the probability of opinions and the invincibility of ignoranc so also the determining test for the plea authorising an invasio of other people's property rests wholly on the *ipse dixit* of th party interested in exemption from established law; for wh can verify the existence of an inward apprehension as t necessity being *imminent?* All that is wanted in the eyes c Gury is, that a person should vehemently affirm his having bee prompted by some inscrutable dread of threatened distres Of necessity itself, however, a definition is given. It is c three degrees: 'ordinary, in which pauper mendicants as a ru find themselves;' 'grave, in which life is kept up with gre labour;' and 'extreme, in which life itself is in risk.' An ind vidual in this last plight is pronounced to be entitled 'to mal use of as much of another person's property as may suffice f relieving himself from the said necessity, on the ground th *division of goods, however it may have been made, never can derogc from the natural right appertaining to every one to provide for hi self, when suffering from extreme necessity. In such circumstanc all things therefore become common, so that any one receiving anoth person's property for his own succour receives a truly common thi which he converts into his own, just as if this were happening before t division of goods. Consequently, he commits no theft.'* The alleg tion often heard in Germany that the strength of the Cor munistic movement lies there amidst a population prone priestly influences, will hardly lose in weight when we fi propositions enunciated by such high ecclesiastical authorit that embody maxims of the rankest Communism.

Even this does not exhaust the pleas advanced by Gury in jus fication of proceedings which unskilled Christians would consid acts of reprehensible violence. 'All that has been said about c *treme* necessity,' says Gury, 'is also applicable to *quasi* extre or very grave necessity, such being deemed to have occurred wh there is *probable* peril of incurring death, or of losing an i portant limb, or of lasting imprisonment, or of *undergoing* t *penalty of the hulks* (*pœnam triremium*), or very serious or e during illness.' † Let it be noted that in the schedule of jus ficatory circumstances, no qualifying term makes the applicati in reference to the hulks dependent on the justice or injustice the sentence. In foreign countries condemnation to the hulks technically termed the *Bagnes*—has been freely awarded to th considered dangerous revolutionists. We need only call to mi

* For all this see Gury, vol. i. pp. 374–5. † Gury, Resol. iv. p. 375.

the Neapolitan Liberals of 1848—Poerio and his comrades, who for so many years had to drag the galley slaves' chains. Again, recently, we have seen deported first to the *Bagnes* on the French coast, and then to penal settlements, large convoys of so-called Communard prisoners as men too dangerous for society to tolerate. We should like to have it from the lips of a skilled Jesuit Father, how he would have borne himself in the following case. We assume our Father to have been Almoner in the prison of Poerio or of Rochefort, and that it had come to his knowledge that either was planning evasion, and cunningly contriving to procure through robbery the means for seducing the gaolers, so as to effect his escape from that convict condition which is affirmed by Father Gury to constitute the kind of necessity which justifies recourse to such practices. Would the Father Almoner have spoken words of encouragement to the plotting prisoners as engaged on a meritorious enterprise, or would he have informed the governor of the intended evasion, and if so, on what ground would he have justified that proceeding in the face of maxims confirmed by the highest authorities of the Church, through the sanction accorded to Gury's book? Father Gury himself candidly admits that what is lawful to the principal is lawful to an accomplice, so that a friend breaking into a bank, to procure the money for facilitating the escape of a confederate out of the *Bagne*, would be simply 'showing that he loved his neighbour as himself.' * Lest the reader should fancy that these rather startling propositions flow from a train of thought peculiar to Gury, we subjoin a passage on the same subject from that other eminent Jesuit teacher, Father Moullet: 'Whoever, in extreme necessity, takes another person's property for the needful sustenance of his own life or that of his belongings, does not commit theft. For in that condition, *all things become common*, especially as *to enjoyment*.' †

Those familiar with the 'Provincial Letters' will remember the story of Jean d'Albe, serving-man in the Jesuit College, who, having robbed his masters, pleaded that he had only acted on the doctrine he had heard them broach, as, under the conviction that he had been made to work in excess of what he was paid for, he had simply helped himself to what he was persuaded to be his due. This story, which reads like a squib of Pascal's invention, would be strictly in harmony with Gury's doctrine. 'Can servants,' is his query, 'who are of opinion that their wages are inferior to the work done by them, make use of *clandestine* compensation?'—*occulta compensatio*, which is defined as consist-

* Gury, vol. i. p. 375. † Moullet. Comp. pars 1, p. 274.

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ing 'in the recovery of what is due by invasion of another person property.'* The Father replies that speaking generally, such proceeding cannot be approved; but, he adds quickly, 'I say *speaking generally*, for there are not a few exceptions,' which h enumerates; amongst these being the case of servants who hav contracted for inadequate wages, under physical constraint c moral fear or the strain of necessity, or who are conscious of bein overweighted with labour; all such being declared entitled t help themselves to what they deem their rightful due, for, say the Divine law, 'the labourer is worthy of his hire.'

With perfect consistency, the lawfulness of this operation extended to all cases in which any wrong charge has been mad Should a judge, by error of judgment, sentence a man to pay ment of moneys never received or already paid, the suffering part would be justified, says Gury, in recouping himself by an exercis of *clandestine compensation*, though we are puzzled to understan against whom in particular the letter of licence is to hold goo if no moneys had been received.† Is there to be a right c general raid on society? It is, however, right to note how ou Jesuit is at pains to impress that appropriations of other people property are not tolerated to an indefinite extent. Fathe Gury admits the difficulty in fixing a figure, which could b a hard-and-fast point to mark off in all cases grave from trivia thefts, but he gives the best sliding-scale he has been able t calculate, according to the rank in fortune of the parties mulcte for distinguishing between the two degrees of offence, and th figures range from one to twelve francs.‡ In connection wit this tabular estimate, there arises, however, a very nice ques tion: how far can a person consummating thefts, that amoun in the aggregate to what is 'grave,' still permanently enjo the privileges of merely 'venial' offence, by guardedly apportion ing the heavy total into successive pilferings, each kept withi the limit of triviality? If practised on the same party, Fathe Gury is clear that these acts must roll up into 'gravity;' an he is disposed to think this might also happen though severa persons were victimised, unless an adequate interval be allowe to elapse between each act of pilfering. What period must elaps for a protection against this inconvenient aggregation of pecca dilloes, has been matter of not little controversy, but Gury con siders *two* months amply sufficient, 'even though the matte might verge on something grave.'§

The Father's thoughtfulness in devising exculpatory plea

* 'Recuperatio debiti per rei alienæ invasionem.' Gury, vol. i. p. 376.
† See Gury, vol. i. p. 378. Quæst. 4. This opinion is given as *general*.
‡ Gury, vol. i. p. 369. 'De Naturâ Furti.' § Gury, vol. i. p. 371.

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for thieves extends even to unnatural complications. He discusses the case of a son who has robbed his father of eight francs at one time, and then of ten francs on successive occasions, pronouncing him not guilty of a grave offence, because as regards the first theft, 'according to general opinion, a grave matter for the son of a well-to-do family should amount to at least ten francs'; and as regards the second, 'because if about ten francs are needed, though the money be taken at one time, the value of fifteen francs will be necessary in thefts that are in driblets.' Gury also puts the case of a woman, with a son by her first marriage, for whose benefit she robs the second husband (on whom this son can have no claim), and this proceeding Gury is prepared to justify, if only the wife be moderate in her abstractions, and will profess an inward disposition at some future time to make them good. It follows * that 'he who has caused grave injury through various deliberately perpetrated venial offences,' is held free from all obligation to make good that injury 'in the total,' if he has been only shrewd enough to scatter the injury over various victims; or, in the case of its perpetration on one, if he has been careful to leave the proper interval between the stages of the operation,† while an incendiary who has burned down a stranger's house, in the mistaken belief that it belonged to one he hated, is free from obligation of compensation 'because such action was unintentional towards the sufferer.'‡ Can it then create surprise to hear it emphatically affirmed, that everyone is justified in helping himself to what he considers his rights, rather than have recourse to legal procedure, whenever this might be attended with difficulties, or the prospect of scandal, or even merely heavy cost?§ Such maxims must gravely modify the best established rules of life. An insolvent, who secretes any portion of his assets, is, by civil law, guilty of fraud. Father Gury holds it distinctly lawful for an insolvent to guard himself from 'great poverty'—manifestly something short of '*extreme* necessity'—by clandestine abstraction of such an amount of property as he may deem needful for his maintenance, the fact of such 'great poverty' being, as usual, determined by the insolvent himself.‖ The same process of abstraction is held justifiable in the case of one satisfied

* See Gury, 'Casus Conscientiæ,' 'De Furtis Filiorum et De Furtis Uxorum' (the particular case is headed '*Uxor Provida*'), pp. 172–3.

† Gury, vol. i. p. 402. ‡ Gury, Idem.

§ Gury, vol. i. p. 378. 'An graviter, et contra justitiam peccet qui se compensat, quin prius ad judicem recurrere possit? Nullo modo peccat, si valde difficilis sit recursus ad judicem, ob scandali periculum, sumptus extraordinarios, etc.; quia tunc recursus est moraliter impossibilis.'

‖ Gury, vol. i. p. 471. 'De Obligatione Contractûs.'

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in his own mind of a legacy having been mentally intend for him, but which has not been bequeathed in a due leg conveyance.

Informal deathbed gifts—*donatio manualis ab ægroto fa* —are also declared strictly valid, as are likewise 'testamenta deeds in favour of pious bequests, though defective in leg form,' while absolute power is allowed to the Pope to alter discretion the special application of such last wishes.* Inde it would appear that every priest is empowered to divert discretion the application of a pious legacy. Gury puts t case of an individual who bequeathed a sum for endowi with a wedding portion some orphan girl to be designat by the parish priest. The latter sees fit to select a girl who not an orphan, no ground except his pleasure being assign for this manifest departure from an explicit condition, a yet the priest is summarily declared liable to no blan Elsewhere Gury, in concurrence with St. Liguori, pronoun 'a donation affirmed by oath, but not executed, to have binding force.'† It will be observed here that the repudiati is general, so that it would appear to be inculcated that, where a sacred obligation of fulfilment does attach to any verbal i struction, however informal, perhaps whispered unintelligibly in the single ear of an interested party by a dying person only h conscious, whenever a so-called pious foundation is the object be benefited, yet no obligation is held to attach to the fulfilme of informal donations for other objects, even though the inte tion to make them had been affirmed by a solemn oath.‡ Ma unfounded stories have been afloat as to priestly pressure ex cised on dying persons to extract bequests in favour of t Church. Nothing can be better calculated to confirm popul prejudice on this head than to find such propositions sustain as sacrosanct maxims by the most accredited organs of Chur doctrine. In France a system of clandestine trusts and fic tious bequeathals has notoriously contrived to counteract t action of the law for preventing the growth of corporate p perties. This practice is explicitly sanctioned by Gury, with the least attempt at reserve, in the following proposition: 'A

* See for all this, Gury, vol. i. pp. 486, 494, and 496, The reason alleged the first line as decisive of the validity of informal pious bequests is that, bein matter touching the Church, it is wholly beyond the pale of the civil pow 'Piæ causæ ad Ecclesiam pertinent, ejusque subjacent jurisdictioni, porro Eccl *libera et immunis est a potestate civili in omnibus quæ jurisdictioni suæ dir subsunt,'* p. 485.

† Gury, vol. i. p. 483.

‡ 'An valeant in foro conscientiæ testamenta *ad causas profanas* formis leg bus destituta? . . . 2da Sententia docet ex lege positivâ prorsus irritari.'—Gu vol. i. p. 485.

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clandestine trusts for pious causes valid, *in foro conscientiæ*, when made in the guise of *simulated donation* or of *fictitious testament*, or of legacy to some individual?'* Can there be a more open approval of a contrivance deliberately devised for driving a hole through a statute?

Beyond doubt the teachings of Gury's school furnish ready justification for transactions which, by the light of ordinary insight, would be instinctively pronounced immoral. As an instance, let the following conclusion serve: 'If you threaten an individual caught in the act of theft, that you will hand him over to the injured owner or the jailor or the judge, unless he promises you a particular sum, *the promise holds good, and you are not bound to return the received sum*, unless, perchance, in the opinion of a man of judgment (*viri prudentis*) it should seem excessive. This holds true, even though *you never meant to hand over* but merely to *frighten the individual, because you would be waiving spontaneously the power to do something which can be taxed in money value.*'† Here we have an approval, in one breath, of hush-money and of its extortion under false pretences. Bribery is near akin to extortion, and Father Gury quite naively admits himself at a loss to know why so natural a proceeding should be stigmatised. 'Can a price be lawfully accepted for a matter of duty, not indeed on the score of justice, but of some other virtue; for instance, if you were to take money for observing your fast in Lent?' and the conclusion is, that the money can be rightfully taken, 'it being considered as a strictly gratuitous gift, bestowed out of sheer generosity.'‡ Accordingly, it is quite lawful to accept money for the performance of a prescribed duty, only the person receiving such reward must plead that the prospect thereof was not his direct motive for acting up to his duty. It would be unfair, however, to conceal that the lawfulness of such acceptances is nicely limited to cases in which the service rewarded is of a kind 'that can be priced in money.' For instance, any one would be bound to make restitution 'who exacted money for showing the road to a passer-by, *if this could be done without trouble or loss of time*, as he would be bound to this act of love, and such action could not be taxed.' It is well to note the qualification smuggled in by the words put by us in italics, for it ensures the plea for payments otherwise disallowed.

We are told also, it is by no means decided that a judge is bound never to accept money gifts from a party to a suit before him. If the gift were proffered with the view of influencing a prospective judgment, contrary to justice, the judge should, indeed,

* Gury, vol. i. p. 498. † Idem, vol. i. p. 468. ‡ Gury, vol. i. p. 451.

sternly refuse acceptance; 'but, the sentence having been alre pronounced, it is matter of controversy' whether he may retain what might then seem a mere offering of gratitude fr one benefited by the delivered sentence, *even when this had b contrary to justice.** Decisions of this character subvert fun mental notions as to right and wrong. Let us take the c of a person knowing all about a theft, and accepting hu money from the guilty party. According to received ideas, compact would be criminal. Father Gury, however, decides th provided the person bribed be not *ex officio* bound to give formation, the bargain would be quite lawful, 'as without justice he might keep silence about the thief, in deference his entreaties . . . therefore, *e pari*, without injustice, silen might be observed in deference to gifts given or promised The problems raised by such maxims strike at the wh order of our ideas. Some are of a nature that will not be discussion here, and we can but glance at one important su ject in a note.‡

Two grounds are distinctly recognised as valid pleas excuse from restitution, 'Physical disability . . . and *Mo inability*, or serious difficulty in making restitution; that if restitution be inseparable from grave inconvenience to t debtor, for instance, that through making restitution he shou be notably reduced in his fairly acquired station or fall in serious need . . . for then there is a real impossibility to ma restitution, *inasmuch as in morals that is termed impossible*, whi is *very hard*, and which cannot be done properly and *beco ingly*. Thus *if a nobleman cannot make restitution, without d priving himself of servants, horses, arms*, or a *leading citizen witho embracing a mechanical art to which he is unused*, or *an artis without selling the tools he lives by or encountering severe loss, th restitution may be postponed and obligations discharged by degrees.*

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* Idem, vol. ii. p. 8. De Obligationibus Judicum. † Gury, vol. i. p. 418

‡ A 'contractus turpis' being an immoral bargain (as for murder or prostit tion), Gury is distinct that viewed prospectively it never can be justified. It by its essence null, and any benefit received in consideration of future executi must be returned. But how about a benefit received after execution? Will be impossible to retain it? Here comes in the side plea already dwelt upc Besides the capital subject matter, other matters may be collaterally involved the execution of the bargain, as labour, risk, &c., which being in themselv legitimate, are assessable in money, so that after execution a gratuity can accepted if taken as in remuneration of these secondary elements. A woman m not take money for her honour, but for risk or personal inconvenience, or loss position, 'An semper restituenda sit res ex turpi contractu accepta? Ante po tionem operis turpis, affirm. Post operis positionem acriter controv. . . . Quia lic actio turpis, quasi illicita, nullo pretio digna sit, *pretium tamen quatenus laborio ignominiosa, periculosa agenti, vel utilis alteri, meretur.*'—Gury, vol. i. pp. 455–6

§ Idem, vol. i. p. 431. De Causis a Restitutione Excusantibus.

It is unnecessary to dwell on the undisguised laxness of a definition, which makes moral inability synonymous with a sensation of inconvenience, and excuses a man of rank and wealth from the discharge of admitted obligations every time he can allege that such discharge might cramp his means for providing an ample supply of 'servants and horses.'

The administration of justice demands integrity, not merely in judges, but also in witnesses. Let us see how our Jesuit Divines fashion their teaching on this head. The first point laid down is, that no obligation to make reparation can attach to any one who has given false witness from invincible ignorance, inadvertence, or delusion, a proposition which, though not wholly free from objections, we will not canvass. But Father Gury proceeds to consider the case of one who, with the view of supplying deeds that have been lost, and of promoting the success of indisputable right, (the indisputableness of such right being left to the subjective test of individual appreciation), either reproduces, that is, forges, or tampers with a writing, a chirograph, or a deed of acknowledgement; and he concludes that, though a person acting thus 'would, indeed, sin venially on the score of a lie, the document produced not being the authentic one, on the strength of which judgment should rest; and though he might possibly incur a grave sin against charity toward himself by exposing his person to imminent peril of very severe penalties in the likely event of detection; nevertheless, he would be wholly free from all sin against mutual justice, and would consequently stand absolved from all obligations to make restitution.'*

An illustration, suggested by a memorable case not likely to fade from the memory of the living generation, will bring out better than much argument the consequences which might follow, if this ruling were to hold good. Amongst the numerous witnesses who spoke confidently to the identification of the Claimant as Roger Tichborne, it is undeniable that many spoke in unimpeachable good faith. It is well known that in the tangled web of the evidence in this suit a sealed document, which had been deposited by the genuine Tichborne with a particular person, constituted a capital incident. Let us now assume that in the belief of Roger's death the paper had been destroyed, but that the depositary was amongst those who had persuaded themselves as to the Claimant being the true man. In this state of mind he blames himself as having imperilled, by premature destruction of the document, a claim the justice of which has become to him a matter of firm belief. That he is a witness testifying under invincible ignorance is

* Gury, vol. ii. p. 21. De Obligationibus Testium.

beyond dispute, for his faith in the Claimant is the result o thorough delusion. What would be more natural than that, wit so earnest a conviction as to the justice of the cause advocate he should be overcome with remorse at the injury he believe himself to have wrought, and a burning desire to do whatev may be in his power to make it good? And now let us furth assume that this depositary had sat at the feet of Father Gur that he had penetrated himself with his teaching, and that at th conjuncture of severe mental trouble there flashed back on hi the recollection of this particular ruling. He then exclaims himself, Here is a man striving to assert 'undoubted right,' in t chain of whose evidence one link is alone wanting, and that li is wanting solely in consequence of my own unwarrantable has ness; I know the goodness of the case; I am deeply sensible my obligation to promote 'undoubted right'; and most happ my memory recals the exact tenour of the rashly destroy document; for I have it under the hand of that superlative mas in morals, Father Gury, that in such circumstances, to rep duce a document, and palm off a suppositious copy on t judge, is no sin of gravity, but at most an act of fibbing of exposing myself lightly to the inconvenient penalties of t law; therefore I will reproduce the document, and thereby the one thing needful to ensure the triumph of struggling a 'undoubted right.' On what ground, we ask, could any Jes divine hold that such an act under these circumstances wo not be exempt from all serious blame? Critics of authority ha brought charges of apocryphal compositions and tamperings w texts against scholars either themselves Jesuit Fathers or un the influence of Jesuit training, and the evidence, already slight in support of such charges, cannot but gain in fo when we find the most accredited spokesman of the Order p pounding maxims that deliberately countenance recourse to fab cation and forgery.*

* Lest it should be thought we are too hard on Father Gury, we submit anothe his rulings. A will written in the testator's own hand, so that no outside wit to its contents can be forthcoming, has been made in exclusive favour of Adr who is aware of the fact. Immediately after the testator's death there occu this mishap. As the joyous heir was feasting his eyes on the document ensur his possession of fortune over the heads of the natural heirs, an untoward gus wind swept it into the fire, and the precious deed was burnt. 'Adrian was the point of going into sheer despair, when a wonderful idea struck his mind. and behold, he imitates perfectly the writing and signature of the testator, a thus puts things back exactly as they were.' The question is whether Adri did wrong, and how far he might be bound in justice to make any reparati to the natural heirs who would have come into possession but for his havi palmed off his own handiwork as the testator's deed. Gury holds Adrian guil of nothing more serious than a lie, and even this is not so positive, but that has been gravely disputed. The same uncertainty, in the opinion of divine attach

It is not possible in a review of Jesuit doctrine to avoid touching on the delicate chapter of its maxims in reference to relations between the sexes. The specimens of distorted speculation already given will afford an idea of how unfit for reproduction in this periodical must be the problems which the imagination of these doctors conjures up in regard to this slippery topic. A few examples, carefully picked, we must however give. In the matter of plighted troth we learn from Gury, 'that he who has sworn it to a girl rich and healthy . . . is not bound by his oath should she happen to have become poor or fallen into bad health.'* Again we are informed that a probable opinion, countenanced by St. Liguori, would allow an engagement to be broken off if a 'fat inheritance'† should accrue, seriously modifying the status as to fortune of either party, and the case is thus illustrated:—'Edmund had betrothed himself to Helen, a girl of the same station and fortune as his own. As he was on the very point of celebrating his wedding, he acquired a fat inheritance from a deceased uncle. Wherefore he repudiates Helen, that he may marry another with a fortune to match. *It seems that Edmund should not be disturbed for this.*'‡ Jilting is no unfrequent practice, but it is striking to find it justified in a Handbook of Morals, whenever 'faith could be kept only by the surrender of a big advantage which would be tantamount to great loss.'

Will it surprise the reader, that a string of rulings can be adduced in support of the opinion, that seduction under express promise of marriage need not involve a moral obligation to observe this promise? Father Gury puts the problem plainly: 'Is the ravisher bound to wed the girl he has ravished under promise of marriage?' and after stating an opinion affirmative of such obligation, except in 'that practically most frequent case where it might be feared marriage would lead to bad consequences,' he developes another opinion 'having the intrinsic signs of adequate probability' in denial of any such absolute obligation.§ Father Moullet is no less explicit on this head. 'Whoever has seduced a maiden or a widow, under promise of marriage, ought to wed her, *speaking per se*, whether the promise was made in

attaches as to whether Adrian may have done what amounts 'to a mortal offence against *legal* justice' by fraudulently reproducing a document. But whatever may be the difference of opinion on these heads as to any supposed moral duty of making some restitution to the natural heirs who by his successful trick are left without anything, Gury is clear and distinct that it cannot exist, for by the original will Adrian had acquired 'a certain strict right.'—See Gury, 'Casus Conscientiæ,' Testamentum casu destructum et arte redivivum, p. 260.

* Gury, vol. i. p. 204.

† Gury, vol. ii. p. 412. Si sponso adveniet pinguis hereditas.

‡ 'Casus Conscientiæ,' p. 595. § Gury, vol. i. p. 438.

earnest

earnest or was feigned.' But, he adds, '. . . I say, *speaking per se*, for the seducer is not bound to marry . . . when the girl might easily have perceived that there must be deception, as for instance, from great disparity of condition; *in such case she has to impute the deception to her own self*.'*

Next to seduction under assurances, followed by desertion, the exposure of offspring would probably be pronounced by the majority of unsophisticated persons as the most heinous offence that could well be committed; yet from the language of our divine we must conclude that he at all events does not consider the proceeding as one very difficult of palliation, or which should be stigmatized as an offence of the first magnitude. Without expending one word of reflection on the character of the transaction itself, Father Gury enquires whether it might not be incumbent on wealthy persons, who drop at Foundling Institutions their children, be they simply illegitimate or born of an adulterous connection, to make some payment, rather than abandon them to public charity. The point is declared to be full of perplexity. One opinion very commonly accepted is in the affirmative; but the contrary is maintained in an opinion countenanced by St. Liguori, and given in detail by Gury, on the ground that as these institutions are intended for the indiscriminate reception of the illegitimate progeny of all classes, in protection against infanticide, payment would be contrary to the principle of public charity on which they are founded. Nevertheless, our Father believes that, on the whole, rich parents might be encouraged to make some donations; but, in his tender care lest they should be over mulcted, he calculates that a payment of 150 to 200 francs is ample for the fulfilment of all moral obligations on the part of profligates, however opulent, who might think it convenient to get out of sight their illegitimate offspring by clandestinely depositing them in a Foundling Home.†

The last point we would notice, in this division of our inquiry, is the fact that belief is inculcated by our divines in the grossest superstitions that can affect the mind of man —in Witchcraft and the Black Art. 'Magic is of two kinds,' says Moullet,‡ 'natural and *superstitious* (*superstitiosa*, the technical term for the black art), which is the art of doing

* Moullet, 'Comp. Mor. Theol.,' par. i. p. 342.

† For this see Gury, vol. i. p. 441. He did not originate these views. Layman has the following: 'Fas est filios illegitime natos interdum exponere, si ita necesse sit ad gravem infamiam vitandam, adhibitâ tamen cautione, ne frigore moriantur et ut prius baptizentur, appositâ scedulâ, *nec cum periculo infamiæ tenetur parens filium sic expositum sustentare*.' 'Theol. Mor. Comp.,' Mogunt. 1637.

‡ Moullet, pars prima, p. 198.

wonders

wonders by help of the devil . . . involving express or tacit invocations.' Gury's words are, 'Magic is the art of doing wonders which . . . can be done only through the devil invoked explicitly or implicitly.' And, again: 'Witchcraft is the art of working harm through intervention of the devil; it is of two kinds, *amatory* and poisoning; amatory witchcraft, otherwise a philter, is a devilish art, whereby lustful passion or aversion is inspired towards a person.'* According to grave Jesuit authorities, it is within the faculty of the devil, working through these arts, to assume the phantom appearance of humanity in lovely shape; so that an irresistible passion for the Evil Fiend himself, lurking mockingly behind the phantasmagoric mask of a beautiful being, is held up before the imagination of those who are disciples of this teaching as amongst the horrible consequences that may befal them from these devilish drugs. As for the second kind of witchcraft, this is what Gury says in definition of it,—'Poisoning witchcraft is precisely the art of doing injury to your neighbour in various modes through help of the devil, or by disease, the causing idiocy, &c. Commonly witchcraft is called *sortilege*, because by it an evil lot is thrown on those against whom vindictiveness is exercised, through the operation of the devil.' Such is the teaching which, at the present period of the nineteenth century, with the express approval of those who from Rome govern the Latin Church, is being studiously infiltered into the minds of that preponderating majority of the Roman Catholic youth who are being trained under the influence of Jesuit tuition.

We must now touch shortly two or three points of primary importance in connection with the questions which we have marked off as constituting a second category, and which group themselves around the central problem—where the line between civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions is to be fixed. Here we must call in assistance additional to that of our previous guides. What we require is some organ as well attested in regard to genuineness of inspiration as Gury, and directly discussing the practical problems involved in the demarcation between Church and State rights. We shall be safe against the charge of having picked out an inadequately authenticated guide, if we turn for instruction as to what is taught by sound Jesuit doctrine on these topics to the pages of the 'Civiltà Cattolica,' stamped as it is with the highest voucher for its orthodoxy by a Pontifical Brief *ad hoc*. That Brief is a document of exceptional, we believe of unique character. In it Pius IX., speaking in his

* Gury, vol. i. pp. 172-3. De Magia et Maleficio.

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Pontifical capacity, adopts the typical phrase which the Socie puts forward as its specific motto. Again, the document not merely a testimonial, but an Apostolical Charter conferrin privileges on a body of writers exclusively confined to th Society of Jesus, for the grant whereof there exists no prec dent. 'In order that there may be at all times appointe men,' it is said in this remarkable Brief '. . . capable fighting the good fight, and continually defending by the writings the Catholic cause and sound doctrine . . . we he desire that the Religious of the illustrious Society of Jes should constitute a College of Writers, composed of members the Society, who by seasonable and apt writings . . . shou prove *champions of the Catholic faith, its doctrine, and its righ* with all their powers. The said Religious, most zealously secon ing our desires with every possible care and study, already i 1850 undertook to write and publish a periodical entitled "I Civiltà Cattolica." Following in the footsteps of their predece sors, and sparing neither care nor labour, these men had nothin more at heart than, through this diligently and wisely edite periodical, in writings learned and profound, to shield and defen manfully the truth of our august faith, the supreme dignit authority, power, and right of this Apostolical See, *and to tea and propagate the doctrine that is true* . . . Wherefore it is o most earnest desire that so sublime a work should for ever pro stable and flourish, *Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam*, the salvation souls, and the daily greater promotion of the right method studies. Accordingly by these letters in virtue of Apostolic authority *we erect in perpetuity this College of Writers of th Society of Jesus* of the periodical popularly termed the "Civil Cattolica," *to exist in a house set apart for themselves*, and cons tute it according to the laws and privileges possessed and enjoy by other Colleges of the said Society, *under the express conditio that this College shall in all things depend absolutely on t General.'* *

Three facts are noticeable in this document:—1. Throug out it, the cause of the Church as a teaching body is identifi by its acknowledged Head with that of the 'Civiltà Cattolic 2. The Supreme Pontiff, exercising his ecclesiastical prerogat in the most solemn form, calls into existence as a champi of 'true doctrine' a special corporation, which by Apostoli Charter must be restricted to members of the Society of Jes 3. That corporation is constituted not for a term but in p petuity; and is therefore proclaimed to be an organic insti

* The Brief, dated February 12, 1866, will be found in the 'Civiltà Cattoli of April 17 of that year.

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tion of the Church. In presence of so superlative a warrant, we should be justified in quoting indiscriminately from the 'Civiltà Cattolica.' We confine ourselves, however, to the writings of one contributor, Father Liberatore, for two reasons; because he is avowedly held in the highest estimation at Rome, and because we have a reprint of the author's contributions, which combines the triple advantage of matured revision—of issue subsequent to the Vatican Council,—and of renewed high ecclesiastical approval affixed to this reissue.

At first sight, no maxims could seem more conformable to the personal interests of those clothed with temporal sovereignty, as regards the obligation of subjects to yield absolute obedience under all circumstances, than those propounded by our Divines. 'At no time can it be lawful to rebel,' says Gury, and he stigmatises, in the words of St. Liguori, as most pernicious, Gerson's opinion 'that a monarch might lawfully be judged by the whole nation, in the event of his ruling in violation of justice.'* On scanning closely, however, the propositions in Gury bearing on the relations between princes and subjects, we cannot dismiss the impression, that the terms in which they are stated do not exclude the possibility of extracting a plausible justification, not merely for occasional insurrection but even, under specific conditions, for making attempts on the lives of those in possession of sovereign power, under no better warrant than the intimated assent of whoever may be considered as the legitimate claimant. Once more we impress on the reader that, in deducing inferences from propositions in Jesuit writers, we advisedly proceed upon the principle, that the terms, to be appreciated at their value, must be tested by every sense they can be made to bear without a glaringly forced strain. For, according to Jesuit doctrine, any opinion, that can be brought into apparent conformity with terms employed by any single writer of authority, may be safely accepted and acted upon by an individual, even in opposition to the mind of his spiritual adviser. Therefore, when engaged in fathoming the scope of a proposition, we are bound always to note carefully every construction of which the terms employed might be physically capable—a point ever present also to the minds of a school of doctors, than whom there have been no more consummate masters in the art of weighing expressions.

Accordingly, in scrutinizing these particular propositions, there appears to us to run through all the terms employed a latitude, difficult to consider accidental, which affords ground

* Gury, vol. i. p. 248.

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for such a mental distinction between those in merely physical possession and those with legitimate ownership of a throne, and of all that is assumed to appertain thereto in the nature of rights, as might furnish to any one in search thereof the justification for assuming, at a merely verbal intimation from him who is considered legitimate, a mission to slay him who is considered an intruder. 'Is it lawful to slay a tyrant?' asks Gury; and no answer apparently could be more distinct, 'certainly it is lawful to kill neither a tyrannical governor (*tyrannum regiminis*) . . . nor a legitimate prince tyrannically governing and oppressing a people. No more is it lawful to kill a tyrannical usurper, when once in possession . . . nor a tyrant not yet in *complete possession, otherwise than with the sanction of the legitimate prince.*'* The point to note is the proviso for drawing a distinction between what is due to the actual ruler and to him who is considered the legitimate prince, though no definition is given as to a test for establishing legitimacy. The mere assent of the latter—independent of any judicial sentence—is declared sufficient to justify an attempt on the intruder's life, the apparent qualification as to his not having attained complete possession being reduced to something merely nominal, inasmuch as there is nothing in the terms of the proposition which makes it indispensable to bring in evidence of incomplete possession, more than that half-a-dozen of individuals were still mentally withholding allegiance.

The positive distinction drawn between the degrees of right vested in sovereigns *de facto* and sovereigns *de jure* becomes enhanced and emphasized when the relative attributes of the Sovereign Pontiff and of all princes, however thoroughly *de jure*, are discussed. We venture to maintain that the language of the leading Jesuit Divines, on this particular matter, is such as not merely to leave an opening for, but to constrain the construction, that they claim for the Supreme Pontiff all the same superior prerogatives over princes, though perfectly *de jure*, which they consider these to possess over rulers *de facto*. Therefore we are compelled to conclude that, in so far as the terminology and reasoning of these Jesuit Doctors can be taken as the authentic expression of doctrine accepted by the Church, an order from Rome to slay a ruler would, under particular circumstances, be one that a faithful member of the Church could execute with a clear conscience. It would be simply monstrous to insinuate the probability of any order of this nature emanating from Pius IX. Whatever may be

* Gury, vol. i. p. 252.

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he untoward acts to which passion may impel those who direct, or will direct, the Church of Rome, of this we may be confident, that the present conscience of the age is too keen to let a Pope, like his sainted predecessor Pius V., send an assassin on a mission for slaying a contumacious prince. But, notwithstanding a confident assurance of this kind, the employment, by leading modern Jesuit Doctors, of language which by fair construction does express an assertion in principle of acts of this nature, is a circumstance as noteworthy as it is characteristic of the present spirit of their doctrine. Passing on, however, from what we are readily disposed to consider a dead letter and mere anachronism, we come to matter of far more practical importance,—the distinct claim set up, in behalf of the Church, to such direct supremacy in matters appertaining to civil existence as would constitute, if carried into execution, a most material encroachment on what in every modern polity has become the recognised domain of the State.

'The State,' declares Father Liberatore, 'must understand itself to be a subordinate sovereignty, exercising ministerial functions under a superior sovereignty, and governing the people conformably to the will of that lord, to whom it is subject.' * Who that lord may be we are left in no doubt. It is that sovereign Pontiff, 'the visible monarch' of 'God's realm on earth,' to whom 'every baptized person is more strictly subject than to any temporal ruler whatever.' † Still a division is recognised in the immeasurable labour that would be heaped on the shoulders of the Pontiff if he were himself to administer directly this universal empire; and the definition of such division gives us a statement in clear terms of what functional attributes is conceded shall fall within the jurisdiction of the State. Its independence of action, we are told, is to be absolutely restricted to 'matters directly relating to the mere physical well-being of material life (finance, the army, trade, domestic peace, and relations with other nations), but in no wise can it be that in matters directly concerning *charity*, *justice*, morals, the State should be otherwise than bound to conform to the rules dictated by the Church, while even in the matters before mentioned as being within its competency, the State would be under the negative obligation to do nothing hurtful to the morals of its subjects or the obedience due to God. For where the *contrary has happened*, *the Church has clearly the right to remedy and cancel* whatever may have been appointed wrongly and immorally *in the temporal order of things*.' ‡ 'Therefore the civil ruler of a Chris-

* P. 11. † P. 39. ‡ P. 14.

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tian people must be in subordination to the Christian prie hood, *and especially to the Roman Pontiff.*'* And, again, 'T temporal sword, symbol of civil authority, has to be subordin to the spiritual sword, symbol of priestly authority;' † all whi we are told a few lines further on, 'is a *peremptory sentenc be called in question by no one who would be a true Catholic.*'

Having been made acquainted with these indelible p ciples, on which no compromise can be tolerated, that are t the line between the provinces of ecclesiastical and t poral powers, we are treated to the following theorem completer definition of the respective natures of these two enti We have it stated as of positive certainty 'that, through i tution of the Church, society has been subjected *by divin to the rule of a new supreme power, sacerdotal authority,* w *is utterly independent of State authority,*' and that, 'by the ad of Christianity, State authority has been confined within narr bounds,' ‡ a thesis which will be self-evident only to mind startled at hearing it also affirmed that our Saviour on no o sion manifested indifference to a temporal estate, and 'tha very truth, his kingdom is here below, and will abide the fulfilment of time.' § Novel dogmatic versions of Chri facts, which, after having been uttered with the oracular cur of an infallible illumination, are then presented by F Liberatore as indefeasible title deeds for the perennial m tenance of the Pope's temporal sovereignty as absolutely e tial to the observance of what constitutes the spirit of Ch doctrine! If any doubt be yet entertained whether it can n enter into the conception of this accredited organ of the ' doctrine' to claim for the Church the right, whenever this suit its pleasure, to interfere with, arrest, suspend, and a the faculties of State authority, even in a matter so wh outside all conceivable affinity to spiritual agencies as mode and manner for employment of the armed force, we mit the following passage—not dovetailed by selection, standing consecutively in the text as it does here—an which can never be denied the merit of clear languag 'The Church is empowered to *amend and to cancel the laws, or the sentences proceeding from a secular court,* whe these may be in collision with spiritual weal, and she ha faculty to check the abuse of the executive and of the a forces, *or even to prescribe their employment* whenever the req ments for the protection of the Christian Faith may demand The jurisdiction of the Church is higher than the civil. Nov

* P. 22. † P. 23. ‡ P. 82. § P. 37.

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within the competency of a superior jurisdiction to control the action of the inferior, but in no manner can the inferior do this to the superior. In this matter of jurisdiction, what has to be done is to observe the *rule prescribed by Pope Boniface VIII. in his dogmatic Bull Unam Sanctam Ecclesiam.*' *

It is well known how much has been spoken and written, both before and since the decree of the Vatican Council declaratory of Papal Infallibility as a dogma, to define what really does lie within the range of this Infallible attribute. This is not the place to consider the various tests which different authorities have alleged to be alone conclusive for marking off fallible from infallible utterances, as they may drop from Papal lips. Thus much alone has been laid down with certainty; that whenever a Pope does speak *ex cathedrâ* he is infallible, and that whatever is thus spoken is dogmatic, and consequently partakes of the sacredness of an article of faith. What then deserves to be carefully noted is how it is here unequivocally affirmed by the organ of 'true doctrine,' that the Bull *Unam Sanctam*, admittedly the extremest expression, that ever fell from any Pope's lips, of Papal pretensions to direct and wholesale supremacy in temporal matters, is comprised amongst the Pontifical utterances of which the dogmatic sacrosanctness is open to no doubt. For it should be stated that this attribution of high character does not rest on what, if standing by itself, might be deemed an inadvertent expression. It is spoken to more than once, and the allegation is substantiated by a very precise enunciation of the grounds which, according to the writer, are conclusive as to the dogmatic character of this Bull. 'Some liberal periodicals and writers will be shocked at hearing this Bull termed dogmatic.' But that it is so is manifest, whether one regards the matter of its contents or the authority whence it emanates. In it the Pontiff addresses himself to the whole Church, and speaks in the capacity of a teacher giving instruction about most important doctrinal points, such as are of a certainty the relations between the Church and the State. Besides, the Bull ends with an explicit definition: 'Subesse Romano Pontifici, omni humanæ creaturæ, declaramus, dicimus, definimus, et pronunciamus, omnino esse de necessitate salutis.' †

Whether the declaratory allegations here made with such remarkable assurance will be implicitly acquiesced in by all who may claim to be every whit as sound Roman Catholics as Liberatore, we cannot stop to inquire. Our particular purpose is to seek from perfectly trustworthy sources authentic evidence as to the teaching propounded by the most authoritative modern school

* P. 46. † P. 23.

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of Catholic divinity; and evidence of this kind on a pr eminently important point—the amount and extent of Pontific utterances from previous ages, which will be retrospectivel covered through the Dogma of Infallibility with a sanctio raising them to the position of Articles of Faith—we here ob tain from a writer who comes before us with a well-nigh bewildering accumulation of vouchers for his plenary inspiration in what he says on this head. For here is the formidable chain of guarantees that Father Liberatore can point to for the perfect soundness of his exposition; first, he is a Jesuit divine held in acknowledged estimation as a mouth-piece of doctrine by the heads of the Order; then he is one of that picked number drafted from the body of the Order, and erected by Pius IX. into a special brotherhood, entrusted with the delicate task of making the world to know what is true doctrine; thirdly, he comes before us with a revision of his original composition, combining the benefit of matured afterthought and the corrections derivable from the protracted reflections of his superiors; fourthly (and in reference to the passage immediately before us this fact is of capital weight) the revision has been issued subsequently to the dogmatization of Infallibility and the serious controversy awakened thereby; and fifthly, to remove every shadow of doubt as to the complete concurrence of those who are at present entitled to speak in the name of the Church in the views expressed in this publication, there has been affixed thereto the (as far as the law of the land is concerned) perfectly superfluous stamp of episcopal approbation. In presence of this converging array of endorsements the fact must be deemed proven that, in the minds of the Society of Jesus and of Pius IX., the Bull *Unam Sanctam* is held to be an article of dogmatic utterance binding on the conscience of all who would be Catholics.*

* In 1826, one who then was looked upon as an ecclesiastical authority of high degree, Bishop Doyle, in his public appeal to Lord Liverpool on behalf of the claim for Catholics to Emancipation wrote thus of this same Bull: 'If the Bull *Unam Sanctam* . . . be objected to us, is it not reasonable to attend to us, whilst we say that no Bull of any Pope can decide our judgment if it be not received and *assented to by the pastors of the Church, an assent which this Bull Unam Sanctam never had*? . . . The Bull was of a most odious kind, and should, therefore, according to a maxim admitted by all jurists, *odiosa sunt restringenda*, be restricted as much as possible to its sense.' 'Essay on Catholic Claims,' p. 37. On January 25, in the same year, all the Irish bishops signed also, it is true, a declaration: 'That it is not an article of the Catholic Faith, neither are Catholics required to believe that the Pope is infallible;' amongst the names subscribed being that of Dr. M'Hale the living Archbishop of Tuam. Neither Bishop Doyle's emphatic statement nor this solemn Declaration was ever disapproved of by the Holy See. What then can be the permanent value attaching to any exposition minimising the bearing and possible effect on civil jurisdiction of the dogma of Infallibility, from however exalted a Prelate it may emanate, and however much it may appear to be acquiesced in at the present moment by the Holy See?

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function of the State, measured by these definitions, herefore amount merely to that of an organised police, ed for the enforcement of the Church's behests and the repression of dissent. This interpretation is in strict nce with the saying, that the duty of the State is centred otection of the Church,'* and that (these words being l from the reputed Ultramontane Legist Phillips) 'the r condition of an efficacious alliance between the laws State and the laws of the Church lies in the *application of means*, in every instance where spiritual penalty may be iate.'† This obligation to coerce—in other words to te—all who may differ, though ever so slightly, from any propounded by the authorities of the Church for the time is insisted upon by Father Liberatore with reiterated is, as a duty deriving its sacredness directly from Christ's ion. 'The capital and substantial ground, wherefore of conscience must be reprobated, is neither peace nor l unity, but in truth the obligation to profess the true nd thereby ensure the attainment of man's superior good. nd national unity may be invoked as a secondary ground likewise a benefit), but only on the supposition that the th is preserved. For *in the contrary case the saying of holds good, I came not to send peace but a sword;* national being beyond comparison a lesser evil than persistence e error regarding a point of faith,'—words distinctly ng the enforcement of religion at the sword's point. ain: 'Amongst the rights appertaining to a perfect society of coercing enemies, internal and external. Where a the State and the Church there is reciprocal alliance, he right [to coerce enemies] is exercised by the latter a the agency of the former . . . But where this alliance s to have been broken, manifestly this right of the Church perish, inasmuch as it takes its rise in the essence of rder with which the Church has been invested not by the ut by God.'‡ Accordingly 'the best form of government, form best answering to divine conception and the happi- mankind' is where the State acts as the executioner of urch's fulminations; though, in presence of the glaring fact ism has asserted itself in a large portion of the Christian and the physical impossibility of enforcing everywhere at at action of sharp repression conformable to Jesuit notions form best answering to divine conception,' Father ore admits that 'out of regard to religious divisions

* P. 73. † P. 78. ‡ P. 77.

which

which have already taken root' in some parts, 'prudence ma counsel civil toleration of all forms of worship.'* Consequent the acquiescence, which in some countries the Church has app rently yielded to the toleration of other religious persuasions, no more than a feint, put on under the pressure of emergenc and a stratagem adopted for so long only as it may seem th most appropriate method for warding off additional difficulties.

Here we find ourselves brought face to face with two points c the gravest interest—the view entertained by the Church as t what rights and faculties remain inherent in a State that may have apostatized from its communion, and as to the binding force on itself of any formal instrument it may have concluded with a Civil Power, be it Catholic or not. That the Church is credited with the right to impress into her service all the physical forces under the immediate direction of the State, we have been already told, as also that this right extends to the exercise of vigorous coercion through State agency against Dissenters. That this right, as emanating from a Divine origin, is affirmed not to lapse because a State, as represented by those in possession of governing power, may fall away from the Church, and thus deprive it of the means to set these forces in motion, this likewise we know. What we still have to be enlightened upon, by him who has so far been our ready guide and instructor, is what degree, if any, of legitimacy the Church in its conscience may recognise as still vested in a State which has apostatized, and with which the Church might have contracted public relations of comity. We admit that Father Liberatore glides over the general question with more rapidity than is his usual practice. His opinion on this important head is comprised in a few sentences, introduced in the course of a long dissertation on the duties of the State towards the Church, but, though few, the sentences are pregnant. After having insisted on the absolute obligation incumbent on the State to expend its forces 'in protection and defence of the Church,' he goes on to say that, whenever the State has apostatized, and 'ceased to fulfil this special duty, the same devolves of its own nature on the individual Faithful,' and that 'in this manner there arises in society a necessary disorder, namely the *existence of a legitimate power, which is independent of the public depositary of force.*'† That it will be within the faculty of casuists to interpret these words differently from their plain sense, is what we are prepared for. The conclusion we have arrived at is that, bearing in mind the whole context of the argu-

* P. 74. † P. 77.

men

ient, these words, without any invocation of that merely *probable* nterpretation which a Jesuit writer should not consider improper, do plainly express this doctrine—that in countries where the State in its corporate capacity does not make profession of the Catholic Faith, the Church, even though it might have adopted towards the powers that be an attitude of friendly understanding, will still consider the only depositaries of the faculties, which in its opinion appertain to the State, to be the congregation of those who have continued faithful to its communion; just as, according to the same authority, while the throne is occupied by one man, another can be held entitled to issue commands that are binding for the gravest action.

That no unnatural strain has here been put upon the sentiments of our author, is clearly established by his most explicit language as to the possible binding force upon the Church itself of any engagement, however solemn in form, that it may have entered into with any State, even though orthodox. With an elaborateness of diction that closes all question as to his meaning, Father Liberatore affirms that, from the very nature of things, no Concordat can ever bind the Church, that it is a mere concession for the time of rights that are indelible, and which are only waived in deference to expediency, until the strain of exigency may have relaxed. This view was broached some years ago by the Vicomte de Bonald, who declared that 'a Concordat cannot be likened to a contract; for there is a radical impossibility that a contract can intervene between two entities (the spiritual and the temporal Power), whereof the one is sovereign, the other subject, the one presides, the other is subordinate.'* For the publication containing this passage Pius IX. addressed to the author a Brief of approbation. Some Catholics, however, demurred to M. de Bonald's opinion, and a controversy ensued. Amongst those who concurred with him most vigorously were Father (afterwards Cardinal) Tarquini and Liberatore, whose strenuous arguments the reader, if so inclined, may peruse for himself in the volume we have been quoting from. We have space only for these few emphatic sentences:—'It is beyond doubt that Concordats, in whatever concerns matters spiritual and such *as have any connection therewith*, cannot have the character of bilateral contracts. . . . Concordats in this respect have the character of mere indulgences and privileges. . . . Whatever privilege may at any time have been granted, which might in any manner limit or curtail the exercise of Pontifical authority, is a mere indulgence, *revocable*

* 'Deux questions sur le Concordat,' Genève, 1871.

at any moment, when it may be the opinion of the Pope that continued enjoyment thereof might be prejudicial rather than b ficial to the welfare of the Church. In short, the Pope's autho is unalterable, for it has been fixed by Christ, and by Christ been maintained in him exclusively, just as the light of sun in the atmosphere.' Such, according to the doctrine of choicest divines of the Society, and the declared concurre of the present occupant of St. Peter's Chair, is the exact valu instruments that have been concluded by the Church with e formality of solemn engagement.

All this may well seem mere dreaming and a buildin castles in the moon. If the Jesuits have nothing more effec for checkmating modern society, than rhapsodies about B face VIII. and the perfection of a State reproducing thirtee century existence, governments might safely afford to disre them as harmless monomaniacs. These lucubrations do however, make up the practical weapons at the disposal of t who strive to ensure the realisation of their aspirations. means whereby the Jesuits may hope to injure the machiner modern governments exist in that not easily definable sto subtle functions and sacerdotal ministrations, which, by essence of the Roman Catholic system, appertain to the ord the priesthood. A State will rest on weak foundations, u it can confidently repose on a fiscal system carried out integrity and regularity, and on a defensive system penetr with a spirit of discipline and staunchness. Let a breac made on either point, and manifestly the position of the Sta exposed to danger. It can be shown that the artillery of J practice has been brought into positions, whence it may fire ag both points at any time that seems propitious.

In Gury's 'Casus Conscientiæ' (p. 40) occurs this passage, t from St. Liguori. 'Speaking generally of taxes, Lugo i opinion that people should be exhorted to pay them; but after the act they should not be compelled to make restitutio a duty they may have withheld fraudulently, if they have probable ground for persuading themselves that in so gre number of taxes they may have paid something not justl that they had contributed adequately to the public want notions which will readily recommend themselves to not a tax-payers. On turning to the 'Compendium,' we read 'as to restitution, there is absolutely no obligation' on t who habitually import 'prohibited wares,' while the ques whether some act of contrition might not be incumben the violation of a statute by such a practice, is answered what, but for the grave character of the book, would s

ce a joke. 'Those who import prohibited goods in small uantities, and for their own benefit, especially if poor, are rtainly not liable to blame. The others [the rich and the stematic smugglers], however, are in danger of sinning against heir duty towards themselves, by running a risk of very severe enalties.'* And this view is strictly in accordance with Moullet's. 'What is to be held of those who import contraband goods and arts? . . . It is the *common opinion* even of more *Rigorist Doctors* that they commit no sin and are *bound to make no restitution.*'† To bring out clearly the degree of fraudulent operations which these divines are prepared to countenance, we subjoin two exemplifications from Gury, which are admirably lucid. 'Sapricius is in the habit of conveying and moving by waggon, sumpter animals, or other modes, grain, wine, articles of food and wares, on all of which dues are imposed. But he seeks by every means to evade payment of the same, as often as this can be done without peril of fine, by moving them at night, by taking out-of-the way tracks, by avoiding the revenue officers, or by deceiving them through manifold tricks. He is of opinion that he is not acting wrongly, partly because the taxes are very heavy and numerous, as well as often expended on what is not at all for the common advantage, partly because the law, in virtue whereof they are imposed, is a merely penal enactment. At Easter time, however, when about to perform his obligations of confession, being impelled by scruples, he asks whether he might not have done wrong? Has then Sapricius erred, and is he bound to make any restitution?' Gury replies that, though some theologians have been of an affirmative opinion, others distinctly say the contrary. Of the former he gives neither the names nor one word of their argument; but he quotes in the opposite sense the opinion of Sanchez, as summarised by St. Liguori, and then he solves the problem in these terms: 'Sapricius is not at all to be disturbed.'‡

The second case is couched in terms that have a not inappropriate flavour of rogues' humour. 'Forbinus sells Gibertus some land for 30,000 francs. The two would, however, willingly

* Gury, vol. i. p. 446. 'Cæteri vero facile peccare possunt contra charitatem in se ipsos, pœnis gravissimis se exponendo.'

† Moullet, pars prima, p. 345.

‡ Gury, 'Casus Conscientiæ,' p. 39. It will be admitted that the case of Sapricius, as stated by Gury, is that of a professed smuggler, and we draw special attention to the terms of the exemplification, because definitions to be found in the 'Comp. Theol. Mor.' pp. 443-4, might be pointed to as confuting the idea that Jesuit practice ever would countenance any habitual fraud. These definitions, unfortunately too long for insertion, will be found marked all through with qualifying expressions, that practically afford as many loopholes for excepting cases from the principle apparently enjoined.

reduce the very heavy duty imposed by government on the
of real property. The question with them is how they
best set about this? The trick is a noted one—yea, even
common. They agree to declare and insert only 20,000 fr
as the price in the public deed of sale. Accordingly they g
a notary and make declaration of the inferior sum only.
notary, with a smile he cannot suppress—for he was a
of the true value—says to Gibertus, "Oho! Zounds!
will be a capital stroke of business for you;" and then, wit
a word more, he draws up the deed.' The questions that
are, whether (1) 'they do any wrong who, after a sale of
falsely state a lower price in the deed in order not to pa
duty; (2) whether the notary who was cognizant of the fra
under any obligation to effect restitution; and (3) what w
be his position if it was himself who had suggested the tri
the parties.'* After a little preliminary flourish concernin
duty of making true statements, we read—'the opinion, w
seems the more probable, exempts the parties from all oblig
to declare the true price, as *the law apparently intends mer
authenticate the deed and the transfer of the property* . . . so th
obligation of conscience is apparent for making a declarati
the price paid, or even of the lowest value at which a pro
can be appraised.' As for the notary, he is declared free fro
blame, even though he may have been the suggestor of this
fest fraud, on the ground 'that though a public servant, he
set over the taxes.' Such are the maxims and examples to w
by superior Jesuit authority, spiritual advisers are referre
guidance, in the event of their having to deal with cases o
science where questions are raised about the observance of
undeniable obligations towards the State, and the employ
of deliberate fraud to evade the same.

Let us now see the rules and principles inculcate
direction in cases affecting what is generally considere
primary duty of a soldier—faithfulness to his military en
ment. It really does seem, when we peruse the section tr
this subject of cardinal importance to the safety of the St
if the thought uppermost in the mind of Father Gury
only have been how to devise pleas sufficiently elastic to
it easy for a soldier to desert with a safe conscience.
first place, it is declared that every soldier who conse
serve in an unjust war will be *directly chargeable* with res
bility for every act of injury perpetrated by himself indivi
during its course, and *proportionally* for the total injury w

* Gury, 'Casus Conscientiæ,' p. 232.

y the army;* thus introducing a principle absolutely subversive f all military discipline, that at every call to arms each soldier s to make himself judge whether to obey it will be in accordance with his conscience. That there exists a general obligation on deserters to return to their colours, Father Gury admits; but he couples the admission with grounds of exemption, amongst which one alone is quite sufficient to afford an unfailing plea for whoever may be minded to abscond. Any soldier, we are told, is justified in deserting, if he will allege 'great risk to his salvation—for instance, in the event of adequate provision not being made for access to the Confessional;'† so that, let only a Catholic soldier make profession of his having been obstructed in the desire to draw near a priest, and he may desert his duties with absolute impunity, according to the doctrine of Father Gury.

Nor is this the only proceeding sanctioned, which is calculated to weaken allegiance to the State. We find, beneath the customary preliminary display of general rigorist views, a ruling which practically relieves from censure so gross an act of fraud as the grant, in return for money, of a false medical certificate, with the view of getting off from conscription a man both liable and fit to serve. 'Trepidantius, dreading intensely to serve, but having been drawn by lot, bribes Armandus, a medical man, and, though perfectly well, obtains from him a certificate of ill health, and so gets exemption from service. A case occurring a thousand times every year! Is Armandus bound to give back the money he has taken?' To this Gury makes this reply: 'Armandus could certainly not retain the money, if it had been received from Trepidantius before he had declared him in ill health, for that is a contract *de materiâ turpi*, and therefore void. But the fraudulent declaration having already been made, the matter is one liable to controversy, as will be presently explained in the cases relating to the substance of contracts;'‡ and so, on the same ground on which we have seen the sanction of connivance extended to the acceptance of a money gift from a suitor by a Judge, when once the unjust sentence has been pronounced, it is ruled that, on the score of conscience, nothing stands in the way to make it uncomfortable for a medical man, with direct personal money advantage, to lend himself to the active promotion of a conspiracy for paralysing the defensive power of his country and for striking about the most treacherous blow that can well be struck at an institution essential for the safety of the State.

* Gury, 'Comp. Theol. Mor.' vol. i. p. 447. † Ibid.
‡ Gury, 'Casus Conscientiæ,' p. 234.

A very

A very slight effort of memory will recal more than one political situation, within the last twenty years, where maxims of this seditious tenour, spoken with the tone of authority by those clothed with the sacred character of sacerdotal essence, and addressed to an imperfectly cemented, an agitated, in part even an ill-affected, and, in many respects, a superstitious population, might well have been fraught with grave danger to the State. The embarrassments that might ensue to Governments engaged in the laborious strain of organisation, amidst the still encumbering *débris* of ancient institutions and the but half-completed fabric of new constructions, from expressions of this insidiously subtle character (directly sanctioned as they are by the gravest living authorities of the Church), if dropped from the influential lips of a priesthood actively hostile (as certainly the priesthood was, with but solitary exceptions, in Italy, and as it is as certainly in part in Germany), are too evident to demand development. It is unnecessary to expand this vein of ominous reflection by conjuring up a vision of political complications looming in the more or less proximate future, on which this authorised application of principles, certainly not free from a treacherous character, if brought into the field, might tell with seriously disturbing effect. In England we may, indeed, discard the notion, however exaggeratedly Ultramontane the sentiments of those who here preside over the Roman Catholic Church may become, that disloyalty to the Constitution would infect the body of the priesthood to any extent. The thought might, however, present itself to minds not necessarily labouring under the hallucinations of an alarmist mania, that there are portions of this Empire at once mainly Roman Catholic and not quite thoroughly penetrated with the spirit of political contentment; and it may not be altogether indifferent to reflect how it would be if, in the unfortunately not impossible recurrence of a state of popular sedition, the rising generation of the priesthood were to be disposed to put in practice those peculiar maxims, with which their minds have now perforce to make themselves familiar through the course of study in Jesuit theology, which is enforced by the present authorities of the Holy See.* Such

* That Gury's maxims are no dead letter for the Holy See, the following affords convincing proof. In 1860, and again in 1865, the Holy Penitentiary in Rome issued secret instructions for the direction of priests in cases of conscience connected with recent political events in Italy, manuscript copies of which we obtained at the time in Rome. In these documents, the authenticity of which we vouch for, occurs the following passage (the queries being in Italian, and the instructions in Latin): 'What is to be done with those involuntarily enrolled and obliged to serve in the national force of the intrusive government? Posse tolerari milites civicos coactos. qui militiam absque gravi damno seu incommodo deserere nequeunt, *dummodo tamen animo parati sunt eam deserere*

uch is an outline, slight indeed, but still comprising the st essential features of the doctrine presently taught, with express approval of the Head of the Church, by the accred organs of the Society, as directly conducive to that best sible governance of mankind, which will make the world liant with the Greater Glory of God. Of the organisation of Order we gave a sketch in our last number, and we have no reason since to consider it incorrect in any material point. ken together, these two articles furnish, we believe, a not faithful account of the resources of this mysterious Corporan, and of the principles which are agreeable to its spirit. That has been exercising an ever-increasing power in the Latin urch, is a fact too plainly written in the ecclesiastical history the last three centuries to be for an instant called in question. hat is not so conspicuous is the special element through which school of Jesuit thought has been subtly working on the spirit the Roman Catholic Church. This resides in the doctrine of obabilism, in which lies distilled the sublimated essence of all uit doctrine. The champions of the Order will say, that to k out passages of the character we have quoted, as typical of at its doctors teach, is to falsify the nature of their writings. e admit that the Jesuit Divines never omit recommendations favour of a strict observance of the Moral Code. Our conition is, that all these expressions of rigorous sentiment are luced to mere figures of speech through the all-covering action the principle of Probabilism, which runs continuously ough the volume of Jesuit doctrine like a foot-note which roughly modifies the force of the text, exactly as the conions laid down in the Constitutions with an elaborate display stringency are practically cancelled through the faculties ietly lodged with the General. Through the slides of a sideposition artfully masked, the Jesuit Doctors have provided mechanism for converting at will the whole series of moral inciples into a set of dissolving views.

Undeniably lax as is the tone of the Jesuit code, it would t be a misconception to attribute to its framers the deliberate rpose of corrupting morals. The motive that has ever actuated Society has been to secure influence, and the laxness in its

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erere quamprimum poterunt. Datum Romæ in S. Pœnitent. die 10 Dec. 1860.' olvendi sub conditionibus expressis, . . . milites qui arma tulerunt et ciaunt contra Pontificiam ditionem *dummodo tamen animo parati sunt mprimum poterunt sine periculo vitæ injustam militiam deserere.* Romæ die 9 rtii, 1865.' It is to be particularly noted that this *last* instruction is framed s to include the *whole* army of the Italian kingdom, irrespective of whether the lier was a native of the old Papal provinces, and therefore a rebel against Popo-King.

doctrine

doctrine has been consequent solely on a sense that, to acqu this influence over untamed natures, connivance might pr an efficient instrument. 'Cui enim finis licet, ei et me permissa sunt,' is the maxim, of which the practical applicat is worked out in the Jesuit Code. The dangers must be s evident of a so-called moral system, that rests on the princi of enticing coy spirits by sweetmeats within a charmed a On the majority of mankind, labouring under innate frai a doctrine replete with justificatory pleas for self-indulgence hardly fail to act in relaxation of moral restraints. Pas story of the serving man who robbed his Jesuit employer not the only instance in point. In 1808 a Bavarian pa priest, called Riembauer, murdered his mistress with revol cold-bloodedness, because he feared she would make t intimacy public to the ruin of his position. Being brot to trial, Riembauer, who displayed much morbid ingen symptomatic of warped intellect, defended himself, on the that the deed was in strict accordance with the maxims he been taught in the Seminary—that it was quite lawful to put of the way any one from whom there was reason to dread a ruin denunciation—and this he sustained by extracts from Statt 'Ethica Christiana,' at that time a standard manual.* No d this is an extreme case. Still this miscreant could appeal perfect plausibility to maxims in divines of authority, wh without any strained construction, did seem to justify his de

Grave as is the demoralization that may be wrought by system on the individual fibre, the State is still more intere in the action which its spread has exercised on the Constitu of the Latin Church. Before the confirmed ascendency of Order, there had been recurrent exhibitions of imperious P pretensions; but these had not become so infused into the sy of the Church as to be dogmatically proclaimed particles of its blood. The action of the Society of Jesus on the Constitutic the Church has been that of a chemical agent which precipi a substance previously present in solution. The substance cipitated by Jesuit agency has been the essence of pure A

* This psychologically very remarkable case will be found in detail with bauer's pleas in Feuerbach's 'Aktenmässige Darstellung merkwürdiger brechen.' Giessen, 1829, vol. ii. p. 86. How inoculation with Jesuit doc results in strange reproductions! Of this the following is a striking ins Weishaupt, the founder of the secret society of the Illuminati, which at the the last century exercised powerful influence in Germany, received his edu in the great Jesuit College at Ingolstadt. In a letter written by him as G master occurs this passage: 'Marius retains still something out of the Library. Let him communicate this to us, and make to himself no *casu scientiæ* of this, *for only what brings harm is sin, and when advantage excee harm, then it becomes even a virtue.*'

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lutism, the sublimated corrosiveness of which has been steadily gnawing away with deadly edge every element of organic independence. For what is wholly incompatible with the nature of the Jesuit system is an element of independence. Much as has been said about the intellectual eminence of the Order, as shown in educational institutions, its scholastic efforts have uniformly been directed to substitute for the occasionally exaggerated manifestations attendant on a vigorous nature that monotony which accompanies stagnant life—the dead-level of general mediocrity. Independence of character, of mind, of research, are objects fatal to the Society, which must be expelled, and in lieu of these it has evolved a system of pseudo-culture, studded with the counterfeits of science—playthings adapted to natures that are being carefully nursed to grow up with stunted strength. A glance at the Ecclesiastical annals of the last centuries is enough to reveal the increasing sterility within the officially recognised area of the Latin Church.

In the seventeenth century, the French clergy, then eminent above all others for Catholic tradition and conviction, not here and there individually, nor yet under the mask of timid-hearted anonymousness, but in corporate declarations with their names appended thereto, over and over again protested against, and stigmatized as outrageous, the theological maxims propounded by Jesuit divines. From no section of the great Catholic community has there, however, been heard any protest in recent times against enforced inoculation with such doctrine. If some individual has spoken an occasional word in disapproval, he has been instantly darted upon and ostracized as a rebellious sheep; but of collective protest from any quarter that might claim to represent an element of weight in the Church, there has been no sign.

This fact gives a measure to what degree that fibre of honourable self-respect, which was the best bulwark at once for the grandeur and the liberties of the Church, has been crushed out. Silently, but ruthlessly, that stealthy organisation which calls itself the Society of Jesus—in grim pursuit of what it also calls the Greater Glory of God—has laid siege to, broken into, and razed those glorious and venerable sanctuaries, in Italy, in Germany, and above all in France, whence during generations there had beamed forth across the wide plain of the Catholic world, with the calmly luminous glow of purified light, the mellow gleam of a religious sentiment, which did not divorce the fervour of Catholic piety from candid learning and heartfelt attachment to liberties, any more than it considered it essential for the triumph of the Faith to propagate a belief in coarse superstitions, and to fortify the Church by a network of trickeries. Having succeeded

succeeded step by step in outlawing every element that betrayed a feeling for organic freedom, the Society of Jesus, in our time, has set the cope-stone on their work by that momentous stroke in the Vatican Council, which has dogmatically identified the Church with the Order, and has practically transformed, at all events for the present, the organisation of the former into an enlarged house of the latter.

This is not the place to enter upon the proceedings through which this result was achieved, and the consequences which it is reasonable to infer may flow therefrom. Amidst much that is controverted, one fact is positive. The outcome of the Vatican Council was wholly in accordance with what had been strenuously striven for by the Order. It was a signal and emphatic victory for the Society. But the very magnitude of this triumph instantaneously evoked peril in the alarm instinctively instilled into the Civil Power at sight of this inflation of ecclesiastical pretensions. In consummating the conversion of the Latin Church into a synonym of the Jesuit Order, in vesting in the Pope absolute direction over a universal organisation, and in having ensured through careful preparatory enervation that, at the critical moment, all the forces in this organisation acquiesced in becoming obsequious agents at the beck of the Pontifical Cæsar, the authors of this transformation wrought a modification in the Church's Constitution, that materially altered the aspect presented by it towards the Civil Power. In the instinctive sentiment of the Civil Power, that it is being confronted by an organisation bristling with menacing sentiments, is to be found the key to the state of public feeling—most marked in Germany, but unmistakeably running along the whole line of modern governments—which looks on the new Constitution of the Latin Church with uneasiness, and singles out the Society of Jesus as the Prætorian Guard of a dangerous ecclesiastical Cæsarism. How things may shape themselves during the course of the conflict that has been fairly joined, it would be vain to speculate. This much, however, may be affirmed, that the deed which consummated the mischief was rendered feasible only because the ever-increasing spread of the influences specially represented by the Society of Jesus had thoroughly saturated and made subservient those who needed only to have protested, firmly and persistently, in order to have saved the liberties of the Church; and that the recovery of what has thus been lost from failure of courage, can be hoped for only when there is in the body of the Catholic community a revival of the spirit now apparently quenched.

ART.

ART. III.—*The Life of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort.* By Theodore Martin. With Portraits and Views. Volume the First. London, 1875.

'TO, me,' says Mr. Theodore Martin, in his admirable dedication of this volume to the Queen, 'biography, while one of the most fascinating, has always appeared one of the most difficult branches of literature. How difficult, the few master-pieces in that kind, of either ancient or modern time, are enough to show.' In view of much that has of late years been given to the world, the remark is peculiarly appropriate. A good biography demands very special qualities in the writer. As a primary requisite, he must enter thoroughly into the mind and character to be portrayed. He must also have so lived into the circumstances, and become imbued, as it were, with the atmosphere of the life of the man whom he has undertaken to describe, as to be able to look upon its incidents with the same eyes, as nearly as may be, as his. At the same time he must have the power of holding himself so far aloof as to scrutinize all its details with a judgment at once calm and penetrating, to discriminate the relative importance and significance of every detail with which he has to deal, and to assign to each its due place and relief in working out the picture which is to reproduce in the minds of his readers the conception to which conscientious research and long meditation have given a definite shape within his own.

Nor does the difficulty end here. 'We are a mystery,' as Mr. Martin truly says, 'to ourselves; how much more, then, must we be a mystery to each other;' and he illustrates his proposition by Keble's beautiful lines, which remind us, that

> 'Not even the tenderest heart, and next our own,
> Knows half the reason why we smile or sigh.'

An almost womanly sympathy and tenderness of touch are, indeed, required for the subtle half-tints that make up much of the charm of a good biography. But no biography will be good which is not also distinguished by a manly sincerity, no less than by the wise reticence of sound taste, and by an austere judgment that holds in check the writer's enthusiasm. For enthusiasm he must have; or the book will want that underglow of life, without which the reader's sympathy is not to be arrested or retained.

These considerations, and they are only a few of those which enter into the question, have had little weight with the mass of recent biographers. A quantity of crude materials, some good,

good, some bad, some utterly worthless, are thrown togeth
without method and without selection. All sorts of petty detai
in themselves of the most insignificant kind and valueless
illustrative of character, are gone into, often at intolerable leng
Things are not unfrequently divulged, which might make t
miserable subject of the narrative turn in his grave with horr
His weaknesses, the mere accidents, it may be, of broken heal
are recklessly laid bare, and the dearest secrets of his heart turn
into a theme for vulgar gossip. 'To drag his frailties from the
dread abode,' would seem to be the main object in view; and th
who should protect the man, whose life they have set themselv
to manufacture into a book, do him as much mischief by the
inconsiderate babble, or clumsy vindications, as the malevole
cynic does to the man and woman he has happened to kno
who leaves behind him, as a legacy to mankind, a journal of t
vilest gossip of his fellow cynics, which he dared not publish
his own lifetime, to be published after his death as 'materia
for history.'

Happily a swift oblivion inevitably overtakes biographies in
which so little conscientious study and artistic skill have gon
Charles Lamb, fortunately for himself, had sunk into his gra
before some of the chief offenders in this line had thrust the
chaotic octavos upon the world, otherwise these would, to
certainty, have been included with Court Circulars, Statistic
Reports, Beattie's and Soame Jenyns's works, and the like,
that famous catalogue of his 'books, which are no books.' It
with a very different order of book that we are now called upo
to deal. In the 'Life of the Prince Consort' by Mr. Theodo
Martin, we have a book which is a book—a book fitted to
as welcome in the drawing-room as in the library,—and whi
Charles Lamb would certainly not have included in his catalog
of *biblia a-biblia*, for he would have been sure to have be
delighted, not less with the delicate insight into character whi
it affords, than with the thoroughly artistic skill which has go
to its production.

Mr. Martin's task was one of supreme difficulty. The even
in which the Prince played an important, though often unnotic
part, were still recent; the passions of old party strife had not
yet wholly cooled down; men were still alive of whom it w
difficult not to speak, but who could not fail to be deeply sen
tive about whatever was said in any work which appeared wi
Her Majesty's sanction. Much had to be set right, as to whi
the public were either inaccurately informed or wholly in t
dark. To write a life of the Prince, which did not deal ful
with public affairs both at home and abroad, which did n
grapp

grapple with the *motum civicum, gravesque principum amicitias*, which are at all times a theme of peril, would have been to write a life from which what constituted its main elements of interest was omitted. Yet how might a writer hope to hold the scales so evenly as not to give offence, or, what in such a work was to be still more deprecated, provoke controversy in which possibly the Sovereign might be involved?

Then Mr. Martin, as he tells us, 'had not the happiness or the good fortune to know the Prince personally,' and he had therefore to enter upon his task in total uncertainty whether he should be enabled by the information to be placed at his disposal to overcome this disadvantage, or to satisfy his instinct as a writer of experience, that nothing was withheld, which 'an honest chronicler' ought to know.

From the latter difficulty Mr. Martin assures us he was at once relieved by the generous unreserve with which Her Majesty placed every species of information at his disposal—an unreserve which this volume enables us to estimate in all its extent, while it shows at the same time, by the prevailing discretion and good taste with which Mr. Martin has used his materials, how fully the confidence has been repaid. One thing at least is evident, from what Mr. Martin has written, that the relation which has subsisted between himself and his Sovereign, with reference to this work, has been one of entire frankness on one side, and of unconstrained independence on the other. Mr. Martin has obviously not been asked to withhold the frankest expression of the convictions at which he has arrived from the facts and documents before him; and he has not hesitated to speak out with the fearless loyalty of a man who felt sure of a generous estimate from a Sovereign whose truthfulness and directness of character are no secret to her people.

With such materials as have obviously been placed in Mr. Martin's hands he was well qualified to deal. The pages of this Review have, on more occasions than one, contained evidences of his power to place eminent men of a past day before us 'in their habits as they lived.' And his admirable Monograph on Horace had satisfied the most fastidious that his knowledge of men and things, and his quick spirit of imaginative sympathy, were likely to bring vividly before us the salient points of the history of the days in which the Prince's lot was cast, and to show the Prince himself moving and working among them with all the animation of a living picture. Nor have the expectations of those who were familiar with Mr. Martin's powers as a writer been disappointed. Even from this first volume the world will be enabled to know the Prince as he has

has not been known before. When the work is complete, and the Prince, who in these pages is seen rather growing into the great man, than developed into the noble proportions which his character afterwards assumed, we may hope to possess a record not unworthy of one to whom, as Mr. Martin well says, England has assigned a foremost place 'among those whom she delights to hold in reverent remembrance.'

Fascinating as the work is, its success must not be altogether attributed to the merits of the writer, admirably although, to our judgment, he has executed his task. In this instance the Life is that of a person placed in a most singular and difficult position: always before the public, liable every day of his life to do something, or to say something, which might provoke censure or evoke applause; and, on that account alone, it becomes a Life of exceeding interest. Moreover, the character of the hero was fully as singular as the position he occupied. Perhaps the most remarkable point in that character, which is clearly discerned and well brought out by the biographer, is the interest, and that not of a superficial kind, which the Prince took in everything that went on around him in the world. Mr. Martin is thus justly entitled to say:—

> 'Quicquid agunt homines, votum, timor, ira, voluptas
> Gaudia, discursus, nostri est farrago libelli.'

But it was not only the passions and affections of the men of his time that engaged the active mind of the Prince Consort. He took as deep an interest in the artistic, and literary, and scientific world, as in the political in which he bore so prominent a part. Nor was his interest bounded by any particular form of culture. An excellent judge of painting and of sculpture, he was also equally delighted with, and equally skilled in appreciating architecture and gardening. We particularly notice gardening, because the Prince has left behind him proofs of his great skill in that art in which, as his biographer notices, he took as much delight as did Lord Bacon. His love for it is well expressed in the following passage in one of his letters to the Princess Imperial of Prussia, 13th April, 1859.

'We have an art, however, in which even this third element of creation—inward force and growth—is present, and which has, therefore, had extraordinary attractions for me of late years, indeed I may say from earliest childhood, viz., the art of gardening. In this the artist who lays out the work, and devises a garment for a piece of ground, has the delight of seeing his work live and grow hour by hour; and, while it is growing, he is able to polish, to cut and carve, to fill up here and there, to hope, and to love.'

Then,

Then, too, there was probably no man of his time who was so thoroughly versed in all the improvements in manufacture that abound in this improving age. All those persons who had the good fortune to be brought into close converse with the Prince, will recollect with what animation, with what fidelity, and with what clearness he was wont to describe any new development of manufacture which he had recently seen. He excelled in statement, using no unnecessary words, and taking every division of his statement in its own order. We have often thought how it would have delighted the inventor, or the adopter of some improvement in manufactures, to hear how fully and how admirably the Prince described its peculiar merits, and the new work it was to do.

It has frequently been a subject for anxious thought with biographers, whether they should give a summary of the character of their heroes at the beginning of the work, or at the ending; or whether they should leave this summary to be formed by the reader for himself. We prefer, not having that space at our command which the biographer possesses, to give our view of the Prince's character before entering in detail into the many subjects of private and political import with which the book abounds.

One of the principal characteristics we have already noticed, namely, his interest in all human affairs, and we might have added, his exceeding desire for the highest self-culture. Such a Prince would have greatly delighted Goethe. But, joined with this exceeding desire for self-culture, he had what Goethe's critics, somewhat unjustly as we think, are wont to maintain that Goethe had not: namely, a deep interest in other men's proceedings, and in the general welfare of the world. It was impossible, however, for the Prince, with his affectionate nature, to be otherwise than very sympathetic. How strong and deep were his affections, may be discerned, not only in his domestic relations, but also in his general converse with the world, and in his great anxiety to diminish suffering of all kinds. Besides it is evident, from the records in this book, that the Prince's sense of duty was very strong, and that no man was more aware of the benefit that might be effected by a person in his position furthering everything that was likely to produce good for the world in art, science, literature, or manufactures. We have sometimes thought what would have been his career if he had been born to occupy a very different position. He would then, we feel almost certain, have devoted himself chiefly to one pursuit, and would have become pre-eminent in that. This, however, is not the business of a Prince. He can do more good by

by exercising the receptive faculty, and so being able to promote and encourage special excellence in others, than by any amount of culture, exercised in one direction.

But to proceed with the character, which may be summed up shortly. The Prince was an amiable, loving, affectionate man, possessing a high order of intelligence. He was penetrated by a sense of duty, such a sense of duty as was always to be seen in the great Duke of Wellington. He was very reticent himself, and very anxious that others should be reticent also. In a letter cited by Mr. Martin, which he wrote to his eldest daughter (21st of March, 1860), in reference to a very distorted report of some remarks of his own in a letter by the great Humboldt to Varnhagen von Ense, he says:—

'The matter is really of no moment, for what does not one write or say to his intimate friends under the impulse of the moment? But the publication is a great indiscretion. How many deadly enemies may be made if publicity be given to what one man has said of another, or perhaps even in many cases has not said?'

He was a very humorous man, and exceedingly prone to mark whatever was droll and comical that came before him, but always with exceeding good nature. This was a part of his character which was probably least known to the British public, and which would have more endeared him to them if they had known it.

He was a deeply religious man, with a pure horror of bigotry of any kind; and we should say, that he had always a dread lest theological questions of a minor kind should divert ingenious and learned men from devoting themselves to what he considered to be the essentials of all practical religious convictions, and their bearing on the truest and the best interests of mankind.

In the volume before us Mr. Martin has most judiciously avoided a common fault of biographers by not dwelling too long upon the early years of the Prince Consort. One boy is very much like another—that is, apparently so, for children, especially children whom the world are likely afterwards to care about, are very reticent, and do not by any means tell their elders all that is going on in their young minds. There are, however, certain peculiarities, even in these early years of the Prince, which deserve notice. These are well shown in a letter of Count Mensdorf to the Queen:—

'Albert, as a child, was of a mild, benevolent disposition. It was only what he thought unjust or dishonest that could make him angry. Thus I recollect one day when we children, Albert, Ernest, Ferdinand, Augustus, Alexander, myself, and a few other boys (if I am not mistaken, Paul Wangenheim was one) were playing at the Rosenau, and some

some of us were to storm the old ruined tower on the side of the castle, which the others were to defend. One of us suggested that there was a place at the back by which we could get in without being seen, and thus capture it without difficulty. Albert declared that "this would be most unbecoming in a Saxon knight, who should always attack the enemy in front;" and so we fought for the tower so honestly and vigorously, that Albert, by mistake, for I was on his side, gave me a blow upon the nose, of which I still bear the mark. I need not say how sorry he was for the wound he had given me. . . .

'He had a natural talent for imitation, and a great sense of the ludicrous, either in persons or things; but he was never severe or ill-natured, the general kindness of his disposition preventing him from pushing a joke, however he might enjoy it, so as to hurt any one's feelings. Every man has, more or less, a ridiculous side; and to *quiz* this, in a friendly and good-humoured manner, is, after all, the pleasantest description of humour. Albert possessed this rare gift in an eminent degree.

'From his earliest infancy he was distinguished for perfect moral purity, both in word and in deed; and to this he owed the sweetness of disposition so much admired by every one.'

It was well for England that these qualities did not escape the penetrating eye of the Prince's uncle, King Leopold. To the young Princess Victoria, heir-apparent to that throne, from the perilous splendours of which his youthful bride had been snatched by her untimely fate, Leopold had been a father—the only father the Princess had ever known. In her his affections had been centred; in her reign he yearned to see the fulfilment of that exemplar of constitutional monarchy which he had hoped to illustrate in the persons of the ill-fated Princess Charlotte and himself. In the character of his youthful nephew he saw the qualities which gave promise of what he could wish for in the Consort of his royal niece, and he singled him out from boyhood for the destiny he was ultimately to fulfil.

But the King was too conscientious to trust to his own judgment in so grave a matter;—and, well for our Queen, well for the Prince, well for England, he called to his aid one, on whose sagacity and fearless independence he could thoroughly rely. This was the friend of his heart—the friend who had stood by him in his hour of agony—the friend in whose heart thrilled to the last the pressure of the hand of that beloved Princess, which, as her life ebbed away, clung to his, as if to adjure him not to forsake the Prince, into whose eyes her own were never more to look. This was Baron Ernest von Stockmar, the inseparable companion of her uncle. He had often nursed the baby Princess Victoria in his arms; as she grew up she had often played around his knees, and, while she drank in instruction from

his lips, had grown to love him for his playful and kindly ways. But it was obviously not the future Queen of England merely whom Stockmar loved. He loved England, too; loved it with all his heart, as the citadel and bulwark of freedom, the one country in the world in which the claims of the many had been recognised, where a free civil life, and 'pure religion breathing household laws' were to be found in fuller force than they had yet been known in history. A time of many and radical changes he saw well was rapidly coming on; and he who was to possess the heart and ear of England's Queen, and to influence her domestic and public life, Stockmar had said to himself must be no common man.

It was not enough for a counsellor of this class that the young Prince Albert came recommended by the good opinion either of King Leopold, or of the many princely friends who had been impressed by the exceptional qualities that marked the Prince's youth. In this, as in all things, Stockmar would answer only according to his conscience. The welfare of the young Queen, the welfare, it might be, of a great nation, were dependent on the issue. He must prove the young man thoroughly before he would lend any sanction to his candidature; and he would do so only then if he found in him the 'making' of a noble Prince, fully equal to the position for which he was destined.

Those who are old enough to be familiar with the incidents of the early part of the present reign will remember the whispers of jealousy with which the name of Baron Stockmar used to be spoken. A foreigner, with foreign notions, with foreign attachments, using a dangerous influence for the advancement at the English Court of interests other than English interests, was the idea of the man, which had become rooted in the minds of certain circles. The simple facts are brought before us in the present volume; and all may now learn that England had no truer friend, that her Queen had no more loyal or English hearted adviser, and that Prince Albert had in him a mentor whose sole object was to accomplish him in all respects for the duties of his station, that England's stability might be strengthened amid the crash of tottering kingdoms, and that her greatness might be upheld amidst every assault from without and from within.

In all his relations with the Prince Consort, the appearance presented by Baron Stockmar is truly admirable. Never, in the history of Kings and Princes, do we find that any of these ruling personages had a truer friend than the Prince Consort was blessed with in Baron Stockmar. It was to the honour of both that it was fearless and frank on the side of the Baron, as it was trustf

rustful and sincerely modest on that of the Prince. Sometimes, in the course of Mr. Martin's narrative, one almost thinks that the Baron exceeds the limits even of true friendship in saying disagreeable things to his Royal friend. But the Prince knew better. What his friend said he knew was prompted by a heart that loved, as few can love, no less than by a head that thought, as few could think. Nothing from such a friend could, therefore, come amiss.

At the first the Baron forms an opinion not altogether favourable of the Prince's character. At any rate, he sees grave errors and certain dangers:—

'The Prince,' he says [*Denkwürdigkeiten*, p. 331), 'bears a striking resemblance to his mother, and at the same time, though differing in much, takes after her in many respects, both physical and mental. He has the same mobility and readiness of mind, the same intelligence, the same overruling desire and talent for appearing kind and amiable to others, the same tendency to *espièglerie*, and to the treatment of men and things in a droll and consequently often pleasant fashion, the same habit of not dwelling long upon a subject.

'His constitution cannot be called strong; still I incline to think, that with proper dietetic management of himself, it may easily gain strength and stability. After any exertion he is apt to look pale and exhausted. Great exertion is repugnant to him, and his tendency is to spare himself both morally and physically.'

Upon these remarks of Baron Stockmar, Mr. Martin judiciously observes:

'Such was the searching accuracy of Stockmar's powers of observation, that it is impossible to doubt the general truth of this sketch. The eye of the old physician was not more quick to detect the latent constitutional weakness, which was afterwards fatally developed, than to see the disinclination to sustained effort, which was probably in a great measure, if not wholly, the result of that weakness. At the same time it must not be forgotten that the standard by which Stockmar judged the Prince was no ordinary one. How few young men, even among the greatly gifted, could have borne so well a scrutiny so relentlessly severe?'

On the betrothal of the Queen and Prince Albert, the Prince wrote to the Baron to give what he knew would be 'the most welcome news possible;' and, speaking of the joyful fact, in the tenderest and most modest terms, says, after the fashion of all true lovers, that he 'is puzzled to believe that he should be the object of so much affection,' concluding with Schiller's beautiful lines in the 'Song of the Bell,' when the poet's youth and maiden are betrothed.

'Das Auge sieht den Himmel offen,
Es schwelgt das Herz in Seligkeit.'

'Stockmar,' says the biographer, 'would not have been Stockmar, if, while offering to the Prince his hearty congratulations in return, he had not coupled them with earnest counsels as to the course which must be pursued in laying the foundation of his future happiness, and in fulfilling worthily the duties of his great position. The Prince's reply was well calculated to assure him he would not be disappointed.

'Dear Baron Stockmar,—A thousand, thousand thanks for your dear, kind letter. I felt sure you would take much interest in an event of such moment to myself, and for which you have yourself paved the way.

'I have laid to heart your friendly and kind-hearted counsels as to the true foundation on which my future happiness must rest, and they accord entirely with the principles which I had already thought out upon that subject for myself. An individuality, a character, which shall win the respect, the love, and the confidence of the Queen and of the nation, must be the keystone of my position. Such an individuality gives a guarantee for the disposition, which prompts the actions; and where this exists, even should mistakes be committed, they are more likely to have allowance made for them, than are the best and grandest designs to secure support, where confidence in their author is wanting.'

And, indeed, throughout the whole of this most valuable correspondence, the Baron plays the part of Mentor with so much severity and with so little reticence, that we sometimes wonder whether a grown-up and decidedly mature Telemachus will endure it. But the Prince is never offended, and never replies with other than the due modesty of a younger man, and the due affection of a friend to a true friend. We should be inclined to rest our opinion of the Prince's character and the Prince's merits upon the Correspondence between himself and Baron Stockmar, if that alone had been published. If the Baron never forgets that he is somewhat of a tutor, the Prince always remembers that he is a Prince, and must reply with princely courtesy and just consideration to one of the best and truest of friends.

We have sometimes thought while reading the letters and conversations that are recorded in this book, between the Prince Consort and Baron Stockmar, that the Baron was a kind of virtuous Macchiavelli. The good man would doubtless have been much astonished if he could have heard himself so described. Those, however, who have read their Macchiavelli must, we think, have read him to little purpose, if they have not discerned that he would have given very virtuous counsels, if virtue had been the fashion of his day. It is in the depth and shrewdness of the Baron's remarks that we have traced this singular resemblance. He always seeks to impress upon his Prince

Prince the necessity for continuing to build up his own character in such a manner as to make it most serviceable with regard to the position that he occupied—in short, to make himself a noble and great man, and then that all good work would follow. He is to be diligent, not to fear hostile censure, not to give his mind too much to details (an error which the Prince was not unlikely to commit), but to seek out the principles upon which any great affair was to be conducted, to hold to them, and to impress them upon others. Do right, and all will come right.

There is one fact which we wish our readers to take into due consideration. The Prince Consort was born in 1819. The end of this volume of Mr. Theodore Martin's brings His Royal Highness's life up to 1848. He was, therefore, only twenty-nine years of age at the conclusion of this part of the narrative. And it is certainly most surprising, that a man of this comparative youthfulness should have manifested the mature sagacity which appears throughout these pages. We make this remark, because we ourselves found, in considering this 'Life of the Prince Consort,' that we had unconsciously been thinking of him as when we mourned his loss, and when he was thirteen years older.

The work we are criticising most happily illustrates the political history of the period. And here again we must give his due meed of praise to the biographer, who has dealt with this part of the subject almost as if he were a man devoid of party feelings. We should conjecture that Mr. Theodore Martin is one of those persons who take a great interest in politics; but, to a certain point, it is the interest of a bystander. There is evidently a love of order and discipline in his mind which makes him somewhat Conservative. On the other hand, he is willing to welcome improvement from whatever quarter it may come, and to look generously at all endeavours in that direction. He seems to sympathise with each Ministry as it comes forward on the stage; and, in that respect, he associates himself with the thoughts and feelings of his hero.

Had this book been merely a record of the private life of the Prince Consort, we should have welcomed it on that account; but it has for us a much deeper and much wider interest. The book will be most valuable as an historical record; and, not the less so, to those persons who have lived through the times which Mr. Theodore Martin has described, for nearly all of us must acknowledge that it is about the events of contemporary history that our memories present us a strangely blurred and often a most inaccurate conception.

It was probably not foreseen by the biographer, when he accepted

cepted his honourable task, that his work was destined to assume so much of an historical character as it does. This result, however, was unavoidable, seeing that the Prince Consort took so large an interest in all that was going on around him, and exercised upon it an influence so considerable. Such being the case, it is most fortunate that the biographer possesses so singularly calm and equable a mind in dealing with political subjects; and, if we may presume to say so, it shows great discretion upon the part of the Queen to have entrusted the writing of this work to one who was not known as a politician. One thing alone is manifest—that Mr. Martin always endeavours to remove any misapprehension respecting the conduct of past or living statesmen, and to make a just and reasonable defence, wherever it can be made, upon those points respecting which they were considered by their contemporaries to have erred.

It is impossible to read his work without being impressed with one very noticeable fact, and that is the number of disastrous circumstances and events through which the British nation has victoriously passed during the few brief years in which the Prince Consort had scarcely assumed the position of political importance which he was afterwards destined to fill,—we mean the years of his life which are commemorated in the present volume. It needs only to refer to the headings of Mr. Theodore Martin's chapters to ascertain how frequent were these difficulties. In 1842, the uneasy state of public affairs, and the disturbed state of the country are mentioned. In 1844, there is the alarming state of Ireland, the arrest and the trial of O'Connell. In 1845–6, there is the troubled state of affairs in England. In 1846-7, there are the consequences of the Spanish marriages and alarming political symptoms in Europe. In 1847 there are Revolutionary symptoms throughout Europe, commercial distress in England, great distress in Ireland. In 1847-8 there is great commercial and financial distress in England and in Scotland, alarming increase of crime in Ireland, measures of repression, disturbed state of affairs in Switzerland, Italy, and France.

Somehow or other we have contrived to survive all these difficulties and dangers. A recent work by a writer of considera[ble] eminence, has shown to us, Cassandra-like, the rocks which [are] now ahead of us. His warnings are not to be despised; but [at] the same time we may derive considerable comfort by contemplating the difficulties and the dangers which we have, in t[he] short period of time, passed through unscathed. It may also remembered that the Prince Consort was never daunted by th[ese] disastrous events; and, on all these occasions, proved himself

ɔst valuable adviser to the Sovereign and to the Govern-
the day.
e is a disposition in the present time to look upon con-
ıal monarchy as if it were little more than a mere
. But no one can read attentively the pages of the work
fore us without perceiving that not only are the public
ıf the Sovereign, of which the world takes no account, of
arduous kind, but that the Sovereign exercises a very
l and important influence upon public affairs. Even
sits of courtesy from one Sovereign to another, which were
feature of the present reign, are not without their effect,
ɔn the whole a very good effect. It is clear, from what is
l to us in this memoir, that, upon more than one occasion,
ɔonal influence of the English Court had a direct effect in
ning the peace of Europe. And, doubtless, the visits of
ıgs and Emperors who came to the English Court did not
impress upon those monarchs a just idea of the latent
ıf the British nation.
e is one memorable letter written by the Queen on the
of the Spanish marriages, which we think affords a
ble instance of the service that a monarch may perform
r her country, even when writing in a somewhat private
ɣ. The part which England took in that painful question,
ɛt limits which she placed to her interference, the reci-
which she demanded from the other parties concerned,
ever been better expressed than in the letter to the
ɔf the Belgians, a part of which we here subjoin :—

ɔEAR LOUISE,
I have read and re-read with the greatest attention the King's
ion of the recent events, and his statement of the motives
ıve governed the course of the French Government in regard
unhappy Spanish affair, and I am deeply pained to have to
that the perusal of his letter has in no way altered the opinion
had previously formed, nor the pain I feel that these events
have occurred to trouble our cordial understanding*—an
ıding which was so useful and so precious.
King accuses me of looking at these affairs only through the
of Lord Palmerston. This accusation has caused me profound
because I had every right to hope that His Majesty knew

d Aberdeen,' says the Comte de Jarnac, 'was the first to make use of
e, "a cordial, good understanding," in the course of a conversation with
ddo, his Scotch country seat. It expressed faithfully the nature of the
which a sincere mutual attachment between two eminent statesmen
ed for the two countries. . . . Even now, after more than thirty years,
ations may congratulate themselves upon the practice, adopted then for
time in their history, of living in relations of mutual confidence and
'—*Revue des Deux Mondes*, July 15, 1874, p. 294.

enough

enough of my sincere friendship for him to be convinced that this friendship would inspire within me the most lively desire—I might even say, anxiety,—to see things simply as they are, and to put upon them the most favourable construction. It is not the least of my vexations, to have to acknowledge towards all the world, that the conduct of France is wholly contrary to the spirit of our "*entente cordiale*," and to the agreement formerly come to between us. I know that Lord Aberdeen takes precisely the same view as ourselves, and believe that he has expressed as much to M. Guizot.*

'The one simple fact, which governs this whole affair, is, that the King declared that he would not give one of his sons to the Queen of Spain, and that on this declaration he based the right to limit the Queen's choice to the family of the Bourbons descendants of Philip V. We disputed and denied this right; still we consented to the choice being so restricted, and even promised to recommend it to Spain; and to this we have most scrupulously and religiously adhered without swerving one hair's-breadth. What the King desired has taken place; the Queen married a descendant of Philip V., and of those descendants just that one whom he knew we regarded as the least eligible. The same day the King gives his son to the heiress presumptive to the Crown, not only without previous concert with us, but contrary to the pledge which he gave me at Eu last autumn, when with the question of the marriage of the Queen he for the first time mixed up that of the marriage of the Infanta. This pledge was "that he would not think of this marriage, so long as it was a political question, and not until the Queen was married and *had children*."

'The King endeavours to justify this departure from the compact agreed upon between us, by assuming that we have pressed the candidature of our cousin Leopold, contrary to the engagement we had come under to His Majesty.

'I deny, in the most unqualified terms, that Leopold has ever been put forward as our candidate, either by the English Government or by any member of the Coburg family. The fact is, that, if Leopold became a candidate, this was due to Spain alone; and to Queen Christina herself, who, whether acting spontaneously and in good faith, or as a trap for the English Minister at Madrid, took numerous steps to effect this combination, which she only abandoned at the last moment. Then, as throughout, our conduct has been invariably the same; we lent no countenance to this scheme, and we advised the Queen to seek among the descendants of Philip V. a candidate to her mind.

'Such, then, I assert, has been the line of conduct pursued by us, its straightforwardness and probity cannot be impugned.

* * * * * * *

'Nothing more painful could possibly have befallen me than

* Lord Aberdeen had by this time written to M. Guizot in answer to explanation of the affair:—'I do not comprehend why it has been thought or necessary to abandon the engagement voluntarily entered into with me year, and since frequently repeated, respecting the marriage of Montpensier unhs

unhappy difference, both because it has a character so personal, and because it imposes upon me the duty of opposing the marriage of a prince, for whom, as well as for all his family, I entertain so warm a friendship.

'My only consolation is, that as what is proposed cannot be carried out without producing grave complications, and without even exposing to many dangers a family whom I hold in high regard, they may even yet retrace their steps, before it is too late.

'Ever, your most devoted,

'Windsor Castle, September 27th, 1846.' 'V. R.

This was not a letter in the preparation of which Her Majesty's Cabinet had any share. That it was written in concert with the Prince (ever Her Majesty's most faithful adviser and truest friend) there can be no doubt. But although emanating purely from the Sovereign, we know from another source, that it had the entire approval of Her Majesty's Constitutional advisers. In a letter of Lord Palmerston to Lord Normanby, which is to be found in the third volume of Lord Palmerston's 'Life,' he says, with an obvious reference to the letter in question :—

'My dear Normanby, 'Broadlands, September 27, 1846.

* * * * * * *

'Do not mention it to any one; but the Queen has written the King of the French a tickler in answer to a letter he sent her. Both have passed through the Queen of the Belgians. Her letter was quite her own, in concert, I presume, with Prince Albert; and I did not see it till after it was written, but I concurred in every word. She claims the performance of his promise to her to delay till after children are born to the Queen. In his letter to her he had dropped all mention of that, and alluded only to Guizot's promise to Aberdeen. She takes no notice of what passed between the ministers, and dwells only on what was said between the Sovereigns.

'Yours sincerely,

(Signed) 'Palmerston.

We have said that the letter to Queen Louise was assuredly the result of the joint counsels of our Queen and the Prince. In every detail of the great business of Her Majesty's life, a husband so loved and so worthy of all trust could not fail to be appealed to for counsel and guidance. The world knows already from other sources something of the Prince's relation to the Queen, of which a more complete picture is presented in Mr. Martin's volume. It was perfect in its kind. The writer of the Introduction to the Speeches of the Prince Consort' thus describes it :—

'The tastes, the aims, the hopes, the aspirations of the Royal pair were the same. Their mutual respect and confidence went on increasing.

creasing. Their affection grew, if possible, even warmer and more intense as the years of their married life advanced. Companions in their domestic employment, in their daily labours for the State, and, indeed, in almost every occupation, the burthens and the difficulties of life were thus lessened more than by half for each one of the persons thus happily united in this true marriage of the soul. When the fatal blow was struck, and the Prince was removed from this world, it is difficult to conceive a position of greater sorrow, and one, indeed, more utterly forlorn, than that which became the lot of the Survivor—deprived of him whom She herself has described as being the "Life of Her Life."'—*Introduction to the Speeches and Addresses of the Prince Consort*, p. 55.

If, however, the writer of this Introduction had possessed the advantage of reading what Mr. Martin's readers now know, before he had written this paragraph, he might have added to it. The devotion of the Prince Consort to the interests of the Queen, and of the country which she governs, was complete. It was also very peculiar in its nature. The Prince did not aim at fulfilling, in any respect, the part of Her Majesty's Prime Minister, nor did he confine himself to the much humbler part of a mere private secretary to the Queen; but he did fulfil the part of her most intimate friend and counsellor, accomplishing himself for this office by making himself thoroughly master of the whole field of home as well as foreign politics, and, at the same time, never flagged in the endeavour (which we have every reason to believe was fully responded to) to make the Queen thoroughly understand and appreciate the knowledge afforded and the counsel given, so that those two great ones might think and act in complete harmony and unison. Their marriage thus formed such a union as is rarely met with, and *can* only be rarely met with—the pursuits and avocations of most men being such as their wives can seldom enter into, or deeply sympathise with.

A most interesting subject, and one which is sure to attract the notice of all classes of readers, is the relation between the Prince Consort and the Queen's Ministers, as it appears in the pages of this work. The shrewd political observers of that time must, no doubt, have perceived and commented upon the difficulty of the position. The Prince Consort was a great personage—naturally a very potent personage—but yet having no distinctly recognised place in the constitution. The Prince thoroughly understood this anomaly, and, by his great tact, turned an anomalous position into a highly honourable and most useful one.

Doubtless with regard to the Queen's Ministers, this relation between

between them and the Prince Consort must sometimes have begun with a little feeling of fear on their part lest there should be any interference on his, which might prove a hindrance to the conduct of public affairs. If any such fear, however, existed, it was very soon dispelled; and the pages of this volume abound with expressions showing the entire confidence with which his wisdom and behaviour inspired successive Prime Ministers:—

'Lord Melbourne cannot satisfy himself without again stating to Your Majesty in writing what he had the honour of saying to Your Majesty respecting His Royal Highness the Prince. Lord Melbourne has formed the highest opinion of His Royal Highness's judgment, temper, and discretion, and he cannot but feel a great consideration and security in the reflection that he leaves Your Majesty in a situation in which Your Majesty has the inestimable advantage of such advice and assistance. Lord Melbourne feels certain that Your Majesty cannot do better than have recourse to it whenever it is needed, and rely upon it with confidence.'

'Since the change of Ministry, the Prince had devoted himself more closely than before to the politics of the day. In this he was encouraged both by Sir Robert Peel and Lord Aberdeen, who were soon convinced, as Lord Melbourne had been, that Her Majesty had in him an adviser whose capacity and strong practical judgment could not fail to be of infinite value in assisting her decisions. Before Baron Stockmar left England, he had the satisfaction of being told by Lord Aberdeen, how greatly both Ministers were gratified to perceive that the Queen leant upon the Prince's judgment, and showed an obvious desire that he should share her duties. It gave the Prince, Lord Aberdeen added, the moral status and influence to which he was entitled; and they had also remarked with pleasure in their dealings with him, how gently he exercised his authority, never giving a decided opinion on any point without previously consulting the Queen. They thought it most desirable that the Prince should occupy this position, and, as it was with the full concurrence of the Queen, it could be open to no possible objection.'

'"Sir Robert Peel," says Lord Kingsdown in his unpublished "Recollections of his Life at the Bar and in Parliament," p. 130, "when he introduced me to him (the Prince) in 1841, said that I should find him one of the most extraordinary young men I had ever met with." So, he adds, it proved. "His aptitude for business was wonderful; the dullest and most intricate matters did not escape or weary his attention; his judgment was very good; his readiness to listen to any suggestions, though against his own opinions, was constant; and though I saw his temper often tried, yet in the course of twenty years I never once saw it disturbed, nor witnessed any signs of impatience."'

And it was with tears in his eyes, and with words of the deepest regret, that Lord Palmerston, who was Prime Minister when

when the Prince was taken from us, confided to one in whom he habitually placed confidence, how deeply he deplored for the nation, as well as for the Queen, the death of the Prince. This is the more worthy of record, as it is no secret that the political views of that Prime Minister and of the Prince had occasionally been much at variance.

Some idea may be given of the work before us by describing some one section of each division of labour which occupied the time and thought of the Prince and Queen during that part of His Royal Highness's life which Mr. Martin has already recorded.

In the course of this narrative there were many Royal visits received and returned. Such visits are not without considerable care and anxiety on the part of the entertainers; and they require to be managed with much discretion. In illustration of this we propose to give an account of the late Emperor of Russia's visit to the Queen.

Again, during that time which enters into the narrative of the biographer there are ministerial crises and changes of Ministers. We propose to give an account of one of these, which may serve as a type of the conduct of the Queen and the Prince on these critical occasions.

Thirdly, there is to be shown the interest which the Prince took in all the social affairs of Great Britain, and the encouragement which he gave to art, science, and manufactures.

To commence with the Emperor of Russia's visit to the Queen. On the 30th of May, 1844, the biographer says:—

'The Queen and Prince were somewhat taken by surprise by the intelligence that the Emperor of Russia was on his way to visit the English Court, and might be daily looked for. . . . On the 3rd of June he was met at the Slough Station by the Prince, and conducted by him to the Castle. The Emperor was greatly struck—as, indeed, who is not?—by the beauty and magnificence of that noblest of all royal residences; and his reception during the five days of his stay at the English Court impressed him with the conviction, which he repeatedly expressed, that it was conducted on the noblest scale of any Court he had seen. Everything, he said, appeared to be done without effort and as if nothing more than ordinary were going on.

'The object of the Emperor in visiting England was no doubt mainly political. It was an excellent thing, he said to the Queen, to see now and then with one's own eyes, as it did not do always to trust to diplomatists only. Such meetings begot a feeling of friendship and interest, and more could be done in a single conversation to explain one's feelings, views, and motives, than in a host of messages or letters. He avoided discussion on the position of affairs in Europe with

with the Queen, but he took frequent opportunities of going into them with the Premier and Lord Aberdeen, and also with Prince Albert, conversing at all times with the greatest apparent unreserve. In all his conversations he professed the utmost anxiety to win the confidence of the statesmen at the head of English affairs, and to convince them of the uprightness and strictly honourable character of his intentions.'

The caution of the Prince Consort is manifested in the following passage, a caution which was no doubt equally exercised in the course of all the other visits from foreign Sovereigns:—

'On the Emperor the Prince produced a deep impression. He told Lord Aberdeen he should like to have him for his own son. In their personal communications he treated him with the greatest confidence, and paid him what in the Emperor's opinion was probably the highest testimony of his regard, by expressing a hope, that they might one day meet in the field of battle on the same side. The Prince was on the point of replying, that he trusted they might never see any interruption of the then peaceful state of Europe; but as this would have implied disapproval of the policy, which seemed to assume such an interruption as certain to take place, he checked himself, thinking the remark might be taken amiss.'

Her Majesty, in a letter to King Leopold, marked by the incisive perception and graphic force which Her Majesty brings to all her descriptions of men and things, gives her account of this visit of the late Emperor of Russia:—

'I will now (having told all that has passed) give you my opinions and feelings on the subject, which I may say are Albert's also. I was extremely against the visit, fearing the *gêne* and bustle, and even at first I did not feel at all to like it; but by living in the same house together quietly and unrestrainedly (and this Albert, and with great truth, says, is the great advantage of these visits, that I not only *see* these great people, but *know* them), I got to know the Emperor and he to know me. There is much about him which I cannot help liking, and I think his character is one which should be understood, and looked upon for once as it is. He is stern and severe, with strict principles of *duty* which nothing on earth will make him change. Very clever I do not think him, and his mind is not a cultivated one. His education has been neglected. Politics and military concerns are the only things he takes great interest in; the arts and all softer occupations he does not care for; but he is sincere, I am certain—sincere even in his most despotic acts—from a sense that it is the only way to govern. He is not, I am sure, aware of the dreadful cases of individual misery which he so often causes; for I can see, by various instances, that he is kept in utter ignorance of many things which his people carry out in most corrupt ways, while he thinks he is extremely just. He thinks of general measures, but does not look into details; and I am sure much never reaches his ears, and, as you observe, how can it?

'He

'He asked for nothing whatever—has merely expressed his great anxiety to be on the best terms with us, but not to the exclusion of others—only let things remain as they are. He is very much alarmed about the East, and about Austria. . . . He is, I should say, too frank, for he talks so openly before people, which he should not do, and with difficulty restrains himself. His anxiety to be believed is *very great*, and I must say his personal promises I *am* inclined to believe. Then his feelings are very strong. He feels kindness deeply,—and his love for his wife and children, and for all children, is very great. He has a strong feeling for domestic life, saying to me, when our children were in the room, "*Voilà les doux moments de notre vie!*" One can see by the way he takes them up and plays with them, that he is very fond of children.'

At the conclusion of the Emperor's visit, he spoke in the highest praise of the Prince Consort to Sir Robert Peel, saying he wished 'every Prince in Germany had as much ability and sense.'

Her Majesty, in her letter to King Leopold, makes the following important remark:—

'I hope that you will persuade the King (Louis Philippe) to come all the same in September. Our motives and politics are, *not* to be exclusive, but to be on good terms with all—and why should we not? We make no secret of it.'

It was with such feelings that the Royal pair exercised their hospitality towards all foreign Sovereigns.

We now proceed to give an account of some political events in which Sir Robert Peel was the principal person concerned, and as regards which it is to be seen what support and comfort he derived from the Queen and the Prince Consort. But before doing so, it is not out of place to say, that nothing can give a higher idea of the principles which governed the relation of the Crown to its Ministers after the marriage of the Queen, than what is revealed in the present volume. Lord Melbourne, always loyal and generous, with all his fatal good-nature and readiness to yield to the pressure of his party, used his best endeavours, as we have seen, to smooth the way for those who were to succeed him in the place he had so long occupied as the confidential adviser of the Crown. Much use had been made, to the prejudice of the Tory party, of their conduct as to the vote on the Prince's allowance, and other matters, at the time of his marriage. Sir Robert Peel felt that he had allowed himself to be carried away, for the moment, by the passion of his party, and that the part he had taken in apparent hostility to the wishes of the Queen and the interests of the Prince might well be remembered to his prejudice

prejudice. But however well founded such apprehensions might have been under former reigns, the spirit which now reigned in the Palace was such as quickly to put all such apprehensions to rest. This is very clear from what Mr. Martin tells us (p. 118), and his statement we are in a position to corroborate on the authority of one to whom Sir Robert Peel more than once spoke to the same effect.

'Peel used to say, that he had felt no slight embarrassment on first coming into official contact with the Prince, for the fact was painfully present to his mind, that the serious curtailment of the Prince's income was mainly due to the prominent support which he had given to Colonel Sibthorp's motion the previous year. He was, therefore, not a little touched to find that not a shade of personal soreness could be traced in the Prince's demeanour. On the contrary, his communications were of that frank and cordial character which at once placed the Minister at his ease, and made him feel assured that not only was no grudge entertained, but that he might count thenceforth on being treated as a friend.'

And as a friend he was from that hour welcomed and trusted; and when he was struck down in 1850, in the full tide of his ripened intellectual strength and influence, none mourned his loss more truly than the Queen and Prince, whom he had felt an embarrassment in approaching.

It cannot be said that Mr. Martin is not a master of brevity, for, though these events are narrated in his work with sufficient fulness and admirable clearness, we find the greatest difficulty in condensing his account, and must often let the author speak for himself. It was after a tour in Germany undertaken by the Queen and the Prince, which had afforded both of them great delight, that they returned to encounter a very disastrous state of things at home:—

'The state of affairs at home had not improved within the last six weeks. The rain, which had pursued the Royal tourists on the Rhine, had for many weeks, amidst thunder and storm, deluged the harvest fields of the British islands, and serious fears for the crops had spread from the farmers to the statesmen, whose anxieties such an event were so much calculated to increase. A new and terrible feature of apprehension was added in the reports which continued to crowd in upon them of a strange blight which threatened wholly to destroy the potato crop in Ireland, and to produce serious ravages in England and Scotland also, where, if less relied upon by the population as a staple of food, it was an important source of wealth to the farmers. In the Prince's *Journal* for October, entry upon entry tells of the prevailing anxiety, which culminates in the beginning of October in the words: "Very bad news from Ireland—fears of a famine." A crisis of the gravest moment was at hand, which had to be grappled with firmly and at

at once. Cabinet Councils were called, and four of these held in one week early in November, "agitated England, perplexed the sagacious Tuileries, and disturbed even the serene intelligence of the profound Metternich." What engaged their deliberations could be no secret to the outside world. The Free Trade party saw in the disaster which had fallen upon the country an auxiliary more potent than the best eloquence of their best Speakers; and Protectionists, who had long seen that to Sir Robert Peel they must not look as a leader, watched with apprehension for his next move in a policy which they must have for some time foreseen could only result in the abolition of the protective duties on corn.'

Sir Robert Peel had at first been inclined to submit to Her Majesty an Order in Council 'at once throwing open the ports and trusting to Parliament for an indemnity.' He must, however, have been overruled by his colleagues, for Parliament was not called together, as had been the general expectation, but was prorogued.

Mr. Martin notices that, at that time, the Whigs, at least the Whig leaders, had also changed their views on the subject of Protection. But, as he justly remarks, there was a great difference between the position of the Conservatives and the Whigs in respect to this question, all-important at the time. The Whigs were not hampered by pledges to uphold Protection —pledges on the faith of which their rivals had been placed in power. Then came Lord John Russell's famous Edinburgh letter, dated 22nd November, 1845, in which he said, 'It is no longer worth while to contend for a fixed duty. The imposition of any duty at present, without a provision for its extinction in a short period, would but prolong a contest already sufficiently fruitful of animosity and discontent.'

The effect of this letter was, no doubt, very great, but it is probable that Sir Robert Peel's determination was not much influenced by it, and had been resolved upon in his own mind before. To so shrewd a man his position for some time must necessarily have appeared untenable. As our author says, 'A Minister, whose judgment went along with the policy announced by his adversary, had no alternative but to provide for him the opportunity of carrying it out.'

Accordingly, on the 5th December, he placed his resignation in Her Majesty's hands. How it was received the following extract from Sir Robert Peel's 'Memoirs' will show:—

'In the course of the interview with Her Majesty, which took place after my arrival at Osborne on the 5th of December, I trust that I satisfied the Queen that I was influenced by considerations of the public interest, and not by the fear of responsibility or of reproach, in humbly

mbly tendering my resignation of office. Her Majesty was pleased accept it with marks of confidence and approbation which, however atifying, made it a very painful act to replace in Her Majesty's nds the trust she had confided in me.

'I will not say more than that the generous support which I had iformly received from Her Majesty and from the Prince, and all at passed on the occasion of the retirement, made an impression on y heart that can never be effaced. I could not say less than this ithout doing violence to feelings of grateful and dutiful attachment.' -*Sir R. Peel's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 222.

Lord John Russell was then summoned from Edinburgh to tend the Queen, and was entrusted with the formation of a linistry. This proved at once to be no easy task:—

'Lord John Russell had from the first anticipated failure as by no eans unlikely, and he had told Her Majesty that in such an event r Robert Peel would have no difficulty in carrying on the Govern- ent. But not the less severe was the strain upon that statesman's urage and loyalty when appealed to by his sovereign to resume the lm of affairs. The experience of the last year had taught him what must be prepared to face in the coolness of former friends, the udging support of unwilling adherents, and the rancour of disap- inted political antagonists. Very significant is the brief record in e Prince's Diary of what occurred:—"Sir Robert Peel comes down the afternoon, is very much agitated, but declares that he will not sert the Queen, and will undertake the Government."'

The biographer comments upon the sacrifice of his private elings which Sir Robert Peel must have made on this memo- ble occasion. And, indeed, nothing can well be more painful r a high-minded man than, as the Leader of a Party, to have lopted some distinct line of policy on some very important estion, thereby largely pledging both himself and his followers, d then turning suddenly round and saying, 'We are in the rong, and our adversaries in the right.' Sir Robert Peel's very nsitive nature must have made this confession doubly dis- essing to him. And then, when from the force of circum- ances, as in the present case, the Leader is not only compelled retract his opinions, but to take action upon the contrary inions, the painfulness of his position rises to its utmost height, d every generous mind, not under the immediate sway of party litics, must feel deeply for him and with him. Such were the elings of the Queen and the Prince Consort:—

'"They had been long accustomed," writes our author, "to admire r Robert Peel and those about him, for thinking only of what was st for the welfare of the State, with little care whether it was good r his party or not. But in this most trying hour they felt more

strongly than ever that he had shown himself "a man of unbou loyalty, courage, patriotism, and high-mindedness." These are Majesty's words, writing two days after his resumption of office. ' conduct towards us," she adds, "has been, I might say, almost 'cl rous.' I never have seen him so excited and so determined, and a good cause must succeed."

'Entertaining such views of the minister and of the situatio result of the ministerial crisis could not be otherwise than grati to the Queen and Prince. "We are *seelenfroh* (glad in soul), a say in Coburg," the Prince writes to his step-mother (25th Decen "or still more frequently *ganz fidel* (in high glee), that we hav vived a ministerial crisis of fourteen days' duration, and are standing exactly where we stood before—upon our feet, whereas d the crisis we were very nearly standing on our heads."'

Our object in quoting the foregoing narrative, is to sho support and encouragement given by Her Majesty an the Prince Consort to the Queen's Prime Minister. And support was not given to that Prime Minister only, but a preceding and successive Ministers.

It now remains that we should speak in detail of the P Consort's love of art, and of the service which he rendered adopted country by the promotion of art. The constant la of his very laborious life prevented that continuous self-c in art, to which he would otherwise, doubtless, have de himself. Our author tells us 'that, both in painting a musical composition, he had acquired considerable tec skill; and in the etcher's art the Queen and himself fo delightful occupation for their scanty leisure. To sing and together was also one of their constant recreations. T Prince music was, at all times, a source of supreme deligh element in which the hindrances and disappointments, and comings of life were forgotten.' Mr. Martin has given 'Extracts from Letters of Lady Lyttelton's,' a vivid idea poetical power which the Prince threw into his playi the organ,—'the eloquent exponent,' as Mr. Martin assu it was, 'of his thoughts and fancies.' And many of thos had the privilege of being present at the Private Conc the Palace will recognize the truth of the following pict the Prince in his later years:—

'He would often stand apart in the drawing-room, while som work of Beethoven, Mozart, or Mendelssohn was being perf wrapt in reverie, but with a look in his face which those cou understand, who knew by it, that the pressure on a brain oft severely taxed was for the moment removed.'

In the first year of his marriage the Prince was called upon to take a public part for the promotion of that Art which he so greatly loved:—

'As the Prince's devotion to art soon became known, he was called upon to take a prominent part in its encouragement before the public. So early as March he was appointed one of the Directors of the Ancient Concerts, and directed his first concert in this capacity on the 29th of April. His selection of the music for the occasion was made with great care, and he attended an elaborate rehearsal of it with the Queen two days before. This concert has peculiar interest as the first of a very remarkable series directed by the Prince, which, with what was done by him elsewhere, gave a stimulus to the cultivation of classical music, and of musical art generally in England, that has been of the highest value in raising the public taste.'

A much wider sphere of action in respect to Art was to be opened to the Prince Consort in the succeeding year 1841:—

'One of the first acts of Sir Robert Peel after the instalment of his Ministry, was to suggest that the Prince, whose wide range of knowledge in art and science was by this time generally known, should be placed at the head of a Royal Commission to enquire whether advantage might not be taken of the rebuilding of the Houses of Parliament to promote and encourage the Fine Arts in the United Kingdom.'

The original Commission included a very remarkable array of names:—

'In May 1844, the names of Lord Mahon and Mr. (afterwards Lord) Macaulay were added by a supplementary Commission. "To me personally," the Prince writes to Sir Robert Peel (4th April, 1844), in answer to his letter suggesting this addition to the strength of the Commission, "their addition would be very gratifying, as these sittings (besides the interest of the subject itself) give me an agreeable opportunity, which otherwise I should not have, to get more intimately acquainted with some of the most distinguished men of the day without reference to politics."'

The Secretary to this Commission was Mr. (afterwards Sir) Charles Eastlake. He met the Prince, possessed with the then prevalent, but utterly groundless idea that the Prince would entertain some peculiar favour for his own countrymen, as it was not then generally known, as it is now, how completely naturalized in heart and soul the Prince was; and that there was nobody more thoroughly devoted to British interests and to British welfare than himself. This kind of error is not confined to the British people, though they have often been especially accused of it. In the history of all nations it may be seen that the foreigner is, for a time, suspect, although it may

be shown from history (from that of Spain especially) that t foreigner has often exceeded the native in his devotion the country of his adoption. Sir Charles Eastlake manifeste in the course of this interview, the spirit and the good sen which might be expected from so eminent a man. 'I listene to his (the Prince's) plans, and made objections where I thoug it necessary. Two or three times I quite forgot who he wa he talked so naturally, and argued so fairly.'

Sir Charles, who was afterwards much in contact with th Prince, and also saw not a little of the Queen, must have ofte rebuked himself at the surprise he felt that a Prince should tal so naturally, and argue so fairly. In other Courts, and in ou own in a former day, such a feeling would have been not onl natural, but more than justified. The earthly Jove's han would grasp the thunderbolts on the slightest indication tha his supremacy in knowledge and wisdom was questioned, an his talk would be of the character of 'thunder, nothing bu thunder.' But those who have had the good fortune to converse with either Her Majesty or the Prince, must soon have bee made to feel that they welcomed in others the simplicity, the directness, the frankness which are conspicuous in themselves. This was especially the case with the Prince, who had a singular delight in what Dr. Johnson would have called good talk, and who has been heard to say that one of the greatest pleasures in life is to hear a long course of good argument. The author of the 'Introduction to the Collection of the Prince's Speeches' corroborates this statement. 'In serious conversation,' he says, 'the Prince was, perhaps, the first man of his day. He was a very sincere person in his way of talking; so that, when he spoke at all upon any subject, he never played with it; he never took one side of a question because the person he was conversing with had taken the other; and, in fact, earnest discussion was one of his greatest enjoyments. He was very patient in bearing criticism and contradiction; and, indeed, rather liked to be opposed, so that from opposition he might elicit truth, which was always his first object.'

Sir Charles Eastlake now thought that the moment had come when he must make a stand against the introduction of foreign artists. Had His Royal Highness insisted upon this, Sir Charles had made up his mind to resign his Secretaryship. We must now give his own words:—

'I almost said as much by observing that I was irrevocably committed on that point by my letter to the chairman of the late committee. Prince Albert said he knew I was, for he had read that letter. He added, however, that he quite agreed with me. I then said I saw no

o objection to English artists, who might be entrusted with the management of considerable works, employing Germans under them. To my agreeable surprise Prince Albert would not even admit that this was necessary, for he said he was convinced that in all that related to practical dexterity, which was the department in which it was assumed that some instruction (for fresco) would be necessary, the English were particularly skilful. He observed that in all mere mechanism the English generally surpassed all other nations. He gave several instances, and among others said, "Even to the varnish on coaches, it is surprising how much more perfect the English practice is than that one sees on the Continent."'

On this Mr. Martin notes:—

'The Prince, it is well known, was particularly observant of the materials used in manufacture, and of their special qualities, and often surprised people by his intimate knowledge of the technicalities of their own craft. We are able, on the authority of Lord Portman, to cite the following striking instance of the accuracy of his knowledge in a matter purely technical. When at Salisbury, in 1857, on the occasion of the Royal Agricultural Society's Show, the Prince visited the Cathedral Chapter House, the restoration of which was then nearly completed. The Prince admired the work, but observed to Lord Portman, who attended him, that the paint used was of the wrong kind, "and that in a short time it would fall off in flakes." A friend of Lord Portman's visiting the Chapter House in July, 1870, found the walls in great disorder, a part of the paint falling away precisely as the Prince had foretold.'

The Prince's attention was not merely directed to the encouragement of art, according to the common but restricted use of that word, which is mostly employed to signify works of sculpture, of painting, and of music. His attention was not the less directed, and was not the less usefully employed, in visiting and encouraging whatever of skill was to be seen at the great centres of commerce in this country. Mr. Martin gives a vivid account of the Prince's visit to Liverpool:—

'Not a point was lost to his observation. "He had often heard," was his remark to Mr. Bramley Moore, the Chairman of the Liverpool Dock Committee, who attended him, "of the greatness of Liverpool, but the reality far exceeded his expectations." After opening the lock with the usual ceremonies, the Prince brought the enthusiasm of his hosts to a climax by proposing at the déjeuner which followed, "Prosperity to British Commerce." The Prince's dock, the largest in the port, was then inspected; visits were paid to the South Corporation and Bluecoat Schools, and a careful survey was made of the St. George's Hall, with which considerable progress had been made. Mr. Elmes, the architect, found to his delight that every architectural, feature of novelty or importance, which he would have wished to be noticed,

noticed, was appreciated and commented on by the Prince. At the docks and warehouses it had been the same. The Dock engineer, Mr. Jesse Hartley, a man of the first eminence in his profession, was at once surprised and gratified by the technical knowledge of hydraulic engineering shown by the Prince.'

'So close and practical,' says Mr. Martin, 'was the Prince's interest in the details of the work, that he requested that a sample of the granite-rubble masonry used in the docks, by the excellence of which he had been struck, might be sent up to him at Windsor Castle. These details are given on the authority of Mr. Robert Rawlinson, C.B., an intimate of both Mr. Elmes and Mr. Hartley, from whom he received them at the time. "St. George's Hall," Mr. Rawlinson writes, "is a noble monument of the artistic skill of the young and gifted architect. The Liverpool Docks are among the finest specimens of hydraulic engineering in the world. The Prince was at home with such men amidst such works. To an architect he could talk as an architect; to an engineer, as an engineer; to a painter, as a painter; to a sculptor, as a sculptor; to a chemist, as a chemist; and so through all the branches of Engineering, Architecture, Art, and Science."'

The further development of the Prince Consort's incessant labours to promote the best interests of art, science, and manufactures, will be seen in the remaining portion of his Life, which Mr. Martin has yet to publish. But enough has already been stated to prove that, from the Prince's first coming to England, up to the time at which the present narrative ends, he did not fail to be a most attentive observer of all that was going on in these great departments of labour, and to render his aid and sympathy to all good efforts made in that, or indeed in any worthy direction.

It is to be noticed of the Prince, as it is very characteristic of the man, that he did not care for those works only in which he himself took an active part. It is mentioned that—

'He loved to ride through all the districts of London where building and improvements were in progress, more especially when they were such as would conduce to the health or recreation of the working classes; and few, if any, knew so well, or took such interest as he did, in all that was being done, at any distance, east, west, north, or south of the great city—from Victoria Park to Battersea—from the Regent's Park to the Crystal Palace, and far beyond. "He would frequently return," the Queen says, "to luncheon at a great pace, and would always come through the Queen's dressing-room, where she generally was at that time, with that bright loving smile with which he ever greeted her; telling where he had been—what new buildings he had seen—what studios, &c., he had visited. Riding for mere riding's sake he disliked, and said: *Es ennuyirt Mich so.* (It bores me so.)"'

From

om a work so comprehensive and varied as this is, it is ult to determine what passages to select, in order to give est idea of what the reader will find in it most worthy of e. But we cannot go wrong in calling attention to some e Prince's remarkable expressions of opinion which are ered through the book.

a memorandum by the Prince, which he gave to Lord John ell, on Italian affairs, there is the following pregnant and ious passage: those of our readers who recollect the poli- events of the day (1847) will not fail to remember the ion referred to by the Prince:—

hat will be Lord Minto's position at Rome? Will he be a ter accredited to the Pope, or a member of the British Cabinet? ill be opposed by the *Corps Diplomatique*, at the head of which ustrian ambassador is supreme, who will be supported (if only hand) by his French colleague. These two great Catholic s have means in their hands to influence the Vatican, which we t dream of competing with. The probability is that Lord Minto have very little real influence, and will be made responsible for act of a doubtful nature, and of which he may have been totally ant.'

ese are surely very wise suggestions, and very remarkable ming from a young man only twenty-eight years of age. John Russell assured Her Majesty, that the views expressed e memorandum entirely coincided with the course of con- which Lord Palmerston and himself had agreed to recom- to the Queen.

a subsequent letter to Lord John upon the same subject rince observes:—

ngland has, by her own energies and the fortunate circumstances ich she has been placed, acquired a start in civilisation, liberty, osperity over all other countries. Her popular institutions ost developed and perfected, and she has run through a develop- which the other countries will yet in succession have to pass gh. England's mission, duty, and interest is, to put herself at ad of the diffusion of civilisation and the attainment of liberty. er mode of acting, however, be that of fostering and protecting effort made by a State to advance in that direction, but not of ng upon any State an advance which is not the result of its own se. Civilisation and liberal institutions must be of organic h and of national development, if they are to prosper and lead happiness of a people. Any stage in that development missed, mp made in it, is sure to lead to confusion, and to retard that levelopment which we desire. Institutions not answering the of society for which they are intended *must work ill*, even if these utions should be better than the state that society is in. Let England,

England, therefore, be careful (in her zeal for progress) not to *push* any nation beyond its own march, and not to *impose* upon any nation what that nation does not itself *produce;* but let her declare herself the protector and friend of all States engaged in progress, and *let* them acquire that confidence in England that she will, if necessary, defend them at her own risk and expense. This will give her the most powerful moral position that any country ever maintained.'

To the same effect the Prince wrote on another occasion:—

'We are frequently inclined to plunge States into constitutional reforms towards which they have no inclination. This I hold to be *quite wrong* (*vide* Spain, Portugal, Greece), although it is Lord Palmerston's hobby; but, on the other hand, I maintain that England's true position is to be the defence and support (*die Schutz-Macht*) of States, whose independent development is sought to be impeded from without.'

Again, with what sagacity and boldness the Prince comments, in a letter to Baron Stockmar, upon the King of Prussia's speech.

'"I have to-day read with alarm the King of Prussia's Speech, which in my vile word-for-word translation into English produces a truly strange impression. Those who know and love the King recognise him and his views and feelings in every word, and will be grateful to him for the frankness with which he expresses them; but if we put ourselves into the position of a cold critical public, our heart sinks. What confusion of ideas! And what boldness in a King to speak extempore; and at such a moment, and at such length, not only to touch all the most terrible and difficult topics, but to plunge into them slap-dash, to call God to witness, to promise, threaten, protest, &c."

'In writing to Baron Stockmar a few days later the Prince remarks on two qualities in the character of King Frederick William, which were soon found to interfere fatally with his powers to deal with the problems of practical politics.

'"The King lets himself be misled by similes which captivate his fancy, which he carries out only so far as they suit his purpose, and which frequently by no means reflect the true state of things, but satisfy because they are clever and suggestive (*geistreich*). This makes close discussion with him impossible."'

This last remark of the Prince Consort will be allowed by observant men to be singularly shrewd. Most of the greatest errors in the world find a large support in similes which captivate the fancy, but do not serve to enlighten the understanding.

His character of Pope Pius IX. is equally striking:—

'The Pope is the counterpart of the King of Prussia: great impulsiveness, half-digested political ideas, little acuteness of intellect with

with a great deal of cultivated intelligence (*Geist*), and accessibility to outward influences. The rock on which both split is the belief that they can set their subjects in motion, and keep the direction and spread of the movement entirely in their own hands; nay, that they alone possess the *right* to control the movement, because it emanates from them?'

In conclusion, we would cite a remark that was made by the Prince Consort, which we think, though it is not of a political or diplomatic nature, deserves much consideration in the present time.

'"I don't understand," he would often say, "people making a business of shooting, and going out for the whole day. I like it as an amusement for a few hours. *Die Leute hier* (in England) *wollen ein Geschäft daraus machen.*"'

We said at the commencement of this article, that Mr. Theodore Martin had been very fortunate in having to portray the life of one who was so deeply interested in, and so thoroughly conversant with, most of the principal events of his time. There is, however, one drawback against which the author has had to contend. The Prince Consort's character was of that tempered, proportionate, and thoroughly well-conditioned nature, which does not admit of any of those violent contrasts which are wont, especially at first sight, to make a character interesting. The world in general is much fascinated by what is picturesque in character. A hero such as Cortes, pious and unscrupulous, polite and cruel, amiable and fierce, inevitably amuses, astonishes, and attracts us. The reader likes to read about these strange contrasts, and perhaps, plumes himself upon the fact that if he has not the greatness, at least he has not the inconsistency, of the hero of the story.

In reality there was something in the Prince Consort's character which entirely relieved its noble gravity and consistency. As we have intimated before, he was one of the most humorous of men—humorous in contra-distinction to witty; and the kind of humour was peculiarly British. It pervaded all descriptions he gave of anything that he had seen; it was lambent and not forked; and in short was of the kind that does not admit of repetition.

Moreover, as the Prince had a great dislike to giving pain, and to saying anything that was ill-natured, his humour never expressed itself in those short, sharp, sayings, which are easily recollected and readily repeated. Still, this humorous nature of the Prince formed a great and ever present relief to the somewhat stern quality of virtue which was always to be perceived in him as the ground-work of his character.

As

As an instance of this sternness, we may mention the feelings of the Prince as regards the conduct of Louis Philippe in the disastrous business of the Spanish marriages. It is evident that the Queen was inclined to forgive that conduct; but the Prince could not, feeling that 'if truth had deserted the rest of the world, it ought to find a resting-place in the bosoms of Kings.'

We have endeavoured to give a general review of this important and suggestive work. It is, however, a work of which extracts give but a faint notion, and it must be read throughout before a just opinion can be formed of the continuous labour, of the strict adherence to duty, and of the exceeding intelligence devoted to British interests, which this portion of the 'Life of the Prince Consort' reveals to us.

We have not dwelt much upon the purely domestic details which are described in this volume. These are, however, peculiarly fascinating, and, through the writer's skill, they have the special charm of being felt, rather than insisted on. Throughout the narrative it is clearly to be seen that the Prince Consort was a good husband, a good father, and a kind master; such a man, in short, as may be adopted by fathers for their own model, and set as an example before their sons.

We congratulate the biographer upon the conclusion of this first volume, and look forward with hopefulness to the future volume or volumes, with which he may favour us. At the same time, we cannot help remarking upon one of his singular merits as a biographer, namely, that he entirely effaces himself in his work, and that the reader is never withdrawn from the contemplation of the life of the hero by any prominence of the personality of the biographer. It is only when we pause to reflect on the impression as to the Prince, his character, and influence, which has been left upon our minds, that we appreciate the skill and artistic reserve which have produced so living and harmonious a picture from the complicated materials with which he has had to deal.

ART. IV.—1. *Le Barreau Anglais. Discours prononcé par [illegible] Maurice Van Meenen à la Séance Solennelle de Rentrée* 29 *Octobre* 1873. Bruxelles, 1873. 8vo.

2. *Hortensius.* An Historical Essay on the Office and Duties [illegible] an Advocate. By William Forsyth, LL.D., Q.C., M.P. [illegible] Edition. London, 1874. 8vo.

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'ORSYTH, in his 'Hortensius,' of which a second d improved edition has now been published, has :h much learning and literary ability, an historical the Advocate's office and functions, and described the career of the profession in Greece and Rome, France and. Hortensius, the famous Roman Advocate, has :ted by the author as The Advocate *par excellence*, ame has therefore been taken as the title of this in- work. Cicero had before paid a similar compliment end and contemporary. Yet, Hortensius was guilty isconduct in the affair of Minucius Basilus,* that, ed in England in our days and been a member of Court, the Benchers would probably have disbarred English Bar has always kept itself remarkably free ccusation of perverting privileges to the accomplish- audulent objects, and has, for more than five centuries, h place in the estimation of the public, not only for nd eloquence, but for honourable conduct. The pro- a favourite with the English nation. It has acted as band, uniting the aristocracy with the classes below younger sons of the nobility, when possessed of suffi- al energy for the Bar, have cheerfully entered its ranks, ere, by a successful career, wealth not otherwise attain-

* Cicero, 'De Officiis,' iii. 18.

able

able by them. The humblest tradesman, who can give his son a good education and enter him at an Inn of Court, may hope to see him rise to fame and opulence at the Bar, become a Judge and even Lord Chancellor.

But the opinion of an intelligent foreigner on matters affecting England, is often more accurate than any we can form for ourselves. It more resembles the opinion to be expected from the impartiality of posterity. Maurice Van Meenen, a learned Belgian Advocate, has, in a discourse lately delivered before the Junior Brussels Bar, given an elaborate account of the English Forensic system, from which we extract the following passages:

'England, as one knows, is the country of traditional institutions. These daughters of the genius of the nation have developed and modified themselves in the course of centuries together with the nation, shaping themselves in conformity to new wants, and, under the appearance of immobility, transforming themselves as completely as English civilisation itself. They are not at all, as in other countries, conceptions which, in a moment, have started full-grown from the brain of an individual or of an assembly, and been forced on a people whose wants they do not satisfy, and into the life of which they never, except superficially, penetrate. The spirit of England rebels against systems constructed according to absolute principles. It is the enemy of abstractions. Like the man of science, who only advances prudently, step by step, by the light of experience alone, it respects that which long traditional experience has brought to it, changes that only which is manifestly insufficient or bad, and, above all things, creates nothing but what is strictly necessary for actual wants.

* * * * *

'The Bar participates in the character of all the institutions of the country. It is from the unwritten common law, from a tradition six centuries old, that it derives its strength and greatness. It does not owe its existence to an Act of Parliament, or an ordonnance of the crown (*à une loi ou à un décret*), but it is itself one of the puissant organs of the Constitution. It has remained steadfastly the defender of the rights and liberties of the people, and has, in the worst periods of history, resisted the aggressive encroachments of power, the pretensions of the crown, and even the illegal proceedings of a Parliamentary majority.

* * * * *

'The Inns of Court are societies of a truly singular character. They are not corporations created by State authority, but purely voluntary associations: yet these voluntary associations are one of the organs of the State; they possess exclusive rights, regulate themselves freely, without tolerating the interference in their government of any authority whatever; but they have, as visitors, the Judges of the Supreme Courts of law sitting at Westminster.' (Pp. 6, 7, 8.)

The English Bar had its origin in a patriotic movement and uprising

ising of the nation against the machinations of the Pope of me, in the era of the Plantagenets. The clergy, as the most icated class in the community, had got into their hands the inistration of the municipal law of most of the European tes; but the Popes wished to supersede such law by the Civil l Canon Law. Early in the reign of our Henry III., the Episco- Constitutions were published, which forbade clerks and priests practise as advocates in the Common Law Courts. Towards close of the same reign (A.D. 1137), a complete copy of the ndects was discovered at Amalfi; and from that time, in gland as elsewhere, the clergy endeavoured to introduce versally the study of the Canon and Civil Law in preference the ancient laws of the realm. In A.D. 1254, Innocent IV. bade the reading of the Common Law by the clergy, who m to that time had been its chief expositors at the Universi-. It then became necessary either to train up a body of men to the law, or to allow the Civil Law to supersede it. pired by patriotism, the youth of England in great numbers ered with ardour into the legal profession. Schools of law e, in the first instance, opened within the precincts of the y of London, and they were most numerously attended, espe-ly by the sons of the landed gentry. Edward I., in 1292, horised the Chief Justice and other Justices of the Court of mmon Pleas, which had then sole jurisdiction over all civil ses, to confer the exclusive privilege of pleading causes upon rtain number of persons learned in the law, who were to be cted from every county in England. The serjeants at law, have always formed a distinct class, are an order of advo- s which derives its status directly from the Crown. The ges of the King's Bench and Common Pleas and, subsequently, he Exchequer, were selected exclusively from the serjeants, , before being made Judges, acted as advocates, and were me time the only advocates. From the 20th of Edward I. n to the present reign, serjeants only could practise as advo- s in the Court of Common Pleas, or try civil causes at Nisi s at the Assizes. On the calling of every Parliament the ges and serjeants are summoned by writ to give their at-lance, and the writs of summons are issued to the Judges, as Judges but as serjeants.

was impossible for the legal business of advocacy throughout land to be satisfactorily conducted very long by a small set nen privileged by the Crown. It was essential that some r opening for the transaction of legal business should be ed to the crowds of young gentlemen who had been en-aged to devote themselves to the study of the Common Law, and

and who had already begun to organize themselves into societies which we should now call clubs. The advocates and students o the law appear to have formed themselves, as early as A.D. 1307 into one or more voluntary societies, in the nature of colleges under the sanction of the Judges, for the study and advancemen of the law. They were always distinct from the serjeants, an had separate Inns and independent self-government; but they ha a difficulty for some time in finding suitable places in which t reside and pursue their studies. Strong objections appear t have been entertained to their being allowed to settle themselv permanently within the walls of the City of London. Th were able at last to hire various old buildings, at plac situated between the City and Westminster, where the Kin Courts of Law were generally held; but they established the selves there in the first instance as lessees only from priv owners. The 'apprentices at law' were soon permitted by t Judges to act as advocates in those courts in which the assi ance of serjeants could not be obtained. But the apprenti soon became absorbed into the class of 'utter-barristers,' w were so called because in arguing 'moot cases' in the Ha of their societies, they were placed at the outer or uttermost e of the form on which they sat, called 'the barr.' They are n called Barristers simply. In all societies of Barristers the Read and Benchers of each House were, from the earliest times, superior and governing body, and occupied the upper end of hall, which was raised on a daïs; next came the utter-barriste who sat below them, and finally the students, who were at t time called 'inner barristers.'

In the time of Sir John Fortescue, Chief Justice in reign of Henry VI., the Four Inns of Court were in existen and we learn from him that there were about two thousa students in the Inns of Court and Inns of Chancery. The cl of society to which they belonged may be judged of by the f that the expense of each law student in Fortescue's time amoun to more than 28*l.* a year, which is equal to 450*l.* of our mon They were therefore a numerous class, drawn to the metropc from the most important families in the kingdom, and th required careful management by competent authorities. T was afforded by their system of self-government established their several Inns of Court. Each of the four Societies h already acquired, at the cost of its own members, and with any assistance from the State, a house for itself, called an I of Court, and in each of these Inns, and in the Inns of Chanc affiliated to them, the students were lodged, fed, and instruct They were not taught law only, but they came under a syst

of general discipline, which extended even to dress, demeanour, and amusements.

We will now explain briefly how the property of the Inns of Court, which in our days has been said to belong to the public, was originally acquired.

After the order of Knights Templars was abolished by the Pope and their property seized by the Crown, Edward II. (A.D. 1307) granted the Temple estate to the Earl of Pembroke, who afterwards (A.D. 1315) resigned the grant to the Earl of Lancaster. One considerable body of the professors and students of the law became the Earl of Lancaster's lessees of great part of the old Temple, and thereby gained, for the first time, that footing there which has never since been lost. Subsequently, after a series of changes, the Temple came again, by escheat, into the hands of Edward III., and he committed it to the care of the Lord Mayor, as his escheator. That the lawyers then resided in the Temple, appears by a curious mandate of the King, dated 2nd November, 1330. In the course of the same year he farmed out the estate of the Temple, with certain exceptions, to William de Langford, at a yearly rent of 24*l.*, and the Society became De Langford's sub-lessees. But the Temple Church, the cloister, and other 'sanctified places dedicated to God,' and also the 'residue' of the Temple, were subsequently granted in fee to the Prior and Brethren of the Hospital of St. John, who were afterwards called the Knights of Rhodes, and ultimately the Knights of Malta. But the more western parts of the Temple, called the 'Outward Temple,' were not included in this grant. Thereupon an abatement of 12*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.* was made by the Crown out of William de Langford's rent in respect of the premises taken from him. At that time the total revenue of the estate of the Temple was estimated at 73*l.* 6*s.* 11*d.*, equal to about 1000*l.* of our present money. There were two Halls in the Temple in the year 1337. The first, which stood on the site of the present Hall of the Inner Temple, had been the Hall of the old Knights Templars, and was the one originally assigned to their successors, the Hospitallers; the other had been the Hall of the 'Freres Serjens' of the order, and remained in the hands of the Crown until A.D. 1340, when it was also granted to the Hospitallers as part of the 'residue of the Temple.' The lawyers who were congregated in the Temple had no title there, except as lessees of William de Langford or of the Hospitallers. But between the reigns of Richard II. and Henry VI. they had become so numerous, that both Halls were necessary to contain them, and they divided themselves into two separate Societies, called the Inner Temple and the Middle Temple. The Outward Temple, which was farthest

farthest away from the City, was granted away by the Crown, and became, after a series of changes, the site of Essex House. In 32 Henry VIII. an Act of Parliament was passed dissolving the Order of the Hospitallers and vesting all the property of the brethren in the Crown, saving the rights and interests of the *lessees* and others who held under them. In this way, though not originally, the Templars became tenants of the Crown, paying rent for the property held by them. The old Hall of the Freres Serjens soon became too humble for the thriving Society of the Middle Temple, and in reliance that they would never be disturbed in their holding by the Crown, they converted their old Hall into Chambers, and afterwards pulled it down; then, in the 5th of Elizabeth, they, out of their own resources, built their present magnificent Hall, which is still one of the noblest ornaments of the metropolis. In both the Temples the ruinous old buildings which had been left by the Knights Templars and Hospitallers were pulled down, and various new buildings and sets of chambers were erected by the Societies, or by private members, who had leases for lives granted to them as an inducement to build. All this was done by the Templars in reliance on the honour of the Crown that their holdings under it, which had been made valuable by their expenditure upon them, would never be interfered with. But although they were for all practical purposes secure against being disturbed by the Crown, there was danger that the Crown might grant the estate of the Temple to some courtier, just as Henry VIII. had granted the estate of the Convent Garden to the Earl of Bedford. In the reign of James I. some 'Scotchman'* actually attempted to obtain from His Majesty a grant of the fee simple of the Temple, which would have enabled him to avail himself of the improvements which had been made by the lawyers. On this application coming to the knowledge of the Societies, they forthwith made 'humble suit' to the King, and by the influence principally of one of their members, Sir Julius Cæsar, who stood very high in His Majesty's confidence, they obtained a grant, dated 13 Aug., 6 James I., of the property in fee-simple to trustees for themselves and their successors 'for the lodging and entertainment and for the education (*pro hospitatione et educatione*) of the students and professors of the laws residing in the same Inns for ever,' the grantees yielding and paying to the King, his heirs and successors, 10*l.* yearly for the mansion called the Inner Temple, and the same yearly sum for the Middle Temple. It will be observed that this trust is for the benefit of their own members only

* 'The Temple Church.' By C. G. Addison. P. 23.

, and not for that of the general public. The two Societies n executed a deed of partition, by which the property was ided and apportioned between them, to be held in severalty ever. In the year 1673 the two Societies purchased from Crown the fee-farm rent of 10*l.* a year each, which had been rved in the grant of James I., and thus became absolute ers of the Temple.

nother great body of apprentices at law and students was blished, shortly after A.D. 1310, in an old mansion in what ow called Chancery Lane, where they have ever since con- ed. This mansion had formerly been inhabited by a re- ous community, had escheated to the Crown, and been ted by Edward I. to Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, from m it acquired the name of Lincoln's Inn. Soon after his h a voluntary association of lawyers, which had constituted uselves into an Inn of Court, became lessees of the mansion, have since been called the Society of Lincoln's Inn. e of the existing records of this Society reach back to commencement of the reign of Henry VI. The Bishops of chester appear to have been then the owners of the fee-simple his house, and in the reign of Henry VII. Robert Sherborne, hop of Chichester, made a new lease to William Suliarde, a nber of the Society, for ninety-nine years, at the yearly rent 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Afterwards another Bishop of Chichester, by d, dated 1st July, 28 Henry VIII., which was subsequently firmed by the Dean and Chapter, conveyed the inheritance, h other adjoining property, to William and Eustace Suliarde. stace was the survivor, and by deed, dated 12th November, Elizabeth, Edward, son and heir of Eustace, in consideration 520*l.*, conveyed the premises in fee to Richard Kingsmill l the rest of the then Benchers, whereupon a fine was duly ied. Thus the Society of Lincoln's Inn, from having been rely lessees, acquired the fee-simple of their property by pur- se out of their own funds.

The remaining Society, called Gray's Inn, was an Inn of urt as early as the reign of Edward III., when they became sees of the mansion and lands there, which were then the pro- rty of Lord Gray, of Wilton, from whom they afterwards, in gust, 21 Henry VII., obtained a grant of the fee-simple. e list of Readers of the Inn has been preserved, showing an broken succession from the reign of Edward III.

It will be perceived, from this short account of the origin of e Inns of Court, that none of the Societies derived their exist- ce from the State, but all were voluntary associations, which, by rchase out of their own funds, or, in the case of the Temples,

partly by grant from the Crown, became possessed of certain plots of land, on which stood originally decayed buildings of no great value. These plots have since been covered by the Societies with new and beautiful structures, erected at an enormous cost, out of liberal contributions from members of the Society, or out of savings made from the annual dues and payments received from their own members, exclusively.

But although the young gentlemen of England could, under the influence of patriotic feeling, form themselves into voluntary societies for the study of the law in the manner described, they could only be admitted to practise the profession of the law as advocates in the King's Courts by the permission of the Judges presiding there. It was, in fact, with the sanction and by the encouragement of the Judges that the Inns of Court were originally formed. The Judges, as representing the Sovereign in the King's Courts, have an inherent right to decide who shall be heard to plead before them for other persons. In India and all the British Colonies the Judges still call to the Bar. The same was also the case in Ireland. But if there were, as early as the reign of Henry VI., two thousand students in the Inns of Court, it is obvious that the Judges personally would be unable to spare the time and labour necessary to examine into the qualifications of each individual before he was permitted to practise, nor could they bestow on them the education and discipline necessary to make them worthy members of a great profession. But in the Inns of Court the Judges found an organization ready to hand, which they had themselves, before their advancement to the Bench, contributed to form, and with the leading members of which they were necessarily in the most intimate relation. The Judges, therefore, at a very early period, delegated to the governing authorities of each of the four Inns of Court that power of calling to the Bar which they could not efficiently and satisfactorily exercise themselves, and also the correlative power of suspending from practice and disbarring, in case of misconduct; but they reserved the right of an appeal to themselves in every case in which the exercise of their delegated powers by the Benchers should be questioned by any member of the Society who considered himself aggrieved, and they assumed, with the consent of the several Societies, which voluntarily submitted to their jurisdiction, the position of visitors or *quasi* visitors of each Inn. It is impossible to name the exact period when this delegation took place. No historical account has come down to us of the circumstances which attended it, but the fact is incontestable. Lord Chief Justice Mansfield was correct when he stated that 'all the power they' (*i.e.* the Inns of Court) 'have

ave concerning the admission to the Bar is delegated to them
m the Judges, and in every instance their conduct is subject
their control as visitors.'* The Benchers have now exercised
eir delegated authority for centuries, and it has produced
sults so satisfactory to public opinion that the English bar-
ter is universally recognised as holding a high social rank,
d Parliament has, in its wisdom, thought fit, without the
licitation of the Inns of Court, to make barristers exclusively
gible to many offices and public employments. It is a
narkable fact that the selection by the State of the barrister
the only person whom it would permit to be appointed to
tain offices, began long after the professional education of the
dents by the Inns of Court—which, in the earlier ages, was
a most thorough description—had become wholly neglected,
l at a time when every Inn of Court called its members to
: Bar without any preliminary instructions to prepare, or
y examination to test them. In ancient times the course of
truction to which students were subjected was of the most
borate kind, and lasted several years. Even at later periods
: most distinguished Benchers gave readings in the Halls of
ir Societies on various branches of the law, particularly
the more important statutes. Sir Thomas Littleton, Sir
ward Coke, and Thomas Williams (Speaker of the House of
mmons) gave readings at the Inner Temple, Sir Robert
oke, Sir James Dyer, and Francis North, afterwards Lord
ildford, at the sister Society, and Sir Francis Bacon at Gray's
. At the conclusion of each reading the senior barristers,
: after the other, declared their opinions on the subject-matter
the reading, and points were mooted and discussed with pro-
nd learning to attentive audiences. But, unfortunately, it
ame usual for the Readers to give feasts on these occasions, of
expensive a character, that the cost frequently exceeded a
usand pounds, and this gradually led to the discontinuance of
readings themselves. The Judges kept a careful supervision
r the whole course of legal instruction, and gave directions
m time to time as to what should be done. If the Inns of
urt had been corporations, like the ancient municipalities
l the Universities and Colleges, and the Judges had been
ir legal visitors, the orders of the Judges might have been
orced by due course of law, and a Mandamus would have
n issuable against any refractory Society. A Mandamus
l lie even against a University which has no visitor, as

* Rex *v.* Gray's Inn. 1 Douglas R., 353.

well as against a College which has.* But it has long be well settled that no Mandamus will lie against the Inns of Cou because they are only Voluntary Societies, and not corpor tions.† The Judges, nevertheless, never had any practical dif culty in enforcing their orders on the Inns of Court, nor ha the latter ever refused obedience. If an Inn of Court should so, the Judges could suspend, and even withdraw from that In its power to call to the Bar, which is only a delegated authorit It is not generally understood that an Inn of Court only calls the Bar of its own Inn. It is the recognition of the call by t Judges in Court which makes it a call to the English Bar. Th Inns of Court, instead of trying to resist the authority of t Judges, have always shown the utmost deference to their dire tions. There is only one case on record of any disagre ment, and that was when Francis North was made Q.C. at unusually early age, and the Benchers of the Middle Temp who were then almost all stuff-gownsmen, refused to call him the Bench of the Inn, notwithstanding an intimation from t Judges that they ought to do so. Roger North ‡ has told, in very amusing way, the easy and effectual mode by which t Judges compelled the Benchers to conform to their wishes.

Besides directions of an informal character which in ear times were, when necessary, given by the Judges to the Benche the Judges occasionally made written orders of great importan for the observance of the Inns of Court. Dugdale has collect some of them, which date from 3 & 4 Phil. and Mary to Charles II.§ They give various directions as to the keeping Commons, the readings in Hall, the moots for the instructi of students, the callings to the Bar, the elections to the Benc and even condescend to such minutiæ as the style of apparel a the length of beards. In the earliest of these orders (3 & Phil. and Mary) we find a direction—'That none attorney sh be admitted into any of the houses, and that in all admissio from henceforth this condition shall be implied.' By an ord of the Judges, dated 12 James I., a similar direction is give which in subsequent orders is reiterated, and in the last of the in a manner so uncomplimentary to the attorneys that we w not venture to quote it.‖ Some of the more important of the

* Rex *v.* Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge. Str., 557. Rex *v.* St. John's Colle 4 Mod., 241.

† Rex *v.* Gray's Inn. 1 Doug., 353. Rex *v.* Benchers of Lincoln's Inn. 5 and C., 855.

‡ 'Life of Lord Guildford.'

§ 'Origines Juridiciales,' pp. 322-324. 2nd edition, 1671.

‖ Ibid., p. 322.

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are expressed to have been made with the advice of the Council, and some upon the *consent* of the Readers and ers of the four Inns of Court. By an order in 1627 the directed 'that no Reader should have above ten men to him during his reading.' This shows a disapproval by dges of large classes. It also shows that at that time mber of students must have greatly decreased from what in the time of the Plantagenets. By an answer made by nchers of Lincoln's Inn to one of the Judges' orders in the f Elizabeth, they state that 'almost for this three years as been no call to the Bar.' * The fact is that the Wars Roses extirpated many of the great families whose sons customed, in times of old, to enter at the Inns of Court. ards, during the Reformation, the bent of men's thoughts from the study of the law to that of theology. The civil the reign of King Charles I. was not favourable to the profession, and the Restoration inaugurated a system of s laxity, which enervated the nation until the Stuarts were d. Then Holland and Hanover sent foreigners to reign in d, who were strangers to its jurisprudence, and cared but ither for English Judges or the English Bar. During the period of the Georges no efforts were made by the legal ion to resuscitate the educational system which had once ed in the Inns of Court, but had then fallen, by neglect, cay. The Judges themselves acquiesced in the torpor prevailed, and for many years abstained from giving direc- n the subject of legal education, although any interference ir part would have been met by the Benchers with the dest deference. But the blame rests not on the Judges for there is no trace of any expression of disapproval of glect by Parliament or by public opinion. Thus it un- tely happened that, with the tacit approval and concurrence Judges, the Bar, Parliament, and the nation, all attempts part of the Inns of Court to prepare young men to be rs by a good system of legal education was abandoned, dents were left to their own devices to learn their pro- as they best could. This they mostly did in the chambers tising barristers or pleaders. Nothing more was required n by the Benchers than that they should dine in Hall in number of times, and thereby keep the twenty terms ry for their qualification. This number of terms was rds reduced to twelve, first in favour of students from iversities, and ultimately in favour of all students.

* 'Origines Juridiciales,' p. 316.

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But in the reign of William IV. the Benchers of the Inn Temple spontaneously inaugurated a new system, by requiri that every person who desired to enter as a student of their I should pass a preliminary examination on certain subjects, wi the view of showing that he was a gentleman of liberal ed cation. This has since been followed, and is now observed all the Inns. The Benchers of the Inner Temple also, in t year 1833, instituted two lectureships; but, although the lectur were eminent lawyers, the attendance was so small that t experiment failed. Both the Temples then co-operated in es blishing a system of legal education, and the Inner Tem established a lectureship on Common Law, and had volunt examinations at which prizes were given. The Middle Tem established, at the same time, a lectureship on Jurisprudence the Civil Law. In 1846 the House of Commons appointe Select Committee to inquire into the state of legal education Ireland, where the barristers and attorneys were educated at King's Inns together, and the powers of such Committee w afterwards extended to England also, where education was gi separately to each branch of the profession. Sir Thomas Wil Daniel O'Connell, and Spencer Walpole served on this C mittee. They took a vast body of evidence, and in August 1 issued their Report, which is the most profound and valua contribution ever yet made to the cause of legal educati We have not space to quote from the Report, which relate the education of solicitors as well as of barristers. They ported decidedly against a system of education common to l branches, which they thought, even if the Bar would ac it, would lead 'to unsatisfactory results.'* They disappr of the admission of solicitors to the Inns of Court, as stro as the English Judges had before done in their orders. Report for the first time made the suggestion that the four of Court should form, for all purposes of instruction, 'a of aggregate of colleges, or, in other words, a species of University.'† The present Council of Legal Education i substance exactly such a 'Caput' as is recommended in Report.‡ The Report gives an unqualified condemnatio the proposal to transfer legal education from the Inns of C to any voluntary society like the Law Institute, which had tried experimentally in Ireland.§ From this Report it app that the state of legal education in Scotland was, at the time v the Report was made, quite as defective as it was in Englan

* Report from the Select Committee on Legal Education. Ordered by the of Commons to be printed, 25th August 1846, p. liii.

† 'Report of 1846,' p. lix. ‡ Ibid., p. lx. § Ibid., p. li

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Ireland. The modern Scotch system is therefore quite recent, and can be considered at present as experimental only.

Shortly after this Report had been made, Gray's Inn established a lectureship followed by voluntary examinations, in which the students were classed according to merit, and 'moots' were revived. In 1851 Sir Richard Bethell, Solicitor-General, who was always most earnest in the cause of legal education, caused a meeting of the Benchers of the four Inns of Court to be convened on that subject, and this resulted in the establishment of the Council of Legal Education, which, as originally constituted, consisted of two Benchers only from each Inn. The Council, out of funds supplied by the Inns and from the contributions of students, founded several readerships and lectureships, and students were encouraged to exert themselves by studentships of fifty guineas each. Attendance on the lectures and classes was made compulsory, except in the case of students who chose to submit themselves to a voluntary examination. But the blunder was made of omitting to make examinations compulsory before a call to the Bar. It is remarkable that this resuscitation of a system of legal education for their students was not imposed on the Inns of Court under the orders of the Judges, who might at any time have required it, but was the spontaneous act of the Benchers.

Before the new system thus commenced in 1851 had had time, by a process of natural growth, to develop itself, the Crown, at the instance of the Houses of Parliament, issued a Commission in May 1854 to inquire, amongst other things, 'into the arrangements of the Inns of Court, and also those of the Inns of Chancery, for promoting the study of law and jurisprudence;' and in August 1855 the Commissioners made their Report to the Houses of Parliament, whereby they stated, shortly, the origin of the several Inns of Court and the trust which attached to the property of the Temples: but with respect to Lincoln's Inn and Gray's Inn they stated as follows:—'The property of these Inns appears to have been acquired by purchase, made by the members of the Inn, nor is there a trace of its being held upon any trust.' They then gave a detailed statement as to the income and outgoings of the several Inns and other matters; they also, for cogent reasons which nobody now disputes, expressed themselves in favour of the establishment of examinations, the passing of which should be requisite for the call to the Bar. They also recommended 'that the four Inns of Court should be united in one University for the purpose of these examinations and of conferring degrees,' and they gave the heads of a 'Scheme' which they proposed for that purpose, and according to which none but

but members of the four Inns of Court and of Serjeants' Inn wer to be members of the Senate. They also recommended a cours of instruction for students, which has since been adopted sub stantially by the Council of Legal Education and is now in fu force. In this Report the Solicitors' Inns, called Inns of Cha cery, are almost totally disregarded, and are cast aside in a fe paragraphs, like so much dead wood, though, by the Com mission, the Commissioners were directed to inquire into th arrangements of the Inns of Chancery, just as much as in those of the Inns of Court. One great defect in this Report the Commissioners is too remarkable to be passed over. It unaccountably silent as to the important relations existi between the Inns of Court and the Judges with reference calls to the Bar, and it ignores the fact that the Judges had f so many centuries been accustomed to superintend the educ tion given by the Inns to their students, and to make orde for its regulation. One of the witnesses examined befo the Royal Commissioners was Mr. Cairns (now the Lo Chancellor), and he gave it as his opinion that the larg the reading in jurisprudence, which those preparing for th Bar should be led to adopt, the greater would be the advantag but at the same time he thought that students for the B should spend at least two years in the chambers of a pra tising barrister; that their compulsory attendance on lectur in London, so far as it withdrew them from chambers, would inconvenient and injurious, and that such attendance should optional. He even thought that the establishment of lucrati studentships might be disadvantageous, by drawing students from chamber work to a 'sort of second college education.' H thought that when the general education of a young man w finished, and he devoted himself to the profession of the la and entered into a course of study for that purpose, that cour of study should be exclusively special, and that he should ha nothing to distract his attention while he was in the chambe of a barrister during two years at the least. He was decided in favour of compulsory examination before admission to t Bar, but he would at the same time allow a legal degree at o of the Universities to be made a substitution for such examinatic

The two great points of any moment brought out by the Co missioners' Report were, first, Whether there should be a co pulsory examination before a call to the Bar? and second Whether the body to be constituted out of the Inns of Court superintend legal education should be a new corporate bo empowered to grant degrees? On the latter question we w say a few words presently. The first question was, shor

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after the Report, brought before the Benchers of the several Societies, and all of them, with the exception of Lincoln's Inn, were in favour of a compulsory examination, and some of them passed, in the first instance, a resolution to that effect. But the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn, on the 15th of November, 1859, came to a contrary conclusion, and the other Inns then withdrew from an attempt which could not be successful unless all concurred. It cannot be alleged that the great opponents of compulsory examination were a parcel of bigoted Tories, for some of them were leading members of the Liberal party,—such as Dr. Lushington, Mr. Roebuck, and others. In the year 1863 Lord Cairns, then one of the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn, succeeded after a sharp struggle in gaining, by a majority of one vote only, the assent of Lincoln's Inn to the project of establishing a Legal University which should grant degrees, as proposed by the Royal Commissioners, and to which the Inns of Court might be affiliated. This proposal did not, however, present such attractions to the Benchers of the other Inns as to command their immediate approval, but the representation that something more was necessary to be done for legal education than was then being done, induced all the Inns of Court to join in taking concurrent action on the subject, and the several Societies passed resolutions to effect that purpose. In fact, as early as 1861, and before Lord Cairns moved in the matter, the four Inns of Court had appointed a Joint Committee to consider the subject of legal education, and, on the 1st of July 1861, an elaborate Report was made, which was signed by Lord Westbury as chairman. There were frequent communications between the several societies on the subject, and some difference on matters of detail. But on the 6th of July 1863, there was another Report of the Committee of the four Inns, which was signed by Lord Justice Turner, and on the basis of the labours of this Joint Committee, a body of 'Consolidated Regulations' of the four Inns of Court was ultimately made and agreed to. Under these regulations, additional readerships, making six in all, were established, with increased emoluments. Voluntary, but not compulsory, examinations of students were also instituted. Several studentships, of fifty guineas and twenty-five guineas a year, were also founded. Although this new scheme was, as we consider, defective by not making examinations compulsory, it was nevertheless a great step in advance, and was an earnest of the more comprehensive and perfect scheme which has since followed.

But before narrating the subsequent and successful efforts of the Inns of Court, we must direct attention for a short time to

to the other branch of the legal profession, namely, that of the Solicitors and Attorneys. Before the Statute 13 Edward I. c. 10, suitors could not appear in Court by attorney without the King's special warrant, but were compelled to appear in person. The authority given by that statute had the effect of forming the attorneys into a regular body of practitioners; and their number soon so greatly increased, that several statutes and rules of court for their regulation, and for limiting their numbers, were passed in the reigns of Henry IV., Henry VI., and Elizabeth. There has since been a series of Acts of Parliament on the same subject; and the Acts which now regulate them are those passed in 1843, 1860, and 1874. The attorney is, and always must be, 'an officer of the court' in which he practises, and he therefore has not the same independence as the barrister. But the attorney is permitted to recover his fees by an action, which a barrister is not; and, unlike a barrister, he is liable to his client for neglect of duty. In case of misconduct, he may be called upon summarily to answer in Court 'the matters in the affidavit' made against him. If he commit a fraud, the Court itself will order him to be struck off the Rolls. The attorneys and solicitors were once allowed to hold chambers and keep commons in the Inns of Court, but the Judges disapproved of it; and the Inns of Chancery have always been their special domain. Some centuries ago, students for the Bar, before being permitted to enter an Inn of Court, were required to undergo a preparatory training in one of the Inns of Chancery along with the attorneys; and the Benchers of the Inns of Court provided the necessary Readers for students in those inns. Of the Inns of Chancery, two, namely, Furnival's Inn and Thavies' Inn, belonged to Lincoln's Inn; four, namely, Clifford's Inn, Clement's Inn, New Inn, and Lyon's Inn, belonged to the Temples; and two more, namely, Staple's Inn and Barnard's Inn, belonged to Gray's Inn. These Inns of Chancery were governed by their own Ancients, just as the Inns of Court are governed by their Benchers; but there was one serious defect in their constitution, for, being purely voluntary societies, no effectual control over them could be enforced by anyone.* The Benchers of the Inns of Court to which they belonged, exercised over them in former time a sort of paramount authority. This the Inns of Chancery submitted to so long as they pleased; but they have all one after the other, long since emancipated themselves from it, because there were no means, direct or indirect, of com-

* Rex v. Barnard's Inn, 5 Adolphus and Ellis, p. 17.

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pelling obedience. It is different with the Inns of Court, which are also voluntary societies; for, if the Judges issued orders to them, they could, in case of resistance, enforce compliance, by their power of withdrawing or suspending the delegated right of calling to the Bar. But the Benchers had no power whatever of enforcing any regulations made by them for the Inns of Chancery. Nevertheless, the Judges used their best efforts, though without avail, to maintain the jurisdiction and control of the Benchers over such inns. With this view the Lord Keeper and the Judges, by command of the Privy Council, made a series of orders, dated 15th April, 6 Car. I. (A.D. 1630). The first commences as follows:—'That the Inns of Chancery shall hold their government subordinate to the Benchers of the Inns of Court unto which they belong.'* Then followed a threat in case of disobedience, which was found incapable of being put in force.

In 1704 the Judges relaxed the strictness of the directions whereby the Inns of Court were prohibited from admitting attorneys as members; and it was directed 'that all attorneys should procure themselves to be admitted into one of the Inns of Court (if those Honourable Societies would admit them), or into one of the Inns of Chancery.'† Such orders, however, were easier made than enforced. The Inns of Chancery being only voluntary societies, could disregard all orders which had not their own approval. Every such Inn has therefore become in course of time a close little clique of solicitors, which has withdrawn itself altogether from training young men in the knowledge of law. Lyon's Inn has lately been sold by the members, the proceeds divided among themselves, and the inn pulled down. No attempt has for centuries been made by the solicitors constituting the governing bodies of the Inns of Chancery to make themselves auxiliary to the purposes of legal education. If Readers were sent to them from the Inns of Court, their services were either declined, or if accepted, then the only persons who were admitted to the course of instruction were the members of the Inn themselves. Readings in the Inns of Chancery having thus become as great a farce as Dean Swift's address in church to his 'Dearly beloved Roger,' they have been discontinued. But the Inner Temple still appoints Readers, and annually tenders their names to Clement's Inn, without any practical result.

Nothing can be greater than the contrast offered by the Inns of Court, consisting of barristers, and the Inns of Chancery, consisting

* 'Origines Juridiciales,' p. 320. † 5 Adolphus and Ellis' Reports, p. 17.

sisting of solicitors, in respect to legal education. The Inns of Court, whenever required by the Judges or by public opinion to make fresh efforts in its favour, have always done so with conscientious energy; but the Inns of Chancery have withdrawn themselves altogether from the work for the furtherance of which their Societies were established, and have thrown off the jurisdiction to which they were intended to be subordinate. They have succeeded in maintaining their right to exclude and their practice of excluding. But the Inns of Court, on the other hand, when it was decided in Wooller's Case, that on the ground of their being voluntary societies, the Judges had no jurisdiction, as visitors, to entertain an appeal from a person who had applied to be admitted to an Inn of Court as a student, and been refused,* immediately took steps to place themselves in that respect under the jurisdiction of the Judges. There was at once a meeting of all the Inns of Court, and they agreed that jurisdiction should be given to the Judges, if they would assume it, in the nature of an appeal upon non-admission to the Inns of Court, and the Judges agreed to take it.†

The complaint which may, with more or less justice, be brought against the Ancients of the Inns of Chancery, cannot, however, be made in modern times against the great body of solicitors. In the year 1827 they established themselves, under Charter from the Crown, into a society called 'The Incorporated Law Society,' and the Council of that body have ever since had the regulation and control of the legal education of articled clerks, and they have, by establishing lectures and instituting, under the authority of an Act of Parliament, compulsory examinations, provided for the instruction of candidates who desire to be admitted on the Roll of Attorneys, and for ascertaining their competency in point of legal knowledge. No complaint has, to our knowledge, been made of neglect of duty on the part of the eminent men who constitute this Council, and the course of legal education which has, under their auspices, been established for the solicitors, has been one which has given general satisfaction and been rewarded by remarkable success.

But the course of improvement in which both branches of the profession were thus engaged was not enough to content certain uneasy provincial solicitors, who, in an age when everything established is liable to be brought in question, and the maxim 'Whatever is is wrong' has many admirers, cast hungry glances on the rich possessions of the Inns of Court, and became

* Rex *v.* Benchers of Lincoln's Inn, 5 B. and C., 855.

† Per Baron Rolfe. Report of Hayward's Case. London, 1848. P. 95.

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desirous of asserting a claim to participate in them. Exclusion from a share in the property of the Inns of Court, which consists almost entirely of barristers' chambers, was not the only circumstance felt or imagined by them to be a grievance. The higher social position of the Bar in the estimation of the public filled them with indignation. In the republic of the United States, and in the British Colonies, the professions of the barrister and solicitor are not separate, but may be conjoined in the same person. In a large territory with a sparse population it is hardly possible that it should be otherwise; for the persons versed in law are too few and widely scattered to enable a division of labour to be effected with advantage. The lawyer, whether barrister or attorney, must be prepared to see the client personally, to collect and prepare the materials for his case, to introduce and conduct the case in court, and to carry it through every stage from its inception to its end. But in a more civilised and populous community the experience of centuries has proved that it is better that the attorneys, who form the administrative branch of the legal profession, shall prepare out of court the case which the barristers shall argue in it. This involves a distinction of ranks, and public opinion has given the superiority to one branch over the other,—a result not incongruous in a monarchy. There is in this country a gradation of ranks, which is not confined to the legal profession, and its existence is a subject of congratulation to the public at large, which would otherwise groan under the unmitigated nuisance of a plutocracy. But the opulent and influential country solicitor, who has generally succeeded to a business ready made for him by his predecessors, and holds in his repositories the title-deeds of half the landed gentry of his county and has a warm balance at his bankers, is apt to feel annoyance at seeing a young barrister from London, who has just joined the circuit with a few guineas in his pocket, take precedence over him, and receive superior manifestations of respect, on the ground merely of his belonging to a class which holds a great place in public estimation. It is a further annoyance that such a class should be exclusively eligible to the great prizes of the law, those dignified and lucrative judicial offices to which the solicitors have never yet been admitted. As early as the year 1846 an active-minded London solicitor, the late Mr. Edwin Wilkins Field, who was proud of his descent from the family of Cromwell, and had no aversion to any innovation which smacked of republicanism, read a paper at the annual meeting of the Metropolitan and Provincial Law Association, in which he inveighed against the exclusion of the attorney from the bar, and

and contrasted England with the United States, in which every lawyer may plead in court and address the jury, and be raised by popular election to the Bench.* A topic like this was well adapted to meet with a response in the minds of the provincial solicitors, for whom Mr. Field's firm acted extensively as London agents. In 1868, Sir James Hannan, who had just been made a Judge, presided at the Annual Meeting of the Solicitors' Benevolent Association; and in the course of an impromptu after-dinner speech he used some complimentary expressions towards the solicitors by expressing a wish that the two branches of the profession should be more intimately connected. His words were seized upon with avidity, and a construction has been given to them that must have surprised the speaker. On the 25th of September in the same year, the Leeds Law Society, and some deputations from Law Societies of Liverpool, Manchester, and other towns, held a meeting at Leeds to consider Mr. Justice Hannan's remarks 'on the subject of the *amalgamation* of the two branches of the profession;' and on the motion of Mr. Jevons (of Liverpool), seconded by Mr. T. Marshall (of Leeds), the resolution was passed—'That this Meeting is of opinion that the time has come when provision should be made for the foundation of a Law University, which should be open to both branches of the profession without distinction, and that the means of providing an institution already exist in the funds at the disposal of the Inns of Court and Inns of Chancery, which were originally common to both branches of the profession.' How these gentlemen, in the teeth of the historical facts on the subject, make out the last assertion, so far as the Inns of Court are concerned, we are not aware; but they addressed a willing audience, not too fastidious about accuracy. On the 5th of February, 1869, a meeting was held at the Incorporated Law Society of an associated Committee of the Council of that body, and of the Metropolitan and Provincial Law Association, which was attended by a deputation from the Leeds Conference, and a series of Resolutions was passed by the Associated Committee, which are too lengthy to be set forth fully; but it was resolved that 'the regulation as to admission to the Bar should be placed under Act of Parliament;' also, 'That it is not right that the Benchers of the Inns of Court should have the uncontrolled power of making rules which may place attorneys in a position more restricted than the rest of the public as to the right of admission to the Bar;' also, 'That the establishments of the Inns of Court and Inns of

* Law Mag., February 1872, p. 39.

Chancery

Chancery should be, under legal control, made subservient to purposes of Legal Education.' They also resolved that the rate of remuneration for barristers 'should be governed by fixed tariffs.' This sufficiently shows the objects aimed at: a Bar regulated like the attorneys, by Act of Parliament, and to be remunerated in the same manner; interference with the Inns of Court and their internal management; the assertion of a right on the part of the attorneys to become barristers, free from regulations imposed by the Benchers; and the appropriation of the property of the Inns of Court for the education of attorneys as well as barristers. These Resolutions were not, however, carried without opposition on the part of some solicitors, who looked with disdain on the whole project. The main body of the eminent London solicitors, and not a few throughout the country, held aloof from this movement, and condemned with unequivocal distinctness all attacks on the Inns of Court and all aggressions against the Bar. They still continue to do so. But on this subject 'the tail has outvoted the head,' and the preponderance of the general body has manifestly gone in the other direction. One great difficulty was to find a good leader for this new movement. At last the sorrowful sighings of aggrieved opulence and the murmurs of repressed provincial self-consequence found sympathy in a quarter where it might have been least expected. In the year 1870 Sir Roundell Palmer, a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn, consented to become President of an Association got up originally by the solicitors who favoured the Resolutions of February 1869, and to which, under the favourable auspices of Sir R. Palmer, a few barristers also united themselves. They assumed the title of the 'Legal Education Association.' The then Attorney-General (Sir Robert Collier) and the Solicitor-General (Sir J. D. Coleridge) became members of the Council of this Association, but without, as we believe, the slightest suspicion that there were any ulterior intentions of the kind which have since been developed. The first Circular or 'List,' sent round to the legal profession on the 7th of May 1870, includes in the Council of this Association the names of seventeen Queen's Counsel only out of the 170 which then constituted their number. There was also a sprinkling of members of the Junior Bar, out of the 5000 persons of whom the Bar then consisted; there were also twenty-one solicitors and one or two gentlemen who are not members of the legal profession at all. In July 1870, a meeting of the profession was convened at Lincoln's Inn Hall, at which the Association was formally constituted. The principal object of this Association, as announced in their Circular,

Circular, was 'a system of common education for both branches of the profession.' This is exactly what had been expressly condemned by the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons in 1846,* and it had received no approval from the Royal Commissioners in 1855. No hint was given in this Circular of any intention to attempt an interference by the State with the property of the Inns of Court or with their internal government. On those important subjects there was entire reticence.

We have not space to give the history of this Association. The real object of its leading projectors was at first so little suspected that a few distinguished Judges and members of the Bar joined it, who subsequently, when better informed, thought proper to withdraw. Even the venerable Lord St. Leonards sent a contribution to its funds, of three hundred guineas, which has not yet been returned to him. We have not heard that Sir Roundell Palmer, before inaugurating this association of barristers, solicitors, and laymen, for the supposed improvement of legal education by taking it out of the hands of the Inns of Court, made any effort whatever to persuade his brother Benchers of Lincoln's Inn or the Benchers of the other Inns to reconsider the whole matter of legal education, and co-operate with him in any project for its real improvement. To most minds this would seem the proper step which should have been first taken by anyone who was himself a Bencher. When Lord Cairns proposed a great change, he began to work inside his own Inn of Court, in a spirit of loyalty to the Society to which he belonged: he preferred that course to the more objectionable one of working from the outside, and trying by external pressure to force upon his own and the other Inns of Court fundamental changes. But the profound respect felt by the Inns of Court for Sir R. Palmer's personal character prevented the Benchers from running blindfold against what the Association proposed. On the contrary, they, with sound practical good sense, set to work at once to rectify everything which required alteration, and to establish, on a grander scale and with more liberal endowments than before, a system of legal education for the Bar, and to compel every student, before being called to the Bar, to pass an examination proving his legal proficiency.

In 1870-71 the four Inns of Court appointed a Joint Committee to consider the whole subject of legal education. This Committee, besides carefully considering and discussing the subject among themselves, received Sir Roundell Palmer, with a deputa-

* P. lii.

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tion of the Legal Education Association, on the 25th of April 1871, and listened attentively to his explanation of the views expressed in the Association's printed Proposals. The only practical advantage of this interview was, that the Committee saw, in the deputation which accompanied Sir Roundell Palmer, a sample of the men proposed to supersede in their functions such of themselves as were members of the Council of Legal Education: it is sufficient to say that they were able to look upon them without alarm. By their printed Proposals, the Legal Education Association proposed to establish a Legal University, to make both barristers and solicitors pass compulsory examinations (which is now done), and to enable the new University to confer 'degrees in law,' but not to confer the status of attorney or barrister. On the establishment of this 'Legal University,' the functions of the Council of Legal Education were to cease, and the fees of students and the contributions of the Inns of Court were to form the academical fund to defray the expenses of the new body. The effect, in short, would have been to take from the Inns of Court the teaching of their own students, and to commence a system which would speedily reduce the Benchers of each Inn to the condition of mere Building and Dining Committees. Their end would not then be far distant. The Degrees in Law which such an University might grant would never shed around the head of a barrister a halo equal to the light of a farthing candle; but such a Degree would enable the solicitor who obtained it to say to the barrister, 'I am a Master in Law as well as you, and I ought therefore to be equally allowed to conduct cases in Court.'

On the 22nd of June 1871, the Joint Committee made their Report to the four Inns of Court, in which they stated that in their opinion 'it is not desirable that the education of students for the Bar and the education of the articled clerks of solicitors and attorneys should be under one joint system of management;' but they recommended a compulsory examination of students before they should be called to the Bar, and that this should be done through the instrumentality of the Council of Legal Education.

Sir Roundell Palmer, after a compulsory examination had been thus approved, moved, in July 1871, certain resolutions in the House of Commons, in favour of the establishment of a 'General School of Law,' but with no practical result beyond eliciting from Sir George Jessel (now Master of the Rolls) a brilliant refutation of his whole project, in a speech which has never been satisfactorily answered.*

* Hansard, vol. 208, p. 239.

On the 6th of December 1871, the Joint Committee of the four Inns made a Second Report repeating their recommendation of a compulsory examination, and advising that the Council of Legal Education should be strengthened, by its numbers being increased to twenty Benchers, with whom should be, for the future, the appointment of readers and examiners, whose remuneration should be increased by the contributions of the several Societies.

The recommendations of the Joint Committee having been approved by all the Inns of Court, the number of the Council of Legal Education was increased accordingly, and the additional powers recommended were given to them.*

On the 22nd of February 1872, the newly constituted Council of Legal Education held their first meeting, under the auspices of that veteran law reformer Lord Westbury, who took the chair and addressed the meeting at some length. The Council immediately set to work; but before they had had time to perfect anything, Sir Roundell Palmer again, on the 1st of March 1872, moved a resolution in the House of Commons in favour of a General School of Law for the instruction of Students 'intending to practise in *any branch* of the Legal Profession.' In that speech he gave the first intimation of meditating any aggression on the property of the Inns of Court, if those Inns should continue to prefer their own opinions to his; and he uttered a threat on the subject, which elicited a prompt and well-deserved remonstrance from the present Attorney-General, Sir Richard Baggallay.† The then Attorney-General (Sir J. D. Coleridge) and the Solicitor-General (Sir George Jessel) spoke and voted against the resolution.‡ Mr. Gregory and Mr. Leeman, both eminent

* The Council, when thus constituted, comprised twenty leading men of both political parties without distinction, including several members of the Legal Education Association. † Hansard, vol. 2091, p. 1260.

‡ The former, desirous of dispelling the ignorance which exists among the general public on such subjects, condescended to explain to the House that the money at the disposal of the Benchers was not expended in providing themselves with unnecessary luxuries, and that so far as his Inn (the Middle Temple) was concerned, and he believed the same remark applied to the other Inns, 'not a single sixpence was lost to the funds of the Inn by the dinners which the Benchers eat.' We have before us a return on that subject, as to the state of affairs at the Inner Temple for the ten years from 1861 to 1871, carefully made out a few years since by the Sub-Treasurer. It shows that the sums received during those ten years from the Benchers for fees on calls to the Bench, were 17,435*l.*, and for commons and dues, 3245*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.*, making a total of 20,680*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.* The cost of the Bench table during the same period, including wine, beer, dessert, tea and coffee, and *the entertainment of all visitors*, was 7888*l.* 10*s.*, making a balance in favour of the Society of 12,791*l.* 17*s.* 7*d.* It is true that a few of the senior Benchers have chambers. But they belonged to the Bench as early as the reign of Elizabeth, and not a single Bench chamber has since been added.—*Royal Commissioners' Report*, p. 7.

solicitors,

citors, also spoke against the resolution, which was negatived the division by a majority of 13.

The Council of Legal Education have, since this debate, led an elaborate SCHEME for the Legal Education of the Bar, ich they have subsequently extended and improved, and inst which, as it now stands, nothing important can be urged, ept that it applies to the Bar only. Everything has been ıblished on the most liberal scale. There are five Professors, h fixed salaries, varying from 600 to 400 guineas a-year, ording to whether, in addition to lecturing, private classes are en. To this are added fees from students who attend. There also eight tutors, with fixed salaries of 300 guineas, besides lents' fees. There are also six examiners, with salaries of) guineas each. A dozen studentships, of 100 guineas each, e also been established, for the encouragement of merit. In course of the year ending in January 1874, the income the Council amounted to nearly 8000*l.*, of which less than 00*l.* arose from students' fees, and the remainder from con-ıtions of the Inns of Court.

n consequence of the urgent representations of Lord West-y as to the inutility of pompous lectures to large classes, which the Professor too often displays his own erudition, l the students learn little or nothing of any value, the in business of teaching is, under this scheme, placed in hands of the tutors, who teach private classes, and whose nbers will be augmented as the number of the students) attend increases. The subjects on which instruction is rded are—Jurisprudence; International Law, public and rate; Roman Civil Law; Constitutional Law and Legal tory; Common Law; Equity; the Law of Real Pro-ty; and Criminal Law. It is expressly provided by this eme that no person shall receive from the Council the cer-ate of fitness for call to the Bar now required by the Inns of rt, unless he shall have passed a satisfactory examination in following subjects, viz., 1st. Roman Civil Law; 2ndly. The w of Real and Personal Property; and 3rdly. Common Law l Equity. This is a requisition of greater stringency than s recommended by the Royal Commissioners.* The Council Legal Education, which have, since the death of Lord West-ry, had the Right Honourable Spencer Walpole for President, continuing, with unabated diligence, to watch over and ect the course of legal education; and, unless the two branches the profession are to be blended into one, they fully and per-

* Report, p. 18.

fectly answer all that can in reason be required. But there will, for the reasons given by Lord Cairns in his evidence already quoted, be always some difficulty in any institution for teaching law attaining great success.

It has, however, been objected to the educational system thus established that, although it may be very well at present, yet it lacks the element of permanence, because there is no security that one of the four Inns may not, at any time, withdraw itself from further connection with the Council of Legal Education, and thus break up the whole arrangement. This objection rests, however, on no just foundation, for it assumes a moral impossibility. The Benchers of the Inns of Court have never once, during five centuries, exhibited such a gross act of indiscretion as this objection assumes may be a possible contingency. Even if any Inn of Court should do so, there would at once be an appeal on the subject to the Judges, either from members of the Inn which withdrew, or from the other Inns affected by such a breach of faith, and the Judges would have full power to rectify the mischief by an intimation to the offending Inn that until it again united with the other Inns in the system established by the Council of Legal Education, its power to call to the Bar should be suspended. The Judges, therefore, have the matter in their own hands, and the remedy, if applied, would be irresistible.

Nothing, however, which has been or can be done on the principle of maintaining the existing separation of the two branches of the profession, will ever be satisfactory to the assailants of the Inns of Court; and when, towards the close of Mr. Gladstone's Government, Sir Roundell Palmer became Lord Chancellor Selborne, there was a general expectation that something would be attempted by him in his official capacity to further both the avowed and the undisclosed objects of his Association. Nor was this expectation disappointed, for, just before the General Election of 1874, he caused to be prepared and printed the draft of a 'Bill to incorporate the Inns of Court and to establish a General School of Law.' This Draft Bill was sent to the four Inns of Court, whose opinions were invited on the subject, and to the Incorporated Law Society. It also found its way to certain obscure Provincial Associations of Solicitors throughout the country. The General Election, however, took place immediately afterwards, and the Gladstone Government, which had attacked and harassed every class in the community, came to an end. The British nation would endure it no longer.

This Draft Bill proposed to embrace in one single measure the two objects which are now kept separate in the two Bills since introduced by Lord Selborne into Parliament. Under the

provisions contained in Part I., the four Inns of Court, thout their having solicited anything of the kind, were ch to be made 'one body politic or corporate,' and were, as rporations, to exercise similar functions to those which they ve exercised for five centuries without feeling any want of a ore formal organization. The Benchers of each Inn were to gradually reduced to half only of their present number, and e members of the Bench were to be elected by the Barristers five years' standing. Such an election would certainly be a ore lively affair than the present mode of election by the nchers, especially if the canvass were a severe one. We ubt, however, whether in practice it would be found eminently nducive to the discipline of the Bar, over whom the Benchers ve to exercise a very delicate jurisdiction. The management their own property was graciously to be left to the several cieties, and they were to be permitted to pay out of it the rrent expenses of their establishments, and to erect new ildings and improve the old; but, subject to these privileges, was proposed to be enacted that 'all the *surplus* or residue of e funds and income of the Corporation shall be *appropriated*, d from time to time applied for or in aid of the purposes and jects of the General School of Law established by this Act.'

Who can explain to us the difference between 'confiscation' d 'appropriation' in such a clause as this? The clause is surd in itself: for it does not say who is to decide upon what or is not 'surplus;' whether the General School of Law, which to receive it, or the Inns of Court, which are to pay it over. At resent the chambers which constitute the property of each ociety are let to its own members at about twenty per cent. nder the rent at which they could be let if offered to the general ublic. If the 'surplus' were to belong to some stranger Insti-tion, it would be necessary to raise these rents to rack-nts. On the other hand, the Benchers, by lowering the nts, might always prevent the existence of any 'surplus.' If ything could conciliate a body of Lawyers to the proposed ange, it would be the delightful prospect of the ceaseless liti-tion which such a provision would make certain. By this pro-sed 'appropriation' of the 'surplus,' the threat uttered by Sir oundell Palmer in the House of Commons was intended to be de effectual. By Part II., a new corporation was to be esta-ished, under the title of 'The Queen's General School of Law,' d it was to be governed by the Lord Chancellor as President, and enate of thirty-eight persons. All Barristers and Solicitors of ee years' standing were to be members of this General School. was not proposed that the State should contribute one farthing

to

to its endowments, but the Crown was to nominate ten membe of its Senate, in addition to twelve *ex officio* members named the Bill: of the remaining sixteen, *six* only were to be elect by Barristers, and *ten* by Solicitors.

Notwithstanding the fall of the Gladstone Government, t Benchers, who had been invited by Lord Selborne to gi their opinion on his Draft Bill, proceeded to do so, and t Benchers of each Inn appointed members of a Joint Commit of the four Inns to consider the subject together. This Co mittee met, and took Lord Selborne's Draft Bill into care consideration. There were twenty-one Benchers present that occasion, including men of all political parties. Af careful consideration and debate, a Resolution was passed una *mously* in the following terms:—

'At a meeting of the Joint Committee of the four Inns of Co appointed by orders of the several Societies to consider Lord Selbor "Inns of Court and School of Law Bill, 1874," held at Lincoln's on the 4th day of March, 1874, present:—The Treasurer of Linc Inn (Right Hon. Lord Justice James) in the Chair; the Treasure the Inner Temple (Henry W. Cole, Esq.); the Treasurer of Middle Temple (John R. Kenyon, Esq.); the Right Hon. Sir Ge Jessel (M. R.); the Right Hon. Thomas E. Headlam; the Hon. Richard Malins (V.-C.); the Hon. Sir James Bacon (V.-C.); Sir J B. Karslake (Attorney-General), M.P.; John Arthur Roebuck, M.P.; Brent Spencer Follett, Esq.; Edmund Beckett Denison, Charles S. Whitmore, Esq.; John Locke, Esq., M.P.; Henry Man Esq.; Thomas Webb Greene, Esq.; Archibald J. Stephens, LL.D.; Joseph Brown, Esq.; James Dickinson, Esq.; Henry Co Esq.; Sir Thomas E. May;—it was moved by the Vice-Chanc Malins, and seconded by Mr. Roebuck, and *resolved unanimousl* "That this Joint Committee disapproves of the Draft Bill se the Inns of Court by the late Lord Chancellor; and recommends this Resolution be communicated to the Lord Chancellor and Selborne.

'"(Signed) W. M. James,
'"*Chairman.*"

This Resolution having been reported to the four Inns, ea them separately confirmed it by a resolution of approval, w we believe was in every case *unanimous.*

Shortly before this important Resolution was passe was confidently asserted in the 'Times,' in a leading a generally supposed to have received its inspiration from a s remarkable for accuracy of statement, that it was the inte of the new Lord Chancellor, Lord Cairns, 'to attack Benchers.' That statement was contradicted in the 'Stan and the then Attorney-General, Sir John Karslake, who att

the meeting of the Joint Committee, joined as heartily as any of his colleagues in condemning Lord Selborne's Draft Bill.

We believe that we have good grounds for asserting that Lord Selborne's Draft Bill never received the approval of the Cabinet of which he was a member. But he has since, in his private capacity, renewed 'the attack on the Benchers,' which the 'Times' incorrectly represented as intended by Lord Cairns. At the end of last session he introduced into the House of Lords two Bills: the first corresponded in substance with Part I. of his original Draft Bill, and is 'for incorporating the Inns of Court, and for providing for the future administration of their affairs;' the other corresponds with Part II., and is 'for establishing a General School of Law in England.' In this school the barristers and attorneys are to be educated together.

On the 10th of July last, these Bills were formally read for the first time in the House of Lords; but three Law Lords only took part in the debate. Never before was a great measure introduced into Parliament by a speech so flimsy in its texture as that of Lord Selborne, but this flimsiness was, no doubt, intentional. A more thorough explanation of the subject would have induced other hearers than Law Lords to have directed their attention to the subject and to have mastered its principles; but this would have provoked opposition. Lord Selborne in his speech stated that the Inns of Court could be traced back to a Royal Commission issued in the reign of King Edward I. But as they did not take their origin from this Commission, such mention of it might mislead unlearned persons. He then referred to the Report of the Royal Commissioners appointed in 1854; but he omitted to mention that the Commissioners were appointed to inquire just as much into the arrangements of the Inns of Chancery as of the Inns of Court. He then 'ventured with confidence' to say that the Inns of Court 'discharged public functions.' But what public functions have they ever discharged, except that of calling their own students to the Bar of their respective Inns, as delegates or agents of the Judges, whose names were quietly passed over in silence? Lord Selborne, in another part of his speech, made the bold assertion that the Inns of Court '*hold* their property solely for public purposes.' By what process of reasoning, or by what historical facts, his lordship makes that out, he did not condescend to explain. We hesitate not to give the statement the broadest contradiction, and to affirm that the Inns of Court do not hold, and never have held, their property by any such tenure. It is true that, with a noble disregard of selfish purposes, they have voluntarily, during five centuries, *used* their property for the public advantage, and

have

have discharged gratuitously for the Judges, and as their delegates and agents, important work which the Judges could not possibly have performed so well for themselves; but this is the sum and substance of their public functions, and the State has no more right to interfere with their property on such a ground than with the property of the individual Benchers. The paragraph quoted by Lord Selborne from the Report of the Royal Commission respecting the trust attaching to the property of the two Temples, does not establish that the Inns of Court hold their property for public purposes. In the first place, such trust does not affect Lincoln's Inn or Gray's Inn at all; and even with respect to the Temples, the trust for education is one not for the education of the public, but for the education exclusively of members of their own Societies.* Another passage quoted from the Commissioners' Report in favour of compulsory examination was beside the question, since compulsory examination was then already established, and its conduct was and is in the hands of men of the highest mark in the profession, who do their work better than it could be done by any other body of persons. Let anyone attempt to formalise the argument by which Lord Selborne contends that the property of the Inns of Court is public property, and it may be shown, by the same style of reasoning, that the estates of the noble Lords who constitute the House of Peers are public property also. The Peers exercise 'public functions;' some of their estates were obtained by grants from the Crown; all the land in the kingdom was originally held upon condition of contributing in certain proportions to the defence of the realm,—a condition imperfectly discharged in time of war by the payment of a paltry Land Tax. Lord Selborne proceeded to say of the Inns of Court, that, 'being invested with a public character and invested with a public responsibility—as they were *in fact* corporations—no harm could result from their being legally incorporated.' We do not understand how any institution can be a corporation in fact which is not a corporation in law. Is the Athenæum Club a corporation in fact? It took its origin from a movement in favour of the encouragement of literature, science and art, which are public objects. The members are lessees of the Crown. Each member during his life, or until expulsion, has a joint ownership in the property of the club, which is very valuable, and increases in value every year by the rich stores added to the

* Independently of the express language of the Trust, such would be the case on general principles, according to the decision of Lord Chancellor Hatherley in The Attorney-General *v.* Sidney Sussex College.—*Law Reports*, 4 *Chancery Appeals*, 722.

library, but on a member's death no interest whatever in such property devolves on his executors; the surviving members of the club and the subsequently admitted members take the whole. The same is the case with the Freemasons, and other voluntary associations, which Lord Selborne might, with equal inaccuracy, call 'corporations in fact.' No Inn of Court is, or ever was, or ever will be, with its own consent, 'a body politic;' and we assert that, neither in law nor in fact, are the Inns corporations. If the members of an Inn of Chancery, or of an Inn of Court, were unanimously to resolve on selling and converting into money its property, and dividing it among themselves in equal proportions, no Court of Law or Equity in this kingdom could prevent them. One of the Inns of Chancery—Lyon's Inn—has already done so. Another association of lawyers, constituted like the Inns of Court in some respects, but which was actually incorporated by Charter, viz., the College of Advocates at Doctors' Commons, insisted, when their order was abolished by Parliament, upon their right to distribute their property and possessions among themselves 'for their own use and benefit;' and this right was recognised and made effectual by a statute.* If the present scheme of gradually extinguishing the ancient Order of Serjeants, instead of utilising it, shall be persisted in, and Sir Richard Paul Amphlett, 'the Last of the Barons,' shall live to become the last of the Serjeants, he will have reason to felicitate himself on having succeeded by survivorship to a valuable inheritance in Serjeants' Inn, of which nothing but an Act of Parliament can deprive him. It is said that when a Romanist longs too greedily for a beefsteak on a Lenten fast day, he takes one, christens it 'fish,' and then eats it. When Lord Selborne christens the Inns of Court 'Corporations in fact,' it is not difficult to understand his ultimate intentions. As to the statement of Lord Selborne respecting the Inns of Court, that no harm 'can result from their incorporation,' we answer that great and irreparable harm must be the result of every wrong done by arbitrary power overbearing private rights, confiscating or 'appropriating' private property to public uses, and compelling private Societies to become 'bodies politic' against their will. It is but too clear why Lord Selborne wishes to incorporate the Inns of Court. Such a change would place them and their possessions under the control of the State, as is the case with the Universities and Colleges. Then, when they are thus made creatures of the State, their property may, by the State, be taken from them, and

* 20 & 21 Vict., c. 77, sec. 117.

applied

applied for the education of the solicitors, or any other o
which the Government for the time being, if strong in
liament, shall capriciously choose. The real object sough
the proposed incorporation is clear. We have been taug
Divine wisdom that 'no man can enter into a strong man's h
and spoil his goods, except he will first bind the strong
and then he will spoil his house.'* Lord Selborne's Bill, t
fore, proposes, as a preliminary step, *to bind the strong man;*
this will effectually be done if the Inns of Court are forced
the trammels of incorporation. The spoiling of their h
afterwards will be but a natural consequence. Lord Selborne
in his speech, quoted in complimentary terms Lord Ca
Resolution at Lincoln's Inn in 1863; but he omitted to state
it was carried by a majority of one only. He then mentioned
his own original Draft Bill had been sent to the Inns of C
but added, 'I am bound to say that I did not get all the a
ance I could have wished from those Societies;' and he prof
not to understand their 'extremely short Resolution' disappr
of his Draft Bill! He subsequently proceeded to explain
of the details of his Bill; but the only point on which we
pause to make a remark is that the 'surplus' income of the
of Court, which, according to his original proposal, was t
handed over to his Central School of Law, is now to be left
the Inns, but with a declaration of trust affixed to it, whi
obviously intended to pave the way to the same ultimate re
for it proposes to declare that it shall be '*appropriated*,
from time to time applied, to the purposes of legal educa
The legal education spoken of in this 'appropriation claus
not the legal education of the barristers and students, wh
members of the Society from whose property such surplus
be derived, but the trust is for Legal Education generally!
short, for the legal education of the solicitors and others,
are not members of the Societies. Lord Selborne's project
conflict with the history of five centuries, infringes on the sa
ness of private property and private rights, and has alr
been condemned by the acknowledged leaders of the Bar i
unanimous resolution of disapproval; yet it will never ap
in its true and natural colours to the public eye so long
continues to be decked out and dressed up by the practised h
to which it has been confided.

Our space will not allow us to examine the rest of Lord
borne's speech, in which he explained the provisions of
second Bill for establishing a General School of Law, nor

* Mark iii. 27.

we stop to criticise the speeches of the two other Law Lords who took part in the debate. The Lord Chancellor, however, pointed out, with his usual penetration, one defect in Lord Selborne's scheme, viz., that it proposed to establish 'a teaching school,' instead of a mere examining body, and he predicted that any attempt to provide funds for a teaching school would fail, and that such a school would of necessity 'exhaust or destroy the Inns of Court and their capacity for teaching law.' We entertain no doubt that the Inns of Court will continue to teach their own students, and they need feel no apprehension that any 'teaching school,' to be established under the auspices of the State, will ever be able to rival that which now flourishes under the control and care of the Council of Legal Education. If the State thinks fit to appoint its own examiners to ascertain that the students of the Inns of Court possess a competent knowledge of law before they are called to the Bar, the Inns of Court will have no reason to complain, and will perhaps be glad to be relieved from one of the most irksome of the labours now discharged by them; but if the State, or any 'body politic' created by the State, is to undertake this work, the State will be expected to pay the examiners, as well as appoint them.* We cannot conclude our observations on the debate of the 10th of July without noticing one passage in the latter part of Lord Hatherley's speech, in which he stated, with that noble frankness for which he is distinguished, that he 'should also rejoice to see the *barrier* that existed at present between the two branches of the profession *broken down*.' This phrase about 'breaking down the barrier' is capable of being understood in two ways: 1st, it may merely mean an abrogation of the system of having one course of legal study for the Bar and another for the solicitors, by establishing

* Since the above was printed, a Joint Committee of the four Inns of Court was held at the Inner Temple on the 18th December last, on the subject of Lord Selborne's two Bills, when the following Resolutions were passed *unanimously*:—It was moved by the Master of the Rolls, and seconded by Vice-Chancellor Malins: 'That Lord Selborne's Bill to incorporate the Inns of Court, and interfere with their property and internal management having been introduced into Parliament, notwithstanding the unanimous Resolution of the Joint Committee of the four Inns of the 4th March, 1874, disapproving of his original Draft Bill—a Resolution since confirmed by each of the four Inns—this Committee resolve that the four Societies be recommended to take all proper steps for opposing such Bill in Parliament if again brought in.' It was moved by Mr. Calvert, and seconded by Mr. George Loch, Treasurer of the Middle Temple: 'That this Committee disapproves of Lord Selborne's Bill for establishing a General School of Law, and especially of the provisions contained in it whereby Students for the Bar and the Articled Clerks of Solicitors shall be under one joint system, and are of opinion that the Legal Education of Students for the Bar should continue to be under the control of their own branch of the profession.'

a general

general school common to both classes; or, 2ndly, it may mean abolishing the distinction between barrister and solicitor altogether, by introducing the blended system which prevails in the United States. The first is the only sense in which the term would be approved of by many members of the Legal Education Association. We doubt if Lord Selborne himself would approve of any other. The second, however, is the sense in which it is used by that great body of Lord Selborne's supporters who entertain the revolutionary opinions which have lately been expressed with so much boldness. We will make a few observations on each view.

First. If the two branches of the profession are still to be kept distinct, is it expedient that both should receive one common educational training? Such a plan may have some advantages, though few. It has been tried in Ireland, but with no good results, if we may judge from the Report of the Committee of 1846, and from the loose and inaccurate style too often observable in Irish pleadings and conveyances. We consider that, on the whole, the disadvantages of such a system vastly preponderate. At the commencement of their legal studies there is almost always a great disparity in age between students for the Bar and articled clerks. Five-sixths of the former have been educated at the Universities, and are four or five years older than the articled clerks. The latter, when they begin their career, are in general but an imperfectly educated set, if we are to place confidence in the important evidence given by one of their own branch of the profession, Sir George Stephen, before the Committee of the House of Commons in 1846. Nothing can be more melancholy than his description quoted in the Committee's Report.* To subject students for the Bar, when beginners, to a course of instruction suitable for the class described by Sir George Stephen would manifestly be to the disadvantage of the former. If, however, this difficulty can be partly got over by the articled clerks passing their first two or three years in a solicitor's office and then, during only the last two years of their course, residing in London for instruction in the General School of Law, they will begin to study the theory of law just at the time when, from their having acquired some knowledge of its practice, their services were becoming valuable to the solicitors to whom they are articled. To the latter the loss would be important, and for the articled clerks themselves the gain would be small; for it would be better for them, just before becoming solicitors, to be engaged in actual practice in a lawyer's office, and be attending the

* Report, p. xxxv.

Courts,

Courts, than to be listening to lectures on the Roman Civil Law and other recondite subjects. Under a system common to both branches of the profession, the system of teaching will be pushed rather too high for the articled clerks and rather too low for the Inns of Court students; both must, therefore, suffer in the result. Again, the larger the number of students in any particular class, the less will become the value of the teaching to those who attend it. The Judges fully understood this when, by their order dated in 1627, they directed that not more than ten students should attend the class of each Reader. The Benchers of the Inner Temple are so impressed with the same view, that although their annual contribution to the funds of the Council of Legal Education exceeds that of any other Inn, by reason of their having the largest number of students, they have devoted an additional 2000*l.* a year to give special instruction, in private classes, to the students of their own Society, and have established six tutorships for that purpose and placed their supplemental system under the directions of a Committee of the Bench. It is clear that if all the students of all the Inns of Court and all the articled clerks of all the solicitors are mixed together in one mass, the classes into which they would have to be grouped would become too numerous and unwieldy to be of much good to anyone. Should an attempt be made to avoid this evil by increasing the number of tutors and classes, then the students will have to be grouped with reference to their previous attainments, and the articled clerks will be drafted into one class, and the students from the Universities, who are going to the Bar, will be drafted into others, and for all practical purposes the 'broken down barrier' will be built up again. All learners may begin in the same building, but they will not and cannot learn together. Again, students for the Bar who are to be trained to understand and argue difficult cases of municipal and international law, require a higher system of education than is needful or useful for men whose duties must be principally of an administrative character. Common sense tells us that it would be better for articled clerks to be instructed in mercantile bookkeeping and in those special branches of knowledge which a land-agent should understand, than to be taught to explain such niceties as the differences between Depositum, Pignus, and Hypotheca. If the solicitors, who have suffered their own Inns of Chancery to slip through their fingers, had been more alive to their own true interests, they would never have allowed the body of men, called 'accountants,' to have sprung up, as they have done during the last few years, to absorb a lucrative portion of legal business which the solicitors ought to have kept for themselves, and they would also,

by

by giving a special course of instruction to their articled clerks on the subject, have long since tried to get all the land agencies in the country in their exclusive keeping. But they have been like the dog in the fable, which dropped his mouthful of meat to snatch at a shadow.

Secondly. Is the 'barrier to be broken down' in the sense desired by some of the Provincial Law Associations? In some respects this would be useful to the solicitors. They could then deprive the junior barristers of a few briefs in undefended causes and unopposed petitions, by holding them themselves. They might also occasionally air their eloquence in more important cases, but not always to the advantage of their clients. There would no longer be a class called barristers to take precedence of themselves in society and receive superior manifestations of public respect; all would be 'advocates' and of equal dignity; all must then, without distinction, become 'Officers of the Court,' and be equally liable to be called upon 'to answer the matters in the affidavit;' firms would be formed in which some members would do the barrister's work in Court, and some the solicitor's work in chambers; this would keep business to a large extent in the same groove from generation to generation, so long as the firm continued to exist. These composite firms would also be able to sue for forensic fees, which are now irrecoverable. There might be other advantages to the solicitors which do not now occur to us; but, on the other hand, the disadvantages to the public would be enormous. The interest of the public is to have the fewest possible mistakes committed. The present system secures that advantage, but the proposed one would not. Moreover, the great English Bar would exist no longer; that lofty and noble profession which, during so many centuries, has repressed the wrongful doings of dishonest men, protected both poor and rich, and defended the liberties of the people and the rights of individuals and institutions against aggressive tyranny, would become disintegrated and fall to pieces, whilst its *débris*, mixed up with foreign substances of less value, would be transferred to the new class or order of advocates, which is to absorb all others. It is impossible that there can be this confusion of classes and functions, without loss of that fearless independence which is now characteristic of the English barrister. The Inns of Court, those nurseries of learning and public spirit, would necessarily be destroyed in such a change or be perverted to ends worse than their destruction. At present the English barrister is called by the Benchers of his Inn under the sanction of the Judges; but the Judges, though he should resist and offend them,

them, cannot disbar him without infringing the usage of five centuries, for he is not an 'Officer of the Court;' nor can the Judges of the Court give him orders or exercise authority over him. A late notorious case has shown to what extent the Judges feel bound to exercise forbearance, even when a member of the Bar abuses his privilege. If the State shall ever get under its control the institutions which call to the Bar or expel from it, the independence of the Bar will be lost, and an English barrister will soon become as timid an official as the Bavarian advocates, who trembled to accept without permission a brief to defend Kullmann for shooting at Prince Bismarck.* To what condition of degradation would the assailants of the Bar reduce it? There have been instances in which it has been proved to the Benchers that some unsuccessful barristers of their Inn have hired themselves out as conveyancing clerks to solicitors, and while sitting on a stool in their offices have drawn and settled deeds for their employers, which they have signed as Counsel, the solicitors receiving the fees and the barristers only a salary; but in such cases, when proved, the barrister has been disbarred. Nevertheless, if the system against which we protest were established, any large firms of solicitors, which chose to do so, might keep an arguing barrister in their office, as part of the staff, and send him out when required for a case in Court, just as a butcher keeps a bulldog in his backyard and takes him out occasionally when wanted for a fight. But it may be replied, we do not wish to abolish the distinction between barrister and attorney; we merely wish that if the attorney desires to conduct his own case in Court, without a barrister's assistance, he may be at liberty to do so. We answer, that the interests of the public would suffer by such a change. The privilege of free speech in Court, which the barrister possesses when he argues cases and cross-examines witnesses, is one which requires to be exercised with the greatest delicacy of treatment. It would become a nuisance if confided to men not specially trained to the work. At present the barrister is answerable for what he says and does, not only to public opinion and the Bar Mess on circuit, but, in grave cases, to the Benchers of an Inn of Court. The solicitors would do well if, instead of seeking to intrude into the domain of the Bar, they were to look to the preservation of their own business and exclusive rights, which are in more danger than some imagine. If they demand free

* In Prussia, the number of Advocates is limited, and the Government decides where each shall establish himself, and marks out his domicile, and changes it at pleasure. There is no separation of the two branches. (*Varnberg*, 'La Profession d'Avocat en Prusse.') This is nearly as bad as in China, where, according to Varnberg, 'l'Avocat reçoit le bambou dès qu'il se charge d'une mauvaise cause.'

trade

trade in advocacy, let them remember that there is the new class of 'accountants and debt collectors,' who are striving to obtain free trade in the instituting and conduct of causes, and to infringe on the exclusive privileges of the solicitors. The existing system of a separation of the work of the barrister from the work of the solicitor is, we are satisfied, the best; it grew up with the growth of the nation itself, and is established by usage, which would long since have been abrogated had it not been beneficial. To use the language of one who was, in years gone by, a distinguished Bencher of Gray's Inn, 'What is settled by custom, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit, and those things which have long gone together are, as it were, confederate among themselves; whereas new things piece not so well.'

The notion that Lord Selborne and Lord Hatherley are, with a certain amount of countenance from the Lord Chancellor, banded together to obliterate the Bar as a great and separate profession, appears to us to be simply preposterous. There is no sufficient ground for supposing that any one of them entertains a wish of the kind. But some have given encouragement to the projects of a few solicitors whose designs go beyond their own, and they have omitted to explain with sufficient distinctness to what extent they disagree with such projects and are prepared to oppose them. Even if the notion had a basis as real as we believe it to be imaginary, there would be no just cause for apprehension; for the English Bar is too powerful to be destroyed with facility. One fact we consider certain: the Government over which Mr. Disraeli presides will never give its support to Lord Selborne's Bill for the Incorporation of the Inns of Court or for the 'appropriation' of their property, in the face of the unanimous disapproval which that measure has received from the governing bodies of those learned and ancient Societies. Why, indeed, should the Conservative Government act so unwisely as to provoke the hostility of a Bar more redoubtable than that of the publicans? They would be covered with derision were they to embark on a course of 'plundering and blundering,' or to sanction any of those innovating schemes by which every class and profession, every institution and establishment in the country, has during a series of years been more or less vexed by Liberal Administrations. Lord Selborne's Bills will be brought before Parliament during the next Session, and our Conservative Government will be obliged to decide whether the new movement now in progress shall receive its support or its opposition. It is for many reasons most important that the Cabinet should come to a resolution on the subject as soon as possible, and let the result be known.

ART.

r. V.—*The Life of Christ.* By Frederic W. Farrar, D.D., .R.S.; late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; Master of Marlborough College, and Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen. Tenth Edition. London, 1874. 2 Vols. 8vo.

WHATEVER opinion be entertained as to the purpose of these brilliant volumes, there can be no doubt that the blishers, with whom the idea originated of placing in the nds of English readers 'such a sketch of the life of Christ on th as should enable them to realise it more clearly, and to er more fully into the details and sequence of the Gospel ratives,' acted with wise forecast in committing the further- e of their design to the present Master of Marlborough llege. Dr. Farrar was no novice in literature. His pub- hed studies in the Science of Language had not merely dis- guished him as a writer of independent thought and untiring earch, but had shown him to possess gifts of exposition and ustration, such as are to be found only in born teachers. rdly less important as a qualification for the task imposed upon n was his well-known eloquence as a preacher. And though e aim of the promoters was 'to spread the blessings of know- lge' rather than to strengthen the foundations of faith, the rked ability of his Hulsean Lectures on 'The Witness of istory to Christ,' delivered before the University of Cambridge, 1870, might not unreasonably have been accepted as a sub- ntial augury of his success. To these tokens of aptitude for e work may be added another, the importance of which must ve been obvious to his publishers. Dr. Farrar, though known be staunchly attached to the faith of the Church of England, d publicly expressed himself, on more than one occasion, th characteristic fearlessness, in favour of a clergyman's right follow his conscience at all hazards in pursuit of truth; and nce his name was sure to carry with it a guarantee, not erely that the faith of tradition would not be trifled with, but at the many deep and intricate problems connected with his bject would be resolutely encountered to the best of his know- lge and ability. The result of his labours is now before us; d, considering that we are reviewing the tenth edition of his mewhat costly volumes within nine months of their publica- n, he may certainly be congratulated upon a literary success which the annals of English theology present no parallel. me portion of this success, it may not perhaps be fanciful to tribute to a reactionary mood in matters of faith, analogous to at which has recently influenced the popular current of political

ideas in England. Since the publication of 'Essays and Review society, for good or for evil, has extended an ever-increasi tolerance to scepticism, of which the Press has not been slow take advantage. Opinions which a few years since we confined to learned corners, are broached to-day without reser in leading journals and popular magazines; and side by si with the last new novel, upon the counters of our circulati libraries, may be found attractive essays, bearing influent names, which make no secret of their author's belief that the cre of our common Christianity is a sham. It would, nevertheles be a mistake to suppose that the religious mind of Engla curious as it is in regard to sceptical ideas, is, at botto sceptically inclined; least of all, is it disposed to tolerate a thing like ridicule of that which it holds sacred. But criticism h indulged itself of late in a licence of *badinage* to which we a little accustomed on this side the Channel. We have been told accents of mock pity that our theology is nothing better than series of fairy tales, tricked out with delusive metaphysics. T same self-confident authority has assured us that 'the reign the Bible miracles is doomed.' And, in order, we suppose, hasten their extinction, we have been treated quite recentl among other pleasantries, to an exposure of rationalistic inte pretation at least suggestive of a parallel between the Miracle Cana and the story of Cinderella.* Such liberties overrea themselves. There is, probably, no religious conviction whi has not been worried, no religious interest which has not be affronted, by the assumptions and familiarities of this kin of writing. Hence, apart from the intrinsic merits of I Farrar's work, we are inclined to think that there was a p disposing cause for the enthusiastic welcome it has met wi And though it might savour of rashness to infer, from t success of a single book, that there is no such disintegration faith in our midst as that of which we have been lately warn *ad nauseam*, the fact that a new Life of Christ, avowing its 'unconditionally the work of a believer,' has achieved a po larity far exceeding that of nearly, if not quite, the most ca vating sceptical work of modern times, may well serve to moder the over-sanguine expectations of the critic, no less than to ca the undue fears of the orthodox.

Dr. Farrar's standpoint is that of an orthodox theologian, a however, of the school to which the somewhat unguarded pression we have just quoted might seem to attach him. Wh

* 'Objections to Literature and Dogma.' Part. I. *Vide* 'Contemporary view' for October, 1874, p. 816.

adher

adhering 'to every fundamental doctrine of the Christian faith,' he holds liberal views in regard to Inspiration which distinguish his position fundamentally from that of the mere harmonist. We quote the following, as a more distinct expression of his opinion upon this subject than we find in these volumes, from a work to which he refers us (vol. ii. p. 182, *n*):

'We believe with unfeigned heart that Holy Scripture was given by inspiration of God. That in it is contained all that is necessary for salvation. . . . We hold that, while the revelation which it contains was continuous, many parts of that revelation were delivered in a manner relative to the immediate needs of the age in which they were uttered; and as regards the method of its deliverance, we have seen a multitude of facts, both external and internal, which lead us to believe that, except in special clearly defined instances, it was not essentially dissimilar from that by which we arrive at the apprehension of those truths which are vouchsafed to us from other sources, *i.e.*, that it was only supernatural as the deepest facts of our spiritual experience are supernatural; and only miraculous, as any communications must be miraculous whereby the Finite is enabled to comprehend the teaching and will of the Infinite.'

He acknowledges the existence of formidable difficulties in the Gospel records, and, in many instances, candidly admits the possibility of error. 'Against *any* harmony which can be devised, some plausible objection,' he allows, 'could be urged.' Hence he lays no claim to finality for his own efforts. At the same time he aims at showing 'by the mere silent course of the narrative itself, that many of the objections' brought against it 'are by no means insuperable, and that many more are unfairly captious, or altogether fantastic.' For a delineation of the Life of Christ, from an orthodox point of view, his work is singularly free from the special pleading which has too often nullified the labours of his predecessors in the same field. It may, no doubt, be charged on this account with inconsistencies and ambiguities which a less candid pen would have avoided. But, whatever may be our differences with Dr. Farrar as to the method he has employed, we are not disposed to quarrel with him for what we regard as its necessary results. We feel at any rate that he has no mental reservations, but that, from first to last, he gives us the honest impressions of a richly-gifted and highly-cultivated mind, fairly representing, both in its certainties and in its uncertainties, the great majority of religious, which are at the same time thinking, minds of the present day.

The volumes are prefaced by a long list of authorities, to whom reference is made in the course of them. The list is by no means complete, nor does it give any idea of the many-sided

culture which, apart from the learning displayed, imparts to their contents a peculiar fascination. A writer would be ill qualified to undertake 'a task so difficult and important as that of writing the Life of Christ,' who had not made himself familiar with the voluminous criticism, foreign and domestic, of the last half-century in relation to his subject. And certainly no fault can be found with Dr. Farrar for neglect of the works even of those critics with whom he most disagrees. He has been, in fact, an omnivorous reader; and if we detect traces of hurry in his occasional misapprehension of the views of those whom he quotes, yet he must be credited with having brought together and placed within the reach of ordinary readers an amount of varied information in reference to his great theme, such as can be found in no other popular work in the language. His acquaintance with Talmudic writers, and with the Talmud itself, gives a special value to his illustrations from the rarity of this kind of study among English theologians; and no one can read the Appendices at the close of his second volume without perceiving how conscientious his labour has been. We lay stress upon this point, because the character of his style is calculated to create a wrong impression as to the solidity of his work. In his diffuseness and love of ornament he is a veritable Chrysostom. But the stream of rhetoric which leaps and glitters in his pages springs from no affectation. It flows naturally and irrepressibly from his pen. We should guess, indeed, that he had lisped the prose of Milton and Jeremy Taylor; for, though his diction lacks the robustness of his favourites, it has an echo of the same sonorous music, and is evidently the result of intimate familiarity with, rather than conscious imitation of, their style. Dr. Farrar's scholarship is too highly reputed of to need our commendation. His retranslations from the Greek are, for the most part, as happy as they are accurate, though, being more of a classical than a Hellenistic scholar, he is sometimes apt, we think, to press the distinctions of Attic style too far, or to err from insufficient induction in regard to New Testament usage. For illustration we might refer to his interpretation of ἑταῖρε, ἐφ' ὃ πάρει; Matt. xxvi. 50 (vol. ii. 318), where he differs from Winer and the best authorities; and to his explanation of the elliptical ἀλλ' ἵνα, John ix. 3 (vol. ii. 83, *n.*), or he assignation to which of a consequential force is contrary to the invariable use of the idiom by St. John. He seems to us to miss the meaning of τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ Θεοῦ, John iv. 10 (vol. i. 209), which clearly refers to the free and universal gift of water, and supplies the clue to the words that follow: and we must take exception to his translation of ἀγαπᾷς με; John xxi. 15, 16 (vol. ii.

(vol. ii. 443), by '*Honourest* thou Me?' remembering the words μαθητὴς ἐκεῖνος ὃν ἠγάπα ὁ Ἰησοῦς in the 7th verse. If he is at times forgetful, in drawing out delicate shades of meaning from our Lord's words, that Greek was not the language in which He must ordinarily have expressed Himself, we think that, generally speaking, his unconventional treatment of the text of the Gospels will prove highly useful, not merely in preparing the unlearned reader for a revision of the Authorised version, but in introducing him for the first time to many unsuspected points of interest in the life and teaching of Christ.

Considerable charm accrues to the work from the author's brief experience of Oriental travel. Many of his descriptions are such as could only have been inspired by personal observation. We select at random one of many graceful passages, to the truthfulness of which we bear willing testimony. He is describing El Mejdel, the home of Mary Magdalene.

'Though the few miserable peasant-huts are squalid and ruinous, and the inhabitants are living in ignorance and degradation, the traveller will look with interest and emotion upon a site which brings back into his memory one of the most signal proofs that no one—not even the most fallen and the most despised—is regarded as an outcast by Him whose very work it was to seek and save that which was lost. Perhaps in the balmy air of Gennesareth, in the brightness of the sapphire sky above his head, in the sound of the singing-birds which fills the air, in the masses of purple blossom which at some seasons of the year festoons these huts of mud, he may see a type of the love and tenderness which is large and rich enough to encircle with the grace of fresh and heavenly beauty the ruins of a once earthly and desecrated life.'—vol. i. p. 305.

At the same time we feel that, had Dr. Farrar been able to extend his visit to the Holy Land beyond what we may suppose to have been the limits of a school vacation, there would have been less in his pages of that exuberance which first impressions of the East are so apt to inspire in a poetic temperament. His pictures too often remind us of the brilliant combinations of colour we owe to the art of Mr. Holman Hunt than of the every-day aspect of the scenery of Palestine. Take, for instance, the following:—

'The view from this spot (the hill behind Nazareth) would in any country be regarded as extraordinarily rich and lovely; but it receives a yet more indescribable charm from our belief that here, with His feet among the mountain flowers, and the soft breeze lifting the hair from His temples, Jesus must often have watched the eagles poised in the cloudless blue, and gazed upwards as He heard the long line of pelicans, as they winged their way from the streams of the Kishon to the Lake of Galilee.'—vol. i. *p.* 101.

Here

Here he allows his fancy to run riot, as is the case also when he describes the Jordan valley, as it must have appeared to the eyes or the imagination of John the Baptist. Later on (vol. i. 312), in a chapter, entitled, 'Jesus, as he walked in Galilee,' founded upon Dr. Delitzsch's tract, '*Sehet welch ein Mensch*,' he writes with stricter regard to probability:—

'He is not bareheaded, as painters usually represent Him, for to move about bareheaded in the Syrian sunlight is impossible, but a white *keffiyeh*, such as is worn to this day, covers His hair, fastened by an *aghal* or fillet round the top of the head, and falling back over the neck and shoulders.'

The topography of the book shows every mark of care; but in (vol. i. p. 71) Jeb'a, a village in the territory of Manasseh, is confounded with El Jîb (Gibeon), which belonged to the tribe of Benjamin; and we think that if the author had visited Banias, with its magnificent background of mountain spurs and ravines, he would not have thought it necessary to place the scene of the Transfiguration among the open and featureless uplands of Gebel es Sheikh.* Certainly he would not have identified Cæsarea Philippi with Dan (Tel el Kadi), which lies some few miles to the west, or taken for granted Josephus's unintelligible story of a subterranean connection between Lake Phiala (Bîrket er Râm) and the fountain of the Jordan at Paneas.

In regard to externals, we are unwilling to dwell upon defects where there is so much that is inviting; but we observe that the typographical errors, particularly in the Greek orthography, of the first edition remain uncorrected in the tenth; and we feel that if Dr. Farrar should see fit to reduce his work to less costly dimensions for the benefit of a large class of readers who are now excluded from its use, it might with advantage be divested of many needless repetitions. We notice, moreover, several oversights in matters of fact,† which, though they can hardly be said to affect the real value of the book, and may fairly be excused on the plea which is tendered in the Preface, point, in our opinion, to the necessity for careful revision. Perhaps, too, we may be allowed to suggest the enlargement of the Index and the addition of a few good maps.

* This is the Arabic designation of the loftiest point of the Anti-Lebanon, Hermon,' 'Sirion,' or 'Shenir' of Deut. iii. 8, 9. Though the mountain is 11,[illegible] feet above the level of the sea, the summit may without difficulty be reached horseback as early as May.

† Such, for instance, are the statements as to the probable position of Judas the Last Supper which is differently described in two consecutive pages (vol. 284-5): the contradiction which is given to Luke xix. 14, by the words, 'We told that *once* He wept' (vol. i. 319): the misrepresentation of 1 Sam. xxi. 1 [illegible] contain

'o ourselves, we own, the most attractive feature of the book
ts deep sincerity of purpose. While neither learning nor
luence, nor descriptive genius, could compensate for the
:nce of this in a work that professed to interpret the earthly
of Christ, its presence in every chapter of the present work
es, in great measure, for certain grave defects which it will
ur duty to point out in the course of the present review,
carries us, notwithstanding, to the last page with feelings
:arty admiration for the writer.

nd first, we must express our opinion that the aspect of the
logical field in England was not such as to render desirable
ie present time a new attempt to combine into one the frag-
tary records of the Life of lives. The image of the historical
st belongs, it is true, to no one age in particular; and from time
me men feel the necessity of having vividly represented to
1 in their own stage of social and scientific progress that
lized Ideal which is the property of the whole race. But the
logian, who would build up the faith of his fellow men
rely, must not hastily assume that such representations are
ys in season. 'The incredulous murmurs of an impatient
ticism,' to which a passing allusion is made in an eloquent
age at the close of these volumes, should be to him a
etual reminder that the soil on which he treads is vol-
c; and he will forbear to raise a stately pile upon the very
nd which threatens eruption until he has ascertained the
extent of the coming danger, and determined in what direc-
he may build with safety to himself and others.

'ithin the last year we have plainly felt the shock in this
try of that unsparing wave of criticism which has shaken the
ic of orthodoxy in Germany to its very foundations; and it
s highly probable that the impetus towards sceptical inquiry,
:h was derived by the Continent from English Deism in the
r part of the last century, is about to be repaid us with
:st at the close of the present. For our own part we have
:ar that careful investigation of the origin and nature of the
gelic records, conducted with a view to discover truth and
to establish a preconceived theory, will result at this period of
world's history in any such novel discovery as shall discredit

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ined in the assertion that 'David went *with* his *armed* followers into the
le' (vol. i. 437): the application of the epithets '*ascetic*' and '*impassioned*'
mes and Jude the Apostles (vol. i. 368), notwithstanding the author's de-
against the Hieronymian theory as to the 'Brethren of the Lord' (vol. i.
); and the allusion to 'Sidon, with its fisheries of the purple *limpet*' (vol. i.
a term which cannot, even poetically, be applied to *Murex trunculus*, or
ura hæmastomâ.

the

the supernatural claims of the Christian religion. Theologians may be forced to express themselves in less dogmatic language than heretofore; apologists may have to abandon ground it were better that they had never occupied; students of the New Testament and of ecclesiastical history may be driven to confess that problems they fancied themselves to have solved are still beyond their grasp; but until the opponents of divine revelation are able to explain to us how an age and people, of whose disingenuousness and credulity they accumulate convincing proof, came to give birth to a Teacher whom, in the same breath, they acknowledge to have 'carried morality to the sublimest point attained, or even attainable, by humanity,' they can hardly expect us to admit that they have made out a case against miracles, or demolished the only adequate explanation that has ever been offered of so unique a phenomenon.* At the same time we deprecate the attempt to impart a suspicious unity and definiteness to narratives confessedly fragmentary and unchronological as our Gospels are, while the question is still earnestly debated by devout critics whether, in the form in which they have come down to us, they are the actual compositions of those whose names they bear, and while the highest theological wisdom is still at variance with itself as to the degree in which their subjective character is to be recognised. It may, no doubt, be possible, by careful intertexture of the sacred biographies, to present such a picture of the life of Christ as shall satisfy the minds of the unlearned by its apparent consistency; but if the harmony be only attainable through the neglect of scientific method—and in the present state of our knowledge it can hardly be otherwise—the cause of faith, it appears to us, is better served by the elaboration of separate features than by abortive attempts at synthesis. Doubtless the essential unity which may be shown to pervade them is a weighty argument for the truth of details; but the evidential force of such unity is in proportion to its unconscious suggestion: whereas the visible effort to bind the facts into one is apt to increase the conviction of their inconsistency in minds that crave logical precision.

* 'The teaching of Jesus carried morality to the sublimest point attained, or even attainable, by humanity. . . . Such morality, based upon the intelligent and earnest acceptance of Divine law, and perfect recognition of the brotherhood of man, is the highest conceivable by humanity; and although its power and influence must augment with the increase of enlightenment, it is itself beyond development, consisting as it does of principles unlimited in their range, and inexhaustible in their application. . . . It is too Divine in its morality to require the aid of miraculous attributes. No supernatural halo can heighten its spiritual beauty, and no mysticism deepen its holiness. In its perfect simplicity it is sublime, and in its profound wisdom it is eternal.'—*Supernatural Religion*, vol. ii. pp. 487–489.

Now

Now we trust that Dr. Farrar will bear with us when we say
.t his power of vivid narrative is considerably in excess of his
tical acumen. We do not mean to imply that his judgment
ıntrustworthy when he has to deal with various readings of the
eek text, or when he has to decide between several explana-
ns of the same historical difficulty. On the contrary, he
ıibits a remarkable capacity for arranging and weighing evi-
ıce: witness his admirable note upon John viii. 1–11 (vol. ii.
, 62), and exhaustive excursus, 'Was the Last Supper a
ssover?' But with all his sagacity in discriminating between
: opinions of others, we constantly find him making suggestions
nself which stir more difficulties than they solve, and at times
handling the sacred narrative as to invite rather than disarm
: attacks of a sceptical foe.

Take, for instance, his treatment of the Fourth Gospel.
Vriting as a believer to believers, as a Christian to Christians,
rely,' pleads Dr. Farrar, 'after nearly nineteen centuries
Christianity any one may be allowed to rest a fact of the
e of Jesus on the testimony of St. John without stopping
write a volume on the authenticity of the Fourth Gospel:'
d if he had confined himself to the somewhat narrow
dience whom he claims to be addressing, we should have
d nothing to urge against his plea. But it is easy to per-
ve that while he invites the attention of those only whom
somewhat vaguely terms 'believers,' he has in his mind's
: a much wider circle. Every page of his book, and
ecially the valuable notes with which he has enriched it,
ms with anticipations and refutations of supposed objectors.
is, in fact, too good a theologian to divest himself wholly of
critic; on the other hand, he is too zealous an artist to allow
seductive flow of his narrative to be seriously interrupted by
ical considerations. His work in consequence exhibits the
ects inseparable from a double intention. As history it cannot
gether be trusted; as criticism it is manifestly inadequate.
w the Gospel of St. John is, to say the least, dangerous ground
the writer of a popular Life of Christ. Granted that the
hor was St. John—and we cordially agree with Dr. Farrar in
ıking that the weight of internal evidence is all but decisive
avour of the orthodox view—granted that much of the Gospel
ure narrative, still the results of criticism are not so wholly
l as to allow of its indiscriminate use as a document of pre-
ly similar character to the records of the Synoptists. Our
ıor's chapter on Nicodemus furnishes one among many
ances of the critical unsoundness into which he is too often
ɔnsciously betrayed through what seems to us an imperfect
apprehension

apprehension of the conditions of his task. The third chapter of St. John's Gospel, after narrating the nightly visit of the timid Rabbi to our Lord, passes in the 16th verse into one of those didactic discourses in the style of St. John's First Epistle, which form so peculiar a feature of the Gospel. Few critics but such as maintain a more or less mechanical theory of inspiration—and of these Dr. Farrar is not one—refuse to admit here that the Evangelist is in part commenting upon and explaining the testimony which he records, and more obviously still is this the case in the expansion of the Baptist's words at the close of the chapter. But although, if the subjective element be thus admitted, the admission is a most important one as affecting the purely historical character of the Gospel, Dr. Farrar treats the discourse as resting upon exactly the same footing as any other recorded words of Jesus, and founds upon it the following reflection, just, no doubt, in itself, and full of spiritual insight, but unsuited to the connection in which it is found.

'Doubtless in the further discussion of [these mysteries] the night deepened around them, and, in the memorable words about the light and the darkness with which the interview was closed, Jesus gently rebuked the fear of man which led this Great Rabbi to seek the shelter of midnight for a deed which was not a deed of darkness, needing to be concealed, but which was indeed a coming to the true and only light.'—vol. i. p. 200.

It is of course open to Dr. Farrar to hold that St. John's Gospel was written for the purpose of supplementing or occasionally rectifying the accounts of the Synoptists, rather than of arranging certain features of the great picture according to a special point of view: but as the latter is in the main the opinion even of those critics who hold the Johannean authorship, and at least accounts for many of the most difficult phenomena of the Gospel, he is hardly free to express impatience of the scepticism which doubts its genuineness, while he almost entirely ignores that peculiar element which distinguishes this record so widely from the earlier narratives.

We find ourselves compelled to enter a still stronger protest against the use which Dr. Farrar makes of Christian legend. To a mind like his, intensely susceptible of the picturesque, the temptation to interweave with the sacred history extraneous fables which sober criticism has either set aside or not thought it worth while to refute, tends at times seriously to compromise the faithfulness of his narrative. Conspicuously is this the case in regard to the Visit of the Magi, and the Interview with the Greeks, recorded by St. John (xii. 20 ff.). True, he characterises the legends connected with the former incident as 'innocent fancies;' bu

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when we are told in the same sentence that they are 'worthy of mention because of their *historic interest, and* their bearing on the conceptions of Christian poetry and Christian art,'* it would seem as though some importance were attributed to them over and above the influence they have exercised upon the latter, and in this case their 'innocence' becomes more than questionable in the context where they are found. A similar objection must be urged against the introduction of the legend of Abgarus in connection with the Visit of the Greeks. We are not aware that even tradition links them together, and we suspect the author has been misled here by the fanciful ingenuity of Sepp; but to speak of an absurd fable as 'an interesting tradition, but one upon which we can unfortunately lay no stress,'† is to suggest a possibility of its truth which is simply mischievous. The effect of such playing with legend is unconsciously illustrated by Dr. Farrar himself, when he introduces the Greek inquirers at the head of his page by the uncritical designation, '*Emissaries* from the West.' There is another instance of the same want of historic perception in vol. i. p. 60, which we notice, because the writer is evidently unaware of the impression which his too unguarded use of legend is calculated to make upon the mind of the thoughtful reader. After pointing out the contrast between the style of the Apocryphal Gospels and that of the Evangelists, and condemning the former in language that needs no palinode, he quotes a story from the 'Arabic Gospel of the Infancy,' as 'at any rate harmless, and possibly resting upon some slight basis of historical fact.' The scene is so manifestly a childish reflection of the Triumphal Entry that, whether harmless or not, its quotation as possible fact must detract something from the weight of Dr. Farrar's judgment in regard to a far more important matter—the difficulties, namely, which are involved in the duplicate narratives of the Gospels. His vindication of a second cleansing of the Temple as belonging to the last days of our Lord's life, in immediate connection with His entry into Jerusalem, forms the introduction to the most original and suggestive chapter in the whole work.

Another fault to which Dr. Farrar is prone is the uncritical use of scientific or pictorial description in cases where the inadequacy of the one or the uncertainty of the other is simultaneously admitted. We can see no possible reason why he should have encumbered his text with Kepler's calculations in reference to the Star in the East, 'the applicability of which to the Gospel narratives is now generally abandoned.' A note

* Vol. i. 36. † Vol. ii. 207.

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would have sufficed, and would have obviated besides the disturbance of the religious ideas which the chapter is intended to convey. Among other instances of the same want of self-restraint are the lurid description of Herod's malady, of which we are presently told in a note that 'it is very doubtful whether there is such a disease'* at all; and the translation of the solemn words, ἐγένετο ὁ ἱδρὼς αὐτοῦ ὥσει θρόμβοι αἵματος into 'This passion . . . which forced from Him the rare and intense phenomenon of a blood-stained sweat,'† when the pathological explanation seems to be discountenanced in a note, and a subjective interpretation has been applied to the passage only a few lines before.

One other point we notice because of its importance with respect to many of the most difficult problems with which the writer of a Life of Christ is called upon to deal. When we are told by St. Luke that 'Jesus increased in wisdom'—an expression which, notwithstanding the very full and interesting account which Dr. Farrar gives us of Jewish education, he allows to pass without comment—it seems to us that a door is opened for humble speculation as to the meaning of this intellectual growth. If our author had ventured upon the subject, we think his treatment of some portions of the sacred history—notably of the Temptation—would have been different. But the cognate question as to whether Jesus shared the beliefs of His time, as is boldly assumed by one school of critics, or, as others hold, accommodated His teaching not unfrequently to those beliefs, is one that can hardly fail to suggest itself from time to time to the student of the Gospels. It is prominently forced upon us, for instance, in relation to the Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, and the promise of our Lord to the Dying Thief. Dr. Farrar, however, dismisses the 'doctrine of accommodation' in a brief note upon demoniacal possession (vol. i. 237), with the slight remark that 'although it has received the sanction of some very eminent Fathers'—he might have added 'of many very eminent divines'—'it must be applied with the most extreme caution.' We readily accept the admonition, but when we find the author drawing a hasty inference like the following from the use of ἑταῖρε (comrade) instead of φίλε (friend) in our Lord's question to Judas, Matt. xxvi. 50, 'Never, even in the ordinary conventionalities of life, would Christ use a term that was not strictly true,' we are constrained to ask whether the statement is intended to preclude the idea that the language of our Lord's utterances was ever qualified by the defects in knowledge characteristic of His time.

* Vol. i. 47.

† Vol. ii. 311.

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Dr. Farrar's method, which seldom allows him to forsake the eral interpretation of the Gospel accounts, is necessarily least isfactory whenever the history is couched in mysterious form. was probably the author's own consciousness of this which termined the commencement of his narrative with the scenes the Nativity. Although, from a theological point of view, e omission of all direct mention of the Miraculous Conception hardly what we should have expected in the present work; truth being unmistakeably assumed, we think that Dr. Farrar s shown his wisdom in making no attempt to impart a more finite outline to the angelic apparitions recorded in the initial apters of St. Matthew and St. Luke than is given to them by e Evangelists themselves. Perhaps it may be doubted whether has not gone too far in asserting 'the absolute credibility of e Gospels *as simple histories*' * in reference to the story of the epherds. The belief that the narrative of the Holy Infancy s been conveyed to us in more or less imaginative form—a lief which has been entertained by many devout critics, and ich several of Dr. Farrar's own expressions tend to encourage is a wholly different thing from its rejection as myth or gend; and we fail to see what reason can be assigned for the bjective explanation which our author unhesitatingly applies the angelic ministrations of the Temptation and the Agony ich will not equally serve to consign the angelic accessories the Nativity to the highly-wrought imagination of its earliest tnesses. The incidents of the Holy Infancy seem to us to er no scope for the harmonist of the Gospels. The conviction their essential truth must result from a spiritual apprehension those central and more tangible facts of the sacred life which suppose an origin transcending human experience. Dr. rrar professes to be appealing, not, like Correggio in his 'La tte,' to our imagination, but to our historical sense: he intends t we shall be able to realise these incidents more clearly than ore; and he has failed, in our judgment, not because his empt is a feeble one, but because he has made it at all.

To judge from the tendency of thought at the present time, should imagine that no portion of the work before us will e been scanned with greater interest than that which treats the Miracles of Christ. In regard to these Dr. Farrar had ady uttered no uncertain sound; and in the present volumes follows in the main the line of thought adopted in his lsean Lectures. We could wish that he had been content h one calm statement of his views in opposition to those of

* Vol. i. p. 13.

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his supposed adversaries, instead of returning to the char and involving himself in some confusion of thought when has to deal with the miracles of the 'Water made Wine,' a the 'Walking of Christ upon the Sea.' The language of h preface is as follows:—

'In considering the miracles of Jesus we stand in a wholly differe position to the earlier disciples. To them the evidence of the miracl lent an overwhelming force to the teachings of the Lord. They we as the seal of God to the proclamation of the new kingdom. But t us, who for nineteen centuries have been children of that kingdom such evidence is needless. To the Apostles they were the credential of Christ's mission; to us they are but fresh revelations of His wil . . . We appeal to them not to prove the truth of Christianity, bu to illustrate its dissemination. But though to us Christianity rest on the basis of a Divine approval far more convincing than th display of supernatural power . . . a belief in these miracles enable us to solve problems which would otherwise be insolvable, as well a to embrace moral conceptions which would otherwise have found n illustration. To one who rejects them—to one who believes that th loftiest morals and the divinest piety which mankind has ever see were evoked by a religion which rested on errors or on lies—th world's history must remain, it seems to me, a hopeless enigma or revolting fraud.'—vol. i. pref. xvi.

Later on (vol. i. 167 ff. and 331 ff.) we regret to find hi adopting a controversial tone in reference to the sneer of th scientist, for his language savours of exaggeration, and fails t pierce the real armour of scientific unbelief:—

'Men in these days have presumptuously talked as though it wer God's duty—the duty of Him to whom the sea and the mountains ar a very little thing, and before whose eyes the starry heavens are bu as one white gleam in the "intense inane" to perform His miracl before a circle of competent savans! Conceivably it might be so ha it been intended that miracles should be the sole, or even the mai credentials of Christ's authority; but to the belief of Christendo the Son of God would still be the Son of God, even if like John, H had done no miracle.'

Here is not only an *ignoratio elenchi* as regards science, but concession on the part of theology in which, as believers in th Incarnation, we are unable to follow Dr. Farrar. Let us, how ever, hear him further upon the same subject:—

'If we believe that God rules, if we believe that Christ rose, if w have reason to hold among the deepest convictions of our being th certainty that God has not delegated His sovereignty or His provi dence to the final, unintelligent, pitiless, inevitable working of ma terial forces . . . then we shall neither clutch at rationalistic inte pretations nor be much troubled if others adopt them. He wh believes, he who *knows* the efficacy of prayer in what other men ma

regard as the inevitable certainties or blindly directed accidents of life—he who has felt how the voice of a Saviour heard across the long generations, can calm wilder storms than ever buffeted into fury the bosom of the inland lake—he who sees in the person of his Redeemer a fact more stupendous and more majestic than all those observed sequences which men endow with an imaginary omnipotence, and worship under the name of Law—to him at least there will be neither difficulty nor hesitation in supposing that Christ . . . did utter His mandate and that the wind and the sea obeyed; that His word was indeed more potent among the cosmic forces than miles of agitated water or leagues of rushing air.'

Dr. Farrar's object is to strengthen the faith of the doubter; but to group spiritual things with natural in the same category, as he has done in the above passage, is not the way to remove perplexity. He is well aware that to talk to one who rejects miracles on scientific grounds, of 'a *preparation for belief* which every Christian derives from the experiences of his own life, and from that which he believes to be the voice of God speaking to his heart,'* is to talk a language which to him is but the jargon of prejudice. Equally futile is it, in our opinion, to continue the argument with such an one upon the ground of 'antecedent credibility.' *A priori* considerations are powerless against the evidence of Nature when she has ceased to be regarded as the exponent of a Living Will. Meanwhile the advance of scientific knowledge is widely diffusing a *preparation for disbelief*, which is wholly distinct from the desire to disbelieve; and we who view the Gospel miracles with Dr. Farrar as something other than 'those unsaveable things' which have been recently thrown in our teeth, turned to a new interpreter of the Life of Christ, who is also a votary of Science, in expectation of finding clearer and more helpful views upon this subject, than are to be met with in the present volumes. The efforts of theology at the present day should be directed, not to vindicate the possibility of miraculous interference with the order of Nature, but to show the relation which miracles bear to a divine revelation accepted upon other grounds; and to this end the New Testament itself supplies help that has been too much neglected. St. John speaks of the 'first beginning of *signs*' which Jesus did in Cana of Galilee: σημεῖα (signs), not ἔργα (works), as Dr. Farrar over-hastily asserts, is 'the favourite expression' of the theological Evangelist in special relation to miraculous acts.† 'The Word,' he asserts, 'was

* Vol. i. 172, *n.*

† The word ἔργον occurs frequently in St. John's Gospel, but is never represented in the A. V. by the English 'miracle,' whereas the word σημεῖον is so translated thirteen times.

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made flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld His glo the glory as of the only begotten of the Father.'* Mirac were in his view the necessary results of the Incarnatic Accordingly the first miracle of Christ is described not as stupendous' work, but as the undemonstrative manifestation a Divine Presence; and though that Presence is withdra from human sight, to the eye of faith its unabated energy visible still in every physical process and every human vicis tude. If miracles be regarded in the light which St. Joh Gospel throws upon them, the progress of science will be se to confirm rather than to confound the faith of the theologia Already it has exorcised the world of many an evil genius th had usurped the throne of the Invisible. Interpreted by th aid of patient experiment, earthquake and storm, famine an flood, even the phenomena of mental and physical disease are found to disclose traces of harmonious arrangement whic to the eyewitnesses of the miracles of Christ were imperceptible and when we read that Jesus stilled the waves, and multiplie the loaves, and restored their soundness to the paralytic limbs we feel that whether the 'cosmic forces' were suspended or not His acts did but manifest forth immediately to human sens that creative and redemptive power of which these are but th imperfectly apprehended expression. 'Miracles,' says a keen sighted preacher of modern times, 'have only done their wor when they teach us the glory and the awfulness that surroun our common life. In a miracle God for one moment show Himself, that we may remember that it is He that is at wor when no miracle is seen.' And surely the thought is borne ou by the frequently-manifested unwillingness of the great Sign giver that His works should be bruited abroad to vulgar mis apprehension. Dr. Farrar, though somewhat hesitatingly, ha suggested the same idea in a pleasing passage:—

'Why did our Lord on this (the healing of the leper) and many other occasions enjoin on the recipients of the miracles a secrecy which they so rarely observed? The full reason perhaps we shall never know, but that it had reference to circumstances of time and place and the mental condition of those in whose favour the deeds were wrought, is clear from the fact that on one occasion at least where the conditions were different, He even enjoined a publication of the mercy vouchsafed. Was it as St. Chrysostom conjectures, to repress a spirit of boastfulness, and teach men not to talk away the deep inward sense of God's great gifts? or was it to avoid an over-excitement and tumult in the already astonished multitudes of Galilee? or was it that He might be regarded by them in His true light—not as a mighty wonder

* John i. 14.

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worker, not as a universal Hakîm, but as a Saviour by revelation and by hope?'—vol. i. 277.

We cannot but feel the contrast between the last sentence of this passage and some of Dr. Farrar's most graphic descriptions of the miracles of Christ, notably that of the Stilling of the Storm, in which his rhetoric is allowed to get the better of his taste, and the real meaning of the sign is unfortunately obscured by the sensational accessories which are introduced to heighten the effect of the picture.

Having overstepped the lines he laid down in his Preface, we are the less surprised to find him falling into inconsistency in his treatment of the miracles. Thus he expresses impatience with the rationalism of Olshausen, Neander (whom he unintentionally misrepresents), and Lange, in regard to the 'Water made Wine,'* but justifies his own singular rationalism with considerable earnestness when he has to deal with that most difficult incident of miracle,—the Demonisation of the herd of swine.† We are far from denying that there is much even in regard to miracles in the course of his work with which we find ourselves in accord; but the uncertain manner in which the subject is dealt with, and the sensitiveness which our author betrays to the taunts of unbelief, coupled though it be with a delicate courtesy towards those who differ from him, leave us with the feeling that he is not the champion we should choose to defend our position as believers in the miraculous.

We pass to another main department of Dr. Farrar's work—the Teaching of Christ. And here we find ourselves for the most part so thoroughly at one with the writer, so often struck by the original lights he throws upon well-known passages, so frequently indebted to him for the illustrations which always seem to lie ready burnished for use in the rich storehouse of his memory, that we are tempted to wish that instead of writing 'The Life of Christ,' for which on many grounds we find it difficult to render him even the thanks which are his due, he had confined himself to giving us a series of chapters upon the aspects of that life in its bearing upon human necessities and human conduct. It is a commonplace that writers who possess a combination of brilliant qualities are by no means the best judges of what constitutes their chief strength; and from the naive indications of a more than ordinarily sensitive temperament, which we find in these volumes, we fear that Dr. Farrar may feel aggrieved that we have been unable to assign them a higher critical value. But he will hardly find fault with us for saying

* Vol. i. 168. † Vol. i. 338 ff.

that as a popular teacher we hardly know his equal; and th have gained by five years of self-denying labour the intell ear of thousands for the living words which echo as a language from too many pulpits, is an achievement that well satisfy the most exacting ambition. For the few who condemn the work for its inadequate recognition of the re of criticism, for its too systematic attempt to realise the d under human conditions, or for its obvious defects of s there are numbers—and those by no means the uneducat society—whose minds are not even abreast with those conclu which are no longer in dispute between the advanced guar either camp in theology, who seldom realise at all the gra presence of Jesus in its natural setting of time and place, whose senses, though indifferent to what has been called incomparable chiaroscuro' of the original portraiture, ar susceptible to the more vivid colours of modern painting; among such we prophesy for Dr. Farrar's work not merel enduring popularity, but an elevating influence, both m and intellectual, for which he need fear nothing from the gil caricature or the sneer of a self-satisfied criticism.

There is no point upon which Dr. Farrar insists more phatically, or supports his opinion with a greater weigh learning, than that which has perhaps derived a factitious portance from the interest with which it was incidentally vested in our own pages by the genius of the late Emma Deutsch, namely, the originality of Jesus as a tea M. Renan's loose remark to the effect that Hillel, fifty y before Him, had given utterance to aphorisms very analo to His own—the next step to which is to claim for the l light of Rabbinism, in some not over-clearly defined sense moral parentage of Jesus *—needs but to be confronted, as Farrar has confronted it in his useful and able excursus, 'J and Hillel,' with the real sayings of the latter, to prove its baselessness. But the general result upon our own mind of Talmudic lore with which Dr. Farrar's 'Life of Christ interpenetrated has been considerably to strengthen our viction of the immeasurable superiority of Jesus to His The importance of this testimony can hardly be overrated time when the sharp criticism to which the form of the Go narratives has been subjected may cause doubt in many stable minds as to the divinity of their substance. The pas in which our author concludes an able summary of the Ser on the Mount, by contrasting the teaching of the Jewish Sch

* 'Vie de Jésus,' p. 38.

with that of the Divine Master, is one of the most forcible in the whole work.

'The teaching of their scribes was narrow, dogmatic, material. It was cold in manner, frivolous in matter, second-hand, and iterative in its very essence; with no freshness in it, no force, no fire; servile to all authority, opposed to all independence; at once recondite and foolish; at once contemptuous and mean; never passing a hair's breadth beyond the carefully watched boundary line of commentary and precedent; full of balanced inference and orthodox hesitancy and impossible literalism; intricate with legal pettiness and labyrinthine system; elevating mere memory above genius and repetition above originality.'—vol. i. 266.

Lest the picture should seem overdrawn, Dr. Farrar suggests a fair and simple test by which the ordinary reader may, if he please, form his own judgment upon the subject. We have applied the test; we have waded through several *Perakîm* of the French *Berachôth*, and thus far emphatically add our testimony to the truth of the above passage. What might have been accomplished by the magic wand which now, alas, lies buried with its owner in the cemetery of Alexandria, it is not for us to surmise; but it is our belief that poetry has done all that it could to invest the Talmud with a living value, and that research can do no more.

And now for the contrast:—

'This teaching of Jesus was wholly different in its character, and as much grander as the temple of the blue heaven under which it was uttered was grander than stifling synagogue or crowded school. It was preached as each occasion rose, on the hill side, or by the lake, or on the roads, or in the house of the Pharisee, or at the banquet of the Publican; nor was it any sweeter or loftier when it was addressed in the royal portico to the Masters of Israel, than when its only hearers were the ignorant people whom the haughty Pharisees held to be accursed. And there was no reserve in its administration. It flowed forth as sweetly and as lavishly to single listeners as to enraptured crowds; and some of its very richest revelations were vouchsafed neither to rulers nor to multitudes, but to the persecuted outcast of the Jewish synagogue, to the timid inquirer in the lonely midnight, and the frail woman by the noonday well. And it dealt not with scrupulous tithes and ceremonial cleansings, but with the human soul, and human duties and human life—with hope, and charity, and faith. There were no definitions in it, or explanations, or 'scholastic systems,' or philosophic theorising, or implicated mazes of difficult and dubious discussion, but a swift intuitive insight into the very depths of the human heart—even a supreme and daring paradox that, without being fenced round with exceptions or limitations, appealed to the conscience with its irresistible simplicity, and with an absolute

mastery stirred and dominated over the heart. Springing from depths of holy emotions, it thrilled the being of every listener as w an electric flame. In a word, its authority was the authority of Divine Incarnate; it was a voice of God speaking in the utterance man; its austere purity was yet pervaded with tenderest sympat and its awful severity with unutterable love. It is, to borrow t image of the wisest of the Latin fathers, a great sea whose smili surface breaks into refreshing ripples at the feet of our little one but into whose unfathomable depths the wisest may gaze with t shudder of amazement and the thrill of love.'—vol. i. 268.

It is impossible in the space at our disposal to do justice t what we feel to be the most valuable element of Dr. Farrar' work—the art, namely, with which he places us in the presenc of the Great Teacher, and enables us not merely to follow th trains of His thought, but often to detect their subtle source, o trace them in their secret working upon the minds of friendl or hostile listeners. The chapter entitled 'Teachings of th Journey' (vol. ii. chap. xliv.) will give perhaps a better ide than any other of his expository power; nor would we exclud from our commendation the fine rhetorical close of the chapte which is both in keeping with the subject—the eschatologica discourse of Matt. xxiv., Mark xiv., Luke xvii.—and in ou author's most impressive manner.

From what has been already said, it will be seen that we ar not of the number of those who were disposed to regard a ne Life of Christ as a *desideratum* in our theological literature. Th very fact that the present volumes have 'not been written with an direct and special reference to the attacks of sceptical criticism must preclude the author from claiming for them the sort c value which attaches to more or less similar works, such, fo instance, as those of Milman, Neander, and M. de Pressens while at the same time it prepares the reader to discover i them an absence of that special motive which gives to each c these constructive efforts a more than ordinary interest. Dea Milman was writing the volume with which his 'History c Christianity' commences at a time when the faith of German was staggering under the rationalism of Paulus and his schoo Before its publication Strauss had applied a more formidabl solvent to the framework of Christianity in the mythical theor of his 'Leben Jesu.' And this, a few years later,* called fort the counterwork of Neander. In more recent times an effo has been made to dissolve the Gospel history by the aid, not c philosophic theory, but of romantic hypothesis; and to th

* In 1837.

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aptivating brilliancy of M. Renan's 'Vie de Jésus' M. de ressensé has replied with all the eloquence of French Protes-antism. Widely different in character as these three biographies re, it is not difficult to trace in each the influence of a religious risis. Thus the work of the English historian exhibits the alm readjustment of faith and reason in a mind that was ingularly in advance of its generation. That of the German divine is throughout introspective—a cry wrung from the depths of Christian consciousness by the sacrilegious encroachments of intellectual arrogance. The volume of the French writer is the protest of an enthusiastic but intelligent faith against the suggestions of a refined but shallow sentimentality. It is hardly to be regretted that Dr. Farrar's labours were prompted by no such direct incentive as that which produced either of the works to which we have alluded. He draws unmistakeable inspiration from the fervour of his own belief, from the wide field of his knowledge, from the memory of the scenes he has visited to such good purpose, but he never quite allows us to forget that he is writing, not in fulfilment of a mission, but of a commission. When we have read his own account of the object for which his task was undertaken, we are prepared to find that whatever there is of plan will be subordinate to the details. And such is the case. His 'Life of Christ' is a series of pictures elaborated with conscientious attention to every minute particular, and presenting effects of colour that are generally striking, and often gorgeous; the connection of which, however, depends rather upon the fact that each represents the same central figure under different circumstances, than that all contribute to the ultimate interpretation of it. The pages of the work are a valuable repertory of all that is known, and of many things that were new, at least to us, in regard to the 'human surroundings' of Him who is the subject of them. They supply a useful commentary upon individual incidents of His life and detached portions of His teaching; but they seldom raise us to a higher sense of what He was in idea, or help us to fathom the depths of that mysterious Sonship which He came to reveal. They are full, in short, of eloquent preaching, but we miss in them the voice of the prophet.

To illustrate the view we have expressed, we will refer as briefly as possible in the space that remains to us to Dr. Farrar's treatment of those most significant crises in our Lord's history: the Temptation, the Transfiguration, and the Passion.

The chapter in which the Temptation is dealt with is full of varied interest. Striking lights are thrown from all sides upon the well-known details of the narrative. History, poetry, and mythology

mythology are each in turn laid under contribution. Writers are quoted as widely apart as Tacitus and Bunyan, Shakespeare and Bishop Andrewes. The text is interspersed with animating thoughts and weighty practical lessons. The notes teem with the fruits of study. And yet there is an absence of grasp in the handling of the subject, a want of insight into its real meaning, which disappoints us the more we are dazzled by the beauty of the language. Whatever view he entertained of the nature of that moral struggle which intervened between the baptism of Christ and His first public ministry—and we are surprised that Dr. Farrar should regard the question of its objective or subjective reality as 'a mere matter of exegesis'—it is obvious that throughout our Lord's career there must have been present to His mind that same consciousness of power to divest Himself of the limitations of humanity which on more than one occasion, towards the close, found utterance in words. The question then arises as to the period in His human development at which we may conceive the free and conscious decision to have been made, of which His self-abnegating ministry was the outcome. And in the story of the Temptation—presenting as it does so consummate an analysis of the motives which determine the created will, so perfect a clue to the sacrifice of His own will by the representative Son of Man—we cannot doubt that we possess, adapted to the limited understanding of His followers by the lips of the Truth itself, an account of that inward struggle with the spirit of the world through which He must have passed from the passive consciousness of Messiahship to the active fulfilment of His redemptive mission. The sojourn in the wilderness marks, in our view, the historical commencement of that series of conflicts in which the Son of Man is subsequently found opposed to the 'Prince of this world.' We need conceive of no greater interval between the moments of temptation and the moments of self-conquest than we find between the '*If it be possible*,' and the '*Nevertheless*,' of the last Agony; but it is clear to our mind that the recital is meant to disclose, in concrete form, the principles which underlie the succeeding history. The determination once made by Jesus to throw in His lot with the weakness and wants of human flesh is the necessary prelude to His life of poverty and privation. The resolution once taken neither to court danger in reliance upon superhuman power, nor to free Himself from it by its casual exercise, is the key to many a passage in the sequel, as, for instance, Matt. xxiii. 16, where St. Peter's remonstrance, Ἵλεώς σοι Κύριε· οὐ μὴ ἔσται σοι τοῦτο, is treated as a suggestion of the same spirit which had been silenced for the first time in the wilderness. And lastly,

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the rejection of a false Messiahship in accordance with the hopes, and based upon obedience to the worldly spirit of Judaism, in favour of an inward kingdom to be developed gradually out of apparent failure by the power of the Divine Spirit, admits us to the secret of the entire afterplan—from the refusal to satisfy the craving for signs, to the Cross itself, which was the final answer to the Tempter. In treating this great subject, Dr. Farrar makes a passing allusion to the wide diversity of views entertained by its numerous expositors; but he does not make it clear in what light he regards the narrative himself, whether as history, or as parable, or as the objective presentment of an inward struggle. We are not sure, indeed, whether he recognises any distinction between the two last, seeing that he attributes to Olshausen, Neander, and Ullmann,* an extreme view which is disclaimed by each of these eminent divines. The ambiguity in which we are left as to the author's own opinion is a misfortune inseparable, perhaps, from the too literal treatment of a history which belongs in so great a degree to the sphere of the ideal. But it is necessary to point out that the result of such literal treatment in the present instance has been to reduce the Temptation of our Lord to a single incident in a series, mainly important in its infinite practical bearings upon human life, instead of to represent it as an introductory preface to that series, by means of which a glimpse is afforded us into the inner workings of divine self-sacrifice.

The same inadequacy of treatment is noticeable in Dr. Farrar's account of the Transfiguration. Here, again, we are left in doubt as to whether he conceives himself to be describing objective fact or subjective vision. It may very well be that the ambiguity arises from the uncertainty of his own mind upon the subject, but at any rate we should have expected a more decisive effort to penetrate to the permanent idea which the narrative enshrines. As it is, at the very climax of the 'splendid vision' we are put off with a fine burst of rhetoric from Ruskin's 'Modern Painters,' and the least important part of a note from Alford's 'Greek Testament,'† which barely satisfy the mind that yearns to get beneath the surface. Like the three witnesses, whose astonishment Dr. Farrar paints so graphically, we 'awake from the shock,' and 'gaze suddenly all around' us; but 'all is over. The bright cloud has vanished. The lightning-like gleams of shining countenances and dazzling

* Vol. i. p. 123, *n.*: but cf. Olshausen, 'Bibl. Comment.' vol. i. p. 169 (Clark's For. Theol. Lib.); Neander, 'Life of Jesus,' Part II. ch. i. (Bohn's Transl.); Ullmann, 'Sinlessness of Jesus,' Supplement II., ch. ii. (Clark's For. Theol. Lib.).

† Vol. ii. 27.

robes

robes have passed away.' We are 'alone with Jesus, and on the stars rain their quiet lustre on the mountain slopes.' But this all?—all that eighteen centuries of thought have been at to discover in this ecstasy of Christ with the shadows of dea compassing Him round? We believe that Dr. Farrar wou have found help to unlock the mystery in words he quot elsewhere: 'God, who at sundry times, and in divers manner spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets,' speaks her amidst the solitudes of Lebanon, as once before He had spoke at the waters of Jordan, 'by a Son'*—His well-beloved, th image of perfect life in union with Himself. The revelatio was sealed to the eyes of the three chosen instruments who wit nessed its outward splendour; but we, the recipients of thei testimony, have the light of all religious history by which to interpret it: and for us it is no 'splendid vision' merely, but a living idea; for in the person of Jesus, as 'He talked of His decease which He should accomplish at Jerusalem,' humanity itself is seen transfigured with the glory of self-devotion.

When we arrive at the last great crisis of the Sacred Life, in deal- ing with which Dr. Farrar's peculiar genius is more strikingly displayed than in any other portion of his work, we become still more conscious of the want of an interpreting idea. As each scene of the awful drama is unfolded before us with a realism that constantly reminds us of Ober-Ammergau, the mind is swayed by successive impulses of admiration, pity, and horror, but fails through the external representation to obtain real in- sight into the meaning of the great sacrifice. Dogmatical definition is not what we desiderate: our author steers happily clear of the doctrinal rocks which lie in his path, and no doubt the general acceptability of his work is due in large measure to his careful avoidance of the shibboleths of party. But what we miss, or rather what we feel to be obscured by the intensity o light he throws upon the human figure of the Sufferer, is th grandeur of that divine idea which transfigures the Cross, and through it, the whole sphere of moral and religious conflict. I is in the passion of the Son of Man that the revelation of th Son of God is consummated. From the first prayer of filia obedience in Gethsemane to the last utterance of filial tru upon the cross, this thought is never absent from the evangeli narratives. It is this which pervades the teaching of St. Pau and that of the Epistle to the Hebrews,† opening up th mystery of atonement for sin, and supplying the criterion by which all doctrines, whether of sacrifice, satisfaction, or subs-

* Heb. i. 1. † Compare Col. i. 12-20 with Heb. v. 8 ff.

tuti-

ust ultimately be tested. View the Cross from what nay, the expression of the individual faith merges in the conviction ἀληθῶς υἱὸς Θεοῦ ἦν οὗτος: * for it is through ion in this ideal Sonship, interpret it how we will, that unto death has become possible to sinful man. But ht is not grasped in Dr. Farrar's powerful pages. Its on from time to time adds a touching grace to the the Divine Sufferer: it is not made, as we could wish been, an index to the meaning of His passion. Take, ce, the following words, true as far as they go, but it as an interpretation of the great *Consummatum est* al Life.

words of the sweet Psalmist of Israel, but adding to them f trustful love which, through Him, is permitted to all man- her," he said, "into Thy hands I commend my spirit." one more great effort, He uttered the last cry—the one word—"τετέλεσται," "It is finished." It may be that that uptured some of the vessels of His heart; for no sooner had ered than He bowed His head upon His breast, and yielded "ransom for many"—a willing sacrifice to His Heavenly Finished was His holy life; with His life His struggle; struggle His work; with His work His redemption; with tion the foundation of the new world."'—vol. ii. p. 418.

who is here quoted, with a truer insight into the significance of the words, represents our Lord's cry, *shed*,' as preceding the commendation of His Spirit to r. We cannot surrender the thought which is sug- this order. He who from His earliest years had been ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρός †—whose life-long sustenance had ποιῶ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πέμψαντός με καὶ τελειώσω αὐτοῦ claims the Father's recognition now that His work is l in this claim is rooted the confidence of Faith, that ho can even stammer the divine τετέλεσται, death, r circumstances of extreme horror, is but the surrender o the hands of a loving Father.

rar dwells with much eloquence here, as in his Hulsean upon the historical effects of the work of Christ; where ne fails, is in drawing out the leading idea which gives rk its unity, and its power over the hearts of men. We narrative of the Passion with a far clearer apprehension e of the hideous tragedy which was enacted in Judea centuries ago, but the effect of this upon the mind is e of that which he intended. His vivid delineation

t. xxvii. 54. † Luke ii. 49. ‡ John iv. 34.

of

of the physical suffering tends to remove the Cross to a distance from our own experience. So much we have felt it necessary to say in detraction from the merits of a really noble composition: and in justice to the author we must now point out how very ably he has treated the last scenes of the life of Jesus historically. Allowing for the faults of a style, which here as elsewhere we could wish less ornate and less vehement, we do not believe that there is anywhere to be found a more lucid and reasonable exposition of that most intricate subject, the trial and condemnation of Christ, than is contained in these pages. Here where the Sacred Life is brought into immediate contact with profane history, and its incidents are recorded with increased minuteness of detail, the harmonist of the Gospels treads on surer ground; and when Dr. Farrar tells us that, 'after repeated study, he declares, quite fearlessly, that though the slight variations are numerous—though the lesser particulars cannot in every instance be rigidly and minutely accurate—though no one of the narratives taken singly would give us an adequate impression—yet so far from there being in this part of the Gospel story any irremediable contradiction, it is perfectly possible to discover how one Evangelist supplements the details furnished by another, and perfectly possible to understand the true sequence of the incidents;* we follow him with less of critical jealousy than before, and we are certainly not disappointed in the result of his investigation. For his able treatment of the whole subject we refer the reader to the work itself; a few points however deserve special notice. Dr. Farrar is particularly suggestive in respect to the relation of the family of Hanan, and of the Sadducees generally, to the conspiracy against Jesus.† He traces the almost unaccountable fury of the Chief Priests under this 'alien and intriguing hierarch' to our Lord's words and acts concerning that House of God which they regarded as their exclusive domain, and above all, to His 'second cleansing of the Temple.' It was these leaders of the Sanhedrin who had founded the Chanujôth, or shops for the sale of sacrificial victims upon Olivet; and there can be little doubt that it was the profitableness of the trade which had caused its extension to the Temple courts. Hence their extreme animosity is traced to revenge for the interference of Jesus with their sacrilegious gains; and it must be owned that the suggestion derives incidental confirmation from the singular withdrawal of the Pharisaic, or ritualistic party, who must in their hearts have approved our Lord's zeal for the sanctity of the Temple, from all active co-

* Vol. ii. 326. † Ch. lviii.

operation

in the steps which accompanied His actual con-
and execution.* The theory is worked out with much
and it is interesting to find that our author's Talmudic
uld have led him independently to a conclusion, for
minds of many of his readers will have been prepared,
iatic use made of the cleansing of the Temple in the
'assion Play of 1871. Dr. Farrar's treatment of the
ial' which results in his view from a harmony of
accounts, is full of subtle insight into the probable
the chief actors in the iniquity. We may specially
is portrayal of the character of Pilate, though we
oes too far in attributing the exclamation, '*Behold
!*' to 'a genuine flash of conviction.' We must
vledge the power with which he paints the Crucifixion,
knowledge and the love of art which he displays in
mes might, we think, have suggested more reticence
:ription of it. The disuse of ages has consigned the
the cross to oblivion; and nothing is gained by dis-
.t ideal sanctity with which the progressive reverence
l has invested the remembrance of them. Much that
in relation to the last scenes of the Saviour's life we
wished had been left in the learned articles con-
him, some years ago, to Dr. Smith's 'Dictionary of
The life and movement of the scene are capable of
sented—witness Tintoretto's 'Crucifixion'—apart from
presentment of its brutalities; and the admission of
nto the pages of a Life of Christ is no less foreign to
iste of realistic conception, than their reproduction
ainter's canvas.

t express our regret, too, that Dr. Farrar should have
countenance to that invention of degraded art which
ts ultimate expression in the 'Stations of the Cross.'
gelists preserve a remarkable silence as to the cause
o the compulsion of Simon the Cyrenian; and, to add
ified statement of St. John, *καὶ βαστάζων αὐτῷ τὸν*
ῆλθεν,† a supplement of 'tottering footsteps, if not
,' is not only to encourage belief in a tradition for
: is no foundation, but to sacrifice the ideal aspect
ative through which 'the bearing of the Cross' has
ne of the most solemn, and, for daily example, the
ary of types.' ‡ In the absence of any explanation,
what seems to us the truer sentiment, namely, that

i. 332.
xix. 17; Luke xxiii. 26.
Jameson, 'History of Our Lord in Art.' Vol. ii. 115.

Jesus

Jesus never quitted His hold of the cross. The stricter interpretation of St. John's words points to this: St. Luke's expression, ἐπέθηκαν αὐτῷ τὸν σταυρὸν φέρειν ὄπισθεν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, is perfectly consistent with the idea, and the use of αἴρω (lift) by St. Matthew and St. Mark, instead of St. John's word βαστάζω (carry), to describe the assistance rendered by Simon, would seem, if anything, to favour it.

In the final chapter of Dr. Farrar's work, there are evident traces of the pressure under which it was completed. How, indeed, amidst the arduous duties of a headmaster's life, time was found to write such a book at all, may well excite astonishment; but after studying his elaborate chapters upon the Passion, we cannot but be sensible of an anti-climax in his treatment of the Resurrection. We are not clear as to the sense he intends us to put upon the sentence of Tertullian with which he heads the chapter; but it does not seem to us that the writer of a new Life of Christ can afford to dismiss in 'a few words,' a subject upon which the faith of those for whom he writes has of late been so rudely assailed. It may be that 'the *lacunæ*, the compressions, the variations, the actual differences, the subjectivity of the narrators as affected by spiritual revelations, render all harmonies at the best uncertain;'* but this, though a good reason for not attempting a harmony, makes it all the more important for the orthodox writer to explain as distinctly as lies in his power, why he accepts the Resurrection as a fact notwithstanding, and what he conceives to be the value of the post-resurrection narratives as evidence of its truth. It must necessarily be that one whose object it has been all along to give objective reality to our conceptions of the Lord's life on earth should find the ground suddenly fail him here. Beside the open grave he is met by a '*Noli me tangere*,' which should direct his investigation to a higher unity than is perceptible by sense. The phenomena presented by the Gospels are not 'exactly such as we should expect,' nor is their peculiar character to be accounted for by the uncertainties of 'oral tradition,' or the laxity of the period at which they were written in regard to 'minute circumstantial accuracy.' Such explanations are but futile attempts after all to recall within the grasp of history a revelation which has been conveyed through history, but which transcends it, and nowhere more evidently so than in its commencement and its close. We could wish, then, that Dr. Farrar had set himself to trace something of that higher harmony which binds these 'broken lights' of the Resurrection together, and

* Vol. ii. 432, *n.*

forces

s upon the spiritual mind a conviction of their truth, ıger than any suspicion of falsity which may be suggested ıeir external incoherence. As it is, he has placed them side de like the fragments of some beautiful mosaic of which the ınal design is lost, instead of leaving upon the minds of his ers that final impression of their unity which springs from emplating them—to borrow the words of one of his favourite orities—'as distinct images of the signs and results of ist's victory,' as 'lessons of divine truth embodied in repre- ative facts.'*

'e have said enough—perhaps more than enough—to indi- what we feel to be the gravest defect of the work before us. Dr. Farrar not been writing 'as a believer to believers,' he ht have claimed exemption from all obligation to deal with ıistory in its theological aspects; but his attempt to represent Life of Christ in its 'human surroundings,' apart from e ideas which are the basis of its unity, seems to us a mis- n effort. The Jesus of Dr. Farrar's life is He who played, nless child, among the flowers of Nazareth; the saintly her whom Galilean fishermen adored in the simplicity of r ignorant literalism; the holy martyr in whom his Roman utioner recognised a veritable Son of God; it is seldom in whom humanity beholds itself ideally portrayed. The ect of his narrative moves before us like one of ourselves; that at times He is withdrawn into a region of mystery, or s wonders that are beyond our faculties to explain. It is a tiful and a striking picture—the picture, notwithstanding Farrar's efforts to the contrary, of a superhuman man, ted, so far as was possible, in the colours of our own of past experience. But the Christ of the Gospels is no human man. Through these fragmentary media we catch pses of a Divine radiance that is obscured in the endeavour ece them together. 'I write the Life of Christ?—I?', said ter, 'Never; the Evangelists have written it as it can and t to be written.' And his instinct was true. The Life is itself the keystone in the arch of history, binding two ds together, the present and the past, has nothing to gain econstruction. To enable mankind to realise its meaning, is a legitimate, nay, the highest aim of the individual, be ritic, artist, antiquarian, or theologian: but to recast the itself—to translate the inspired poetry of its origin into rose of common day, to represent its ideal progression in chronological sequence of history, to bring the divine

* Westcott, 'Introduction to the Study of the Gospels,' ch. vi. p. 307.

mystery

mystery of its close within the grasp of finite sense—this is attempt the impossible, and in so far as he has made the atte Dr. Farrar has failed.

But not 'finally' or 'wholly.' Often as we proceeded in study of his pages we were reminded of that crumbling wall the refectory of Sta. Maria delle Grazie at Milan, on which n still be traced, in spite of the ravages of time, in spite of n guided restoration, and even wanton violence, the incompara shadow of Da Vinci's Christ. To some minds the ruin of *Cena* speaks with more power than the most exquisite engravi or the best authenticated copy. The outline may be marred, the colours blurred, but the skilled eye interprets for itself e attitude of the surrounding group more effectually through expression of that spectral form than by the help of mod reproduction. Not so the generality. Baffled and disappoin by the dimness of the original, we turn, most of us, with gr tude to the easel of the copyist; and though the figures on canvas be slightly sensational, and the colours somewhat garis he have treated his theme with reverent care and an enthusia love, we return to the masterpiece with clearer notions of w to seek for, and minds better prepared to feel the inspired bea of the painter's conception. And such as this, if we are ri in our interpretation of his Preface, has been our author's high aim. 'To fill the minds of those who read his pages w solemn and not ignoble thoughts, "to add sunlight to daylight making the happy happier," to encourage the toiler, to cons the sorrowful, to point the weak to the one true source of mo strength'*—these are the high ends to which he desires t his work may be blest, and we may safely promise him that will not be disappointed.

ART. VI.—*Reports of the Royal Commission on Friendly a Benefit Building Societies*, 1872–4.

SOME years ago practical men in most parts of Engla began to be shocked at the terrible sufferings inflicted their poorer neighbours by the failure of the Friendly Societ on which they had relied. But public opinion was hardly first aroused. It was not until Mr. Tidd Pratt, the late Regist of Friendly Societies, made the famous statement in one of

* Vol. i. Pref. vi.

Repo

Reports, that out of some 23,000 such societies in England and Wales he could not satisfy himself of the solvency of twenty, that the necessity for inquiry became apparent. And yet he was speaking only of societies certified by the Registrar, probably outnumbered by those which are unrecognised by the law, and almost all based on unsound principles. This statement, and the general feeling of insecurity produced by it, backed by the energetic advocacy of a few individuals, procured the appointment of the Royal Commission, whose labours have just terminated. Their inquiry has been as searching as the nature of their authority admitted (a Bill to confer on them extended powers having failed in the House of Commons), and we welcome these Reports, with their bulky appendices,* as the best attainable information on a somewhat abstruse subject.

It has been roughly estimated that the Benefit Societies spread through England and Wales now number no less than 32,000, and include four million members, who, with their families, represent eight millions of the population. They are most varied in their character, and distributed in a most perplexing manner. Why, for instance, should Burial Societies thrive especially in Lancashire, Cheshire, and Kent; and Deposit Societies in Hampshire and Surrey? For an exhaustive description of the seventeen various classes of societies, we refer our readers to the very interesting pages of the Fourth Report of the Commissioners, contenting ourselves with a short account of the more important classes only.

The objects aimed at by a working-man in joining these societies are principally an allowance during sickness, and 'burial money' to clear off standing scores, pay funeral expenses, and assist a widow and children through the first days of bereavement. In order to attain these objects it is necessary that men should combine together in sufficient numbers to secure the average results, and that the affairs of the societies should be strictly administered according to a sound system of rules. The earliest attempts at such combinations, the local village clubs, failed in all these requirements. As we pointed out on the last occasion of calling attention to the subject, they attempted to combine conviviality with business to an excessive degree. They not only relied upon eating and drinking, and upon the annual feast as their grand advertisement (as, indeed, it was), but they were constantly promoted by rival publicans to attract custom to their houses. Founded originally with insufficient rates,

* The Reports and Evidence are contained in no less than ten volumes. The Commissioners themselves asked 29,000 questions, besides those asked by the four Assistant Commissioners.

they

they struggled on until their members grew old, or until the rivalry of newly-started clubs attracted the younger men, and compelled the older club to enter into competition for new members, and by lowering their rates or increasing their benefits to keep themselves alive for a few years longer. Then at length came the crash; the younger men joined new clubs, but the older were left to rely upon their virtual superannuation fund, the Poor Rate, which it had been from the first their principal object to avoid.

The number of clubs found competing against each other in a single village is very remarkable. At Cottenham, in Cambridgeshire, there are,

'besides two lodges of the Manchester Unity of Odd Fellows, lodges of Shepherds and Shepherdesses of the Wisbeach Unity, a branch of the Cambridge Town and County Club, promoted by the clergyman, a club at the British school, composed of old men attempting by the help and advice of an active resident medical gentleman to carry on an old club recently broken up, a gathering of Ancient Patriarchs, with agent, belonging to the London society of that name, and two ordinary public house clubs; nine in all. Only one of them had more than 100 members.'—*Sir G. Young's Report*, p. 17.

The average was under 56.

In many other villages, he says,—

'I found three, four, or five clubs; the rivalry of the beershops being the originating cause, far more than any jealousies among the men themselves.

The effect is this: Club A admits members up to the age of 35; in order to counteract that, Club B fixes the age of 40. Club A has to answer that, and thereupon offers full sickness pay for 26 weeks instead of 20. Club B is determined not to be behindhand, and it gives 6*l.* for funeral money instead of 5*l.*, and pays the expenses of the anniversary dinner out of the box. So that a competition is kept up which must inevitably end in the breaking up of both societies. The general impression appears to be, that there is always room for another club, where the population is large enough to supply a good number of lads to reach the age of admission every year. Many of these village clubs are therefore so small, that their failure is inevitable. In the Poor Law Union of Banbury, no less than 25 clubs out of the 54 had less than 40 members.* Even in the Manchester Unity

* The societies in this union afford a very good picture of the condition of many country districts. Out of a population of 31,208, no less than 10,334 belong to Friendly Societies. There are five branches of the great orders (averaging 75 members

ity of Odd Fellows no less than 311 branches, and in the er of Foresters 520 branches, had less than 30 members each 1870.

The tendency of many of these village clubs is to depend a eat deal too much upon honorary subscriptions. They have, rhaps, been originally started by an energetic clergyman, who s persuaded a few neighbouring squires and farmers to give handsome contribution. As years go on, and they die off, eir successors cease to feel an interest in the club, or (seeing at it is badly managed) withdraw their assistance. The club uggles on for a year, and then breaks up.* Nothing is more ear than that a local club ought to be self-supporting as regards l the benefits which it promises, and to rely upon the sub-riptions of honorary members only for diminishing the neces-ry levy for management, or for increasing the attractions of e annual feast.

In many districts the old 'sharing-out clubs' have nearly ed out; in all (except, perhaps, West Lancashire) they have eatly diminished in number. Our readers need scarcely be ld that the principle of these societies is to divide the funds ong the members every year, or after a fixed number of years, d to make a fresh start. Sometimes each member leaves a rtain sum in the box. Of course, when a man gets old, or constant sickness causes an excessive drain upon the funds, he quietly dropped out of the club at the division. 'In all these ubs the old men invariably leave and look to the parish.' ie Rev. J. Y. Stratton, of Ditton, whose great experience has abled him to supply most valuable information upon this bject, remarks of these, that they impede the work of an ordi-ry Friendly Society, lead to direct evil, and pauperise the pulation (Q. 8539, &c.). Sir George Young calls their cline one of the most satisfactory circumstances observable in recent history of Friendly Societies, and he attributes it to

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members and 5*l.* per member), and 49 other clubs (averaging 51 members l 3*l.* per member); 19 are unregistered. The funds per member are much llen from the largest club, of 140 members, having nearly 12*l.* per member. ie thing that has caused a deal of dissatisfaction in this neighbourhood is t when Mr. Tidd Pratt enrolled the rules, he erased the rule providing for an ual dinner. When the payment for the dinner ceased to be compulsory, ny members ceased to attend; thus their interest in the club went out, and societies have in many cases broken up.'

' In Dudley there are registered 12 societies, popularly known as the Tory ubs. They were started after the Reform Bill of 1832, and were largely pported by the aristocracy of the town. 'But as the subscriptions of the norary members fell off, so did the zeal of the other members grow cold; and ereas there used to be a dozen, with some 60 or 70 members each, now there only four left.'—*Mr. Stanley's Report*, p. 190.

the state of the law, which forbids such societies to be registered We are at a loss to imagine why, in the face of such evidence the Royal Commission recommends that these societies should in future be recognised by the law.

The fact is, that a sound club in a small village, standing by itself, is almost an impossibility. The only way to obtain financial security, especially in the case of payment for old age and at death, is to be found in an extension of area; and two agencies, with this object in view, have of late years been at work in the country.

The first is that of the Patronised Societies. The numerous failures which have taken place throughout the country, and the widespread distress which they have occasioned, induced many of the landowners and clergy to establish what are known as the 'County Friendly Societies.' The most successful of these are

	Number of Members.	Funds.
		£
The Essex Provident	9315	76,000
The Wiltshire Friendly	7130	31,500
The Hampshire Friendly	6322	46,500
The Dorset Friendly	2732	11,750
The Kent Friendly	850	25,500

But the total number of these patronised societies is small including probably only some 40,000 members, although a considerable number of other localised societies, confined to one district or group of parishes, are of exactly a similar type.

The principle upon which these societies are founded is that of management by the honorary members. There is no doubt that in the country districts at any rate it is extremely difficult to find men really capable of conducting the affairs of a benefit club, and that the only means of checking the almost irresistible temptation to compete with other clubs, and of securing an adherence to sound principles, is to place the real power entirely in the hands of a central executive deriving no benefit from the funds. Their branch committees are generally mere shadows, and often consist 'in reality of the paid agent alone.' This safeguard has not, however, proved universally successful. The Essex Provident, the largest of all, was unfortunately founded with insufficient rates, and for more than twenty-five years the society has been struggling under the weight

ht of a gigantic deficit, which in 1872 amounted to no less 79,000*l.*

or have the societies themselves generally proved to be ıctive. Very little attempt is made to 'push' them in country ricts, and they are deficient in the attractions which boozing ıe monthly meetings and the annual feast hold out in other s. To this the Hampshire County is an exception:—

By means of what we call festivals (that is to say a jollification noted in each parish where we have a branch) a vast amount of rmation is distributed, good fellowship and good understanding promoted between different classes, and a vast social improvement been carried on.'—*Right Hon. T. H. Sotheron-Estcourt*, Q. 661.

ls an instance of the small support given by the working- s to what we have called 'patronised societies,' even where ir financial success is assumed, we may quote the case of the ichin Friendly Institution, nearly fifty years old, the whole enditure of which (including claims) is always paid out of erest received from money judiciously invested. And yet the nber of members is diminishing, which the secretary attributes he attraction of conviviality at public-houses offered by the er clubs, but which we cannot help believing to be especially to the fact that the honorary members constitute a majority he board of management. Patronage and any form of inter- nce with their concerns is looked upon with jealousy by the ses for whom these societies are formed; and in the present appy state of the relations between employer and employed the agricultural districts, and the increased hold which com- ıation under their own management has gained upon the ourers, it seems hardly likely that this class of society will ke any considerable advance.

Another class of societies maintained by patronage consists those among railway servants, miners, and colliers. In some es membership is made compulsory, and the contributions are lucted from their weekly wages. In return for this a liberal sidy is contributed by the employers. Whether any false ıfidence has arisen out of this subsidy, or general laxity of ninistration has been produced out of mere carelessness, se societies are generally unsound. And

say little,' write the Royal Commissioners, 'when we point out t they who exert pressure on their servants to become members of given Friendly Society, take on themselves a grave responsibility, should at least be entirely confident that the principles and agement of the particular society are in every way sound and ain to work out their promised results; but even if these points e satisfactorily assured, it remains to be observed that compulsory

membership and the making of membership to cease or l beneficial, if and when the employment ceases, necessitates dependence of the employed on the employer, and fetters t action of the former.'*—*Fourth Report*, p. 292.

The second agency to which we have alluded as exerci recent years an important influence over the old local c that of the 'Affiliated orders,'† the clubs of highest organ among those invented by working men to suit their own and at the present moment greatly surpassing all others in larity. 'Everywhere that I have been,' says Sir G. Yo have heard the same story from the members of the smalle clubs, "We cannot stand against the great orders."'

The two principal orders, the Manchester Unity o Fellows, and the Ancient Order of Foresters, are well l Each fully developed order consists, first, of the primary bo or lodges; then of the 'districts,' comprising groups of bo associated together in order to secure a larger area for forms of insurance; and lastly of the central executive posed of delegates from the various branches. The develc of this system reflects the greatest credit upon the working of this country, and has spread throughout England mor

* 'There is much complaint of these compulsory clubs in Staffords Worcestershire. Near Dudley the contribution is stopped out of th wages, although the men do not approve of it. The men have no voi management, although the masters give no subscriptions. There is no sheet, and no audit of the accounts.'—*Mr. Stanley's Report*, p. 172.

† The following table shows the condition of all the principal orde total number of the members is stated at 1,325,000:—

	Lodges or Courts.	App Nu Me
Odd Fellows, Manchester Unity of[1]	4003	47(
Foresters, Ancient Order of[2]	4080	422
Odd Fellows, Grand United Order of	..	6(
Druids, Order of	988	57
Shepherds, Loyal Order of Ancient (Ashton Unity)	1539	4(
Odd Fellows, Nottingham Order of	574 (?)	4(
Odd Fellows, National Independent Order of ..	..	34
Free Gardeners, United Order of	546	3(
Odd Fellows, United Order of (Bolton Unity) ..	370	22
Druids, Ancient Order of	285	1(
True Ivorites, St. David's Unity of	272	1(

[1] Of these, 452 lodges, with 33,125 members, are in the colonies, an than 139 lodges in the colony of Victoria alone.

[2] Of these, 342 lodges, with 21,700 members, are in the colonies an and no less than 112 lodges in Victoria.

as of friendly society management. The Odd Fellows, lar, have set a noble example, especially in the succes- which they have taken towards the attainment of security, and in their efficient and inexpensive manage- he Foresters are, in most respects, 'half a generation em,' but very greatly excel in their turn all the smaller

eat cause of their success has been the popularity of agement. Local interest is stimulated, and many men h prefer entering a society of which they may not bly look forward to becoming the responsible managers. of office has, however, in many cases a tendency to multiplication of orders. The founder of a new order of mark, and if he is able to announce his adherence to lar rule or custom, which the original order is endea- reform, he is almost assured of success. It is in this the wholesome reforms of the Manchester Unity have to time led to very large secessions from that order.

ese great affiliated orders, popular as they are in the istricts, have not as yet admitted many members of the al labouring class.† Here and there a lodge is to be ich has fixed its rates of insurance in proportion to the al wages of the district. More often they are framed the artisan class, and the members consider themselves a superior position in the social scale to the ordinary urer. But the extension of these organisations to that d be at any rate a vast improvement upon the existing ings.

t class of societies which it will be necessary to notice urial Societies, either *local* or *general*, the latter being only 'insurance offices, conducted principally for the the office holders, and only incidentally for that of d.'

al Burial societies have had their origin in the desire among working-men, on the decease of one of their collect a small sum for his funeral and for his widow. t in almost every large town in England, and in some ined an extraordinary development. No less than ersons in England and Wales are members of this society. In the town of Preston alone, the various ieties contain no less than 108,000 members, although

g of the two great affiliated orders, Mr. Neison says their expense of will compare most favourably with that of any similar organisation. per cent. of the members of the Manchester Unity are classed as rural districts, and this description includes many artisans.

the

the population of the town is only 86,000. Allowing great deal of double insurance, it is clear that every man, v and child in the town, is connected with some society.

These local societies ought to be, and very often are, c managed, but they lay no claim to solvency in the sense an actuary would attach to it. They very seldom retain i more than a few shillings per member, but they rely upo was the original principle of such societies, the power of le certain sum per head to meet the annual payments. They ar what tainted by drinking habits, from the fact of their ge meeting at public-houses. Where these societies employ tors, they to some extent exhibit the same abuses as the class which we are about to describe.

The General Burial or Collecting Societies * hav head-quarters in some large town, in most cases Liv but their ramifications extend over the whole country actual number of members belonging to them in the Kingdom is nearly a million and a half; but owing deductions which must be made for double insurance the large number of infants, the adult members of these s is believed not to exceed from 550,000 to 600,000, repre 'generally the least intelligent portion of the class ins Friendly Societies.' These insurance offices are establi 'persons receiving large salaries as treasurers, secretaries tors, and committee-men, having agents and collectors, al paid, in all the principal towns.' A short account of the of them will illustrate the system employed. In the Roya

* The following list comprises the principal of the General Burial Sc

	Head-Quarters.	Members.	Funds.
			£
Royal Liver Friendly	Liverpool	550,000	264,795
Liverpool Victoria Legal	,,	200,000	49,159
United Assurance (St. Patrick's)	,,	140,000	15,311
Royal Oak	,,	50,000	12,370
Loyal Philanthropic	,,	45,800	18,373
Liverpool Protection	,,	48,132	16,978
St. Anne's Catholic	,,	Under 20,000	1,477
Scottish Legal	Glasgow	216,343	54,982
City of Glasgow	,,	24,000	7,571
Integrity Life	London	42,000	2,675
Royal London	,,	25,000	4,964
Swansea Royal	Swansea	17,600	428
In 20 such Societies	..	1,426,073	461,605

a board of management, composed mainly of persons originally collectors, exercise the whole authority. The treasurer receives 624*l.* a year, two committee-men, 800*l.* a year (Q. 22,422), and six others, 520*l.* Five of these in addition have collecting books, with the usual profits (Q. 22,406). There are 300 agents; a number of collectors estimated by one member of the committee at 1000, and by another at 1500 to 2000; and lastly, travelling agents or inspectors. The collectors are men 'educated only to a certain point, just to the standard of the poor people' (Q. 22,385), 'not the best adapted for understanding figures, or making additions, so that more or less there are deficiencies in almost every collecting book' (Q. 22,383). Their remuneration consists of 25 per cent. on collections and other perquisites, the amount of which must depend on the energy and perseverance of the individual. The solicitor to the society had heard of collecting books realising as much as 30*l.* per week, or 400*l.* a year. The rules contain no provision for the election of the committee. They are nominally subject to the annual general meeting, but such 'meetings are a mere farce' (Q. 23,380). The collectors attend the meetings, are not permitted to interfere either directly or indirectly, to speak or make any proposition, but they vote, procure the attendance of members, and are expected to support the management. The meetings take place in Liverpool, in which town only a small proportion of the members reside.

Here is a description of a general meeting of a similar society, the Scottish Legal, at Glasgow. 'Q. 11,544. Have you ever heard of the collectors having had their travelling expenses paid to come up to meetings?—Yes; I have heard it from themselves. Q. 11,545. Was that done frequently?—Frequently; not only for them, but for their friends, and for any persons whether members or not whom they could influence to attend those meetings, whether through the prospect of a trip to Glasgow or in any other way; . . . each of those collectors who had his party with him took his seat beside his own party, and he would hold up a white handkerchief, and if they did not vote the way he indicated, they had to find their own way back to the locality they came from themselves, and even to look out to pay their own lodgings for the night. Q. 11,546. But if they voted right, they got their travelling expenses and their lodgings?—Yes, and generally a free table.' It is clear that in these cases the committee is practically permanent and absolute, and that the members have no check whatever on their proceedings. All that an ordinary member knows of the society is that the collector, who has induced him to enter it, gives him a card upon which his weekly

weekly payments are entered, calls upon him week by we receive them, and generally never leaves him alone till he entered also the names of his family.

But another result of the proprietary rights which are all to each collector is that sometimes the owner of the book widow or an old man entirely incapacitated from acting. such cases the real collection is made by a man at fixed w who has no interest in the society, and who, finding that members, with their entrance fees, pay him better than old (Fourth Report, 500), often performs his duty in a careless unsatisfactory manner. Many poor persons are entirely dro out of the society, especially if they are doubtful members some are actually allowed to lose their rights, without any fa their own, owing to the omission of the collector to call upon t That this is a real and not an imaginary grievance is show the fact that the secretary to the Royal London Friendly So calculates that 'at least *two-thirds* of the people who be insured in an office and in similar institutions' (the secreta the Integrity puts the proportion as high as two-thirds *or t fifths*) '*allow their policies to lapse*, and consequently deprive t selves of benefit.' A society of this sort may, therefore, be to live by its lapses, 'or, in other words, by confiscation o premiums of its members' (Fourth Report, 505).

But we are obliged to add that in some of these societies is not only mismanagement, but also fraud. The Socie St. Patrick's, now called the United Assurance Friendly, w contains 140,000 members, is perhaps the most audacious ins of both; and 'though there is nothing going on now equ what used to be in the days of the former secretary,' ye readers will find in Mr. Stanley's account a good idea of has gone on and is still going on unchecked in a large so of this type:—

'In the time of Mr. Treacy (the late secretary), the societ concentrated into him alone. There was never a committee me nor an audit, and he did what seemed good in his own eyes. natural result of this was that claims were unpaid and disput frivolous pretexts, and that Mr. Treacy made away with the pro of the society to the extent of at least 7000*l.* or 8000*l.* The so in those days had a Roman Catholic character; it worked amon Irish, and was under the patronage of the Roman Catholic cl As the scandal grew more and more notorious, an attempt was by some of the Liverpool priests to introduce a reform, and Mr. Caraher was put on the committee. When he tried to make his a reality, he found that such a course did not at all fall in Mr. Treacy's views; and in the struggle which ensued, Mr. Car backed by some of the independent members of the society, fo

Mr. Treacy and the officials in public meetings and in the law courts for years. But Mr. Treacy, aided by congenial lawyers, and disposing of all the funds, held Mr. Caraher at bay for a long time; and when at length a barren judgment was obtained against him, and he disappeared from public view to avoid attachment, he still held his office, and drew his salary till his death some months after. Meantime, his adherents held the principal offices, and on his death they brought in the present secretary and appointed him to his office, after stipulating with him that he should pay an annuity to the widow of Treacy, who up to the sitting of the Commission in Liverpool occupied a house bought for her with the funds of the society. Not only were all the costs of Mr. Treacy paid out of the funds of the society, but when this gang had wearied out those who sought to reform the management, they celebrated their victory by a banquet of the collectors, and Mr. Norden, the attorney who had defended Treacy; and wound up the proceedings by presenting him with a gold watch, costing 40*l.*, also bought from the society's funds, and bearing a complimentary inscription. As might be expected, Mr. Norden is still the consulting solicitor of the society. Their present practices may be seen in detail in the evidence; but though the society is guilty even yet of such minor offences as cooked balance-sheets, fictitious entries of capital, and the embezzlement by committee-men of sums exceeding 70*l.*, which defalcations have extended unchecked over years, yet there is nothing now worth noticing compared with the grandiose villany of former years.'—*Mr. Stanley's Report*, p. 30.

Another fact deserving serious attention in connection with these societies is that, consisting as they do to an enormous extent of very young children, they hold out a terrible temptation to unprincipled persons to insure their children, and then to allow them to die. A large proportion of these children are insured in several different societies, so that the sum paid at the death of a child is far more than sufficient to provide a decent burial. In one case a child was insured 'in eight societies, which would have produced 30*l.* at death' (Mr. Stanley's Report, p. 68). Then we find that some of the large burial societies do experience an excessive rate of infant mortality. In the Blackburn Philanthropic it was 1080 under ten years of age out of a total of 2017; in the Chorley Family and the Stalybridge Good Intent it was 40 per cent. under two years of age; and in Macclesfield it has been especially observed that the means adopted in that town to check re-insurance have had a remarkable effect in checking infant mortality (Fourth Report, 574–5).

We do not wish to attach undue importance to these facts. The Commissioners themselves, owing to the unfortunate limitation of their powers, were unable to examine this question thoroughly; but the evidence which they have obtained will justify

justify us in saying that (whether there is any foundation for this terrible suggestion or not) there is strong ground for removing the temptation to such practices by legislative interference. In the Bill introduced by the present Government, during the past session, it was proposed to limit the amount for which any infant may be insured to such a sum as will suffice to defray the actual cost of burial, and to take measures to prevent re-insurance; and thus to check the evil without discouraging the laudable desire on the part of the working-classes to save themselves from the degradation of seeing their children buried by the parish.

Other proposals in the Government Bill were directed at the radical vice of the system—collection, without any control by the members. Every enrolled member was to have a policy given to him, and was not to be allowed to be struck off the list without due notice; and provisions were inserted to prevent the collectors from being, as at present, the real managers of these societies.

The most melancholy reflection suggested by the above review of the Friendly Societies of this country is, that the allegation of general unsoundness is fully borne out by the facts. '*Very few*,' says Mr. Neison, the well-known actuary, 'of the whole number are sound' (Q. 1160). Mr. Patteson, an actuary, and one of the Royal Commissioners, speaks of the great majority as 'to a very large extent insolvent' (Q. 28,521).

Amongst the village clubs the process of breaking up through insolvency is said to 'be going on every day.' 'There is hardly a village or a hamlet of twenty houses and a beershop that has not had its club. There are hardly anywhere one or more clubs that have not failed at need, and disappointed their members, within the memory of persons now living.' (Sir G. Young's Report, p. 16.)

The county societies, with about 40,000 members, appear, on the other hand (with the exception of the Essex Provident), to be generally solvent, 'owing to the high rates which, under actuarial advice,' they think it necessary to exact.

Of the affiliated orders the Commissioners say—

'Rough as is the test of capital per head, and totally inapplicable to some classes of societies, and indeed to all new and rapidly increasing bodies, it is probably sufficient to show that the average funds of the great bulk of the branches of the affiliated orders are inadequate to their liabilities' (Fourth Report, 122). 'It is fair, however, to add that the spirit of improvement may be said to be abroad, however different may be their rate of progress. The Manchester Unity may be said to have taken every step towards security, except the

inal one of enforcing means to meet an ascertained deficiency' rth Report, 157) 'of 1,343,000*l.*'*—*Fourth Report*, 140.

ıe other orders are in a still less satisfactory position. In)rder of Druids, with 57,000 members, 'it is probable that ·tenths of the lodges, at least, are insolvent, and a large rity of them hopelessly so. But *habitual repudiation* of their lities, by closing the box for a time, or reducing the rate of pay, enable them to pull through' (Mr. Stanley's Report,). But the General Order is strictly forbidden by the rules ke any cognizance of the financial state of the lodges.

ıeaking of ordinary large societies, the Commissioners say in point of solvency, 'the verdict must be against them' G. Young's Report, p. 6); of railway societies, that 'there is reason to believe that the financial condition of all these ties is unsound' (Fourth Report, 288); of the general burial ties, with one million members, and an amount of funds per ber of about 6*s.* 8*d.* (*Id.* 470), that 'untrustworthy accounts udited in an equally unsatisfactory manner' (*Id.* 521).

e need scarcely say that we do not dwell on these points in · to disparage the efforts made by the working-classes to : provision for themselves. No one can fail to recognise lifficulties they have had to contend with in the want of ·ction against fraud afforded them by the law, and in the licious administration, in many cases, of Poor Law relief; admire the gallant struggle now being made by many of number to overtake their liabilities. It is because we desire int out the necessity of judicious legislation to assist them ose difficulties, and strengthen the hands of those amongst number who really desire wholesome reform in their nistration, that we do not hesitate to set before our readers ıagnitude of the task involved.

ı the other hand, it is extremely gratifying to record the ıal diminution of the practice of devoting a portion of the ; intended for other purposes, to drink and feasting. Most

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is sometimes said that they are insolvent only in the remote actuarial and the observation is not devoid of truth, especially as a society composed y of an enormous number of men earning their own living, is in a position t its financial difficulties by way of levy or increased contributions. But t be remembered that, so far as regards sick pay, the lodges are all separate es, standing entirely on their own basis. Only 3168 lodges have been , and of these only 26 per cent. have a surplus, and the average deficiency its to 3*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* per member (or in Lancashire, 5*l.* 12*s.* 7*d.*). 'At this rate unty of Lancaster should have about double its present capital in order to e to meet its liabilities; and this does not represent the full amount of the ncy, for in the case of some of the lodges the liability has been reduced by l repudiation and by bankruptcy.'—*Mr. Stanley's Report*, p. 79.

of

of the well-conducted societies have entirely repudiated the practice. In some counties, as in Lincolnshire, it is almost entirely unknown. Lancashire alone enjoys an unenviable notoriety in this respect. This is what takes place in the Salford Funeral Friendly:—

'17,768. Then in fact more than 25 per cent. of the money which is paid out, is paid out for liquor; the total amount paid out is 446*l.* and 120*l.* is of course more than 25 per cent.?—It looks like it.

'17,769. Does the society pay to the publican any sum for rent of rooms occupied in conducting the business?—Not a fraction.

'17,770. This remuneration is derived then solely from the profit upon the liquor consumed in the house?—That is it.

'17,771. If you have to pay 5*l.* for a funeral, do you pay it all in money, or do you pay part of the 5*l.* by a liquor cheque?'

The witness, Mr. Noden, answers that a shilling in the pound of the funeral benefit is paid in liquor; and the examination goes on—

'17,786. Do I correctly understand you to say that the late treasurer bribed the members with a cask of ale in order to get votes at the meeting to retain the meetings at his house?—Yes. And he was successful?—Yes.'

At Ashton-under-Lyne we read—

'17,854. Can you tell me how much is spent in liquor in the course of the year?—In that report it is 114*l.* . . .

'17,855. Is that under the item of yearly accommodation?—Yes.'

The town of Oldham, which contains 230 Friendly Societies, appears to enjoy an especial notoriety in this respect. Two hundred or more of the societies meet at public-houses, and the very large majority of these spend from 1*d.* to 3*d.* a member per meeting-night in liquor; they also, many of them, spend sums out of their funds on the annual dinner. The Rose of Oldham Club has the credit of having invented a new opportunity of drinking on the nights when the degrees and the symbolism of the Order of Odd Fellows are explained. This is called 'lecture liquor.' In one club it is stated that 4*l.* is spent in drink at every quarterly meeting; 3*l.* worth of whisky was served in half-gallons, and drunk in one hour and twenty minutes by 100 members. These facts were elicited at an inquest upon one of their number, who died from the effects of it. We refrain from multiplying such instances, feeling satisfied that such cases are exceptional only.

One very remarkable fact which is disclosed by this investigation is that to an ordinary working-man the desire of effecting an insurance either against sickness or death is not sufficient to induce

duce him to walk a quarter of a mile down the street to do so: if he can be prevailed upon to make this exertion, the subse-ient trouble of making a monthly payment is far too great for m. This is the reason of the enormous success attained by e large burial societies, which send their collectors from door door; and it is a plan which must be in some way imitated the Post Office, if the various forms of insurance which it ers are ever to become popular among the working-classes.

Another striking fact is that, in spite of the great spread of ucation, the members themselves appear to be ignorant or reless as to the first principles of management. All autho-ies agree that the only way to ascertain the real financial sition of any society is to submit its affairs at stated intervals the inspection of a skilled actuary, or person really qualified form an opinion concerning them. Now it is a common actice on the part of both managers and members to assume at their few hundreds of capital necessarily means *surplus* pital. The future liabilities are not taken into account at . An actuary would tell them whether they are in a state of peless insolvency, or of insolvency which by prudence and in-ased contributions might be retrieved. Mr. Neison gives an stance from an actual valuation within his experience of a iety which had funds in hand *per member* of 13*l.*, and yet en all prospective liabilities were reckoned up, was declared be insolvent to the extent of 2940*l.*; and of another, with ds in hand of 5*l.*, which was declared by him to have a real plus of 2138*l.* It is in fact proved beyond any doubt, that iodical valuation is the only way of ascertaining the real sition of a society. Nevertheless, out of the whole number Friendly Societies, 'there are perhaps 100 that consult an uary properly, that is regularly' (Neison, Q. 1092). Many the largest societies do not. The 550,000 members of the yal Liver have never had this safeguard. The assets of the erpool Protective, with 50,000; the Blackburn Philanthropic, h 130,000, and many others equally large, have never been ued. Even the Foresters, as a whole, have not. So that importance of this step—the very foundation of soundness l the only test of honest management—does not appear to be preciated by the members. It cannot be said that the cost would sent any serious obstacle, for it would rarely exceed 1*s.* per mber; but in most cases it is simply because the managers afraid of the result, knowing that it will disclose a state of airs disheartening to the members, and discouraging to any rsons who may be desirous of joining the society. But then is just what an intending subscriber ought to know before he

risks

risks his money. Good societies need not fear such a regula tion; they would come out of it with a fresh advertisement o their merits, while bad societies would be exposed. And ye those which do adopt this practice, and publish it to the world are not at all more appreciated in consequence.

Another point of the most vital importance is that the rates of contribution should be adequate, because upon this the whole welfare of the society must eventually depend. But in many clubs they are framed merely by rule of thumb, without reference to any actuary, and without any real certainty of their being adequate. Even in the Order of Foresters, each court is permitted to exercise its own judgment upon this subject; and the result is, that different rates are adopted in the various courts: that is to say, that although their experience would enable them to imitate the Order of Odd Fellows, and frame rates suitable to all their lodges, and perfectly adequate, they allow some of them to shelter themselves under the reputation which deservedly attaches to the name of Foresters, and yet to use tables which any one of experience could at once pronounce to be unsafe.

Again, it would seem no very difficult task, after having adopted a good set of rules, to require the managers to adhere most strictly to them. But that is just what the members of many of these societies do not do. Take, for instance, the rule that the management expenses shall form a separate fund. This regulation is, for obvious reasons, a most important one; and yet we find that some of the largest societies have allowed it to be neglected for years, without a word of remonstrance. The Roya London Friendly Society, established ten years ago, has neve enforced its rule to this effect. Nor have the Royal Oak, th United Assurance, the Integrity Assurance, and many other Of course the reason for the violation of this rule is general that the management expenses have been excessive.* But ought to be easily detected, and, indeed, very often has bee It would be easy to give instances where such abuses exis where they have been exposed in the Press, in police court and at general meetings; where they have been denounced b local reformers or by the Registrar himself, and yet the hundred of thousands of members sit still and do nothing.

The last instance of defective management to which we woul

* Not long ago, in the Leeds district of the Royal Liver Society, the expens of management were 57 per cent. That is, out of every 1*l.* scraped up by working-man for insurance, he only got the real benefit of 8*s.* 5*d.* In the whole society it is now 37 per cent.; in the Liverpool Protective, 32; in the Scottish Legal, 33½; in the United Reform, 40; in the United Assurance, 46; in the Royal Oak, 50.

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ıtion is the utter absence in many cases of an inde-
audit of the accounts. One instance of the manner
this may be conducted is so instructive, that we are
to extract it from the Report before us.

vidence of Mr. Mingaud, the auditor to the United Assur-
ety, discloses a state of things which is of course highly ex-
but which shows what may possibly be done when the
s careless, and the committee are unscrupulous. Mr.
states that the printer of the society's accounts has in
a form set up, with the words "Audited and found correct,
Mingaud," which he sometimes appends to the accounts
r. Mingaud himself has examined them. The balance sheet
-1 is printed with this formula attached to it, yet Mr.
informed us that he had never signed it. That balance
shown to contain a serious error in addition, and an item
had been added by "somebody" without the knowledge of
or, in order to meet that error on the other side of the
—*Fourth Report*, p. 895.

oregoing picture of the condition of Friendly Societies
ut the country appears to us to point to the conclusion
time has come for the State to decide upon its future
towards them. It cannot stand still in this matter.
either recede from the position it has taken up—which
ith general condemnation—or it must interfere far more
ely.

rto, as we have already pointed out, certain privileges
en conferred by law upon all societies which send up
les to the Registrar to be certified, as being 'in con-
with the law.' And that is all he is required to say.
ificate conveys no other guarantee whatever. But as a
of fact, it has been ignorantly interpreted all over the
to mean that the State thereby gives a sort of official
to the club, and an assurance that every one will be safe
ıg it. This peeps out over and over again in the letters
d in some of Mr. Tidd Pratt's Reports.

I put our money into the society, a government officer had
it, and we thought it was all right." Of course the certificate
ive the slightest assurance that the society was founded upon
rinciples, that, for instance, the payments demanded were
to meet the benefits promised. It did not give any assur-
to the solvency or respectability of the parties concerned,
the fitness of the rules to give effect to the objects of the
All those things were matters of importance to the poor
far more important than whether there was some rule which
ssibly collide or conflict with the Act; but they were left for
n himself to inquire into.'

Every

Every one will be disposed to agree with Mr. Lowe, from whose evidence the above extract is taken, that the State, so far from giving an advantage to the persons whom it intended to benefit, is misleading them; and that it ought either to go a great deal further, or to do nothing at all. Intending to encourage providence, it has done much to discourage it. With the best intentions in the world, we have given to certain societies privileges which have induced many to confide in them; and we have taken no steps to discover for ourselves whether they are in any respect deserving of that confidence.*

The most complete form of interference with Friendly Societies would be for the State to enter into competition with them by setting up a Friendly Society of its own. And, indeed, the proposal that the Post Office should undertake all forms of insurance in the same manner as it now conducts several branches of it (although without the monopoly which the law secures to it in the case of the carriage of letters and of telegrams), avoids so many of the difficulties of the subject, and is so plausible and attractive, that we cannot be surprised at the space which the consideration of the subject occupies in the Report before us.

It is known, but among the classes for whose benefit it is intended most insufficiently known, that any one by going to the nearest money-order office can insure himself for a sum payable at death, not less than 20*l.*, or by undertaking a monthly payment, obtain what is called a deferred annuity, that is, an annuity of so many pounds a year payable at the expiration of any number of years. This form of insurance has never been very popular among the working-classes, probably because few men care to look so far ahead, or know that it can be effected upon Government security. 'I can safely say,' states one witness, 'that half the clergy and owners of property are not aware of it, and scarcely any of the labourers know anything about it.' But by this concession, which was made by the Government Annuities Act in 1864, the principle that this is a fit subject for Government interference appears to have been established. As it was explained by Mr. Gladstone himself it amounts simply to this—

'that by the interference of the Government you enjoin nothing, and you prohibit nothing, but you offer to such members of the com-

* The law, though little enforced, now requires all registered societies to send in quinquennial returns. It will scarcely be believed that after giving these societies the expense and trouble of preparing these returns, they have for the last nineteen years been allowed to lie in the office without any use being made of them.

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ity as may be disposed to avail themselves of your proposal
in facilities for self-help. All that is requisite in such a case
show that what the Government proposes to do it can do *safely*,
likewise that what it proposes to do, it can do *justly*.'

t must, however, be remembered that any collision with the
ndly Societies of the working-classes was distinctly guarded
inst by the introduction of a clause into the Act of 1864,
viding that insurances under the Act should not be effected
a less sum than 20*l*., the result of this limitation and of the
lect of the Post Office to make known in any public manner
boons which it was enabled by law to grant being that
t Office insurance has as yet made little way. But it has
lually been recognised that if the State undertakes insu-
ce at death at all, it should undoubtedly extend the advantage
he particular class who are least able to look after themselves,
suffer most from the failure and fraud of their Burial Clubs.
are glad to find that this view has been adopted by the
missioners, and one of their most important recommenda-
s is that these forms of insurance should be offered through the
lium of the Post Office. Recognising the fact that Friendly
ieties exist for the benefit of the people, and not the people
the benefit of managers of societies, they do not shrink from
ising that the State should take the bold course of entering
competition with the existing Burial Societies. Mr. Scuda-
e, in his evidence, undertakes that for the future active mea-
s shall be taken to make the advantages of Post Office
rance known to the public. For some years past a small
ety, called the Provident Knowledge Society, has been work-
with this object by sending lecturers round the country.
s will now become the business of the Post Office.

'We must make arrangements,' says Mr. Scudamore, 'for lecturers
o about the country to impress upon the poor the advantages of
insurance, and to get them to insure in the first instance; and
we must have a system of collectors who should keep them up
heir payments from week to week, or month to month, as the case
be.'—*Q.* 27,775.

Not only will the security be absolute, but there is some
on to hope that it may be attained at a cheaper rate than is
d by the existing societies. Mr. Tidd Pratt pointed out in
8 that the monthly payments usually required by Burial
eties would give to parties insuring with the Post Office a
er sum (with *Government* security), than such societies pro-
to pay. For 1*d*. per week, or 4*s*. 4*d*. per year, the following

sums are stated to be payable at death, according to the of premiums published by the—

Age.	Post Office (In Monthly Payments).	Royal Liver.	Victoria Legal.	Legal Philanthropic.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
30	8 6 8	6 0 0	7 0 0	8 0 0
40	6 3 2	5 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0
50	4 5 6	3 0 0	4 0 0	4 0 0
60	2 15 2	1 7 6	2 5 0	2 10 0

We are persuaded that this change, which has recei approval of Government, will be of the greatest advantag

This concession, however, will not by any means satisf who think that all forms of insurance for the working ought to rest on the same footing, and to be undertaken State. It is urged, and with great force, that insurance of sickness is, after all, the greatest need for the poor, a if in this respect they are still left to the mercy of thei village clubs, or unsound large societies, little will ha done for them. The State will have absorbed all the mor managed and calculated forms of insurance, and left tha which information is most deficient to the care of the mo rant class. It would not be difficult, it is said, to find i large village postmasters able, and (if adequately remu willing to undertake it. Every man would have the p payment of his monthly contributions close at hand. he wished to move from one part of England to anot insurance could simply be transferred from one post-offic other. If he belonged to the class most free from sickn agricultural labouring class—he would be able to insur table based upon the experience gathered from that cl And lastly, he would be encouraged to make the effort f knowledge that the security was indisputable, and unlike affected by anything short of a great national convulsion

The above considerations, but especially (as we fa guarantee of soundness which is given to the insuran induced a very large number of influential gentlemen, e those connected with country districts, to affix their na memorial, praying the Commissioners to take Post Off rance for sickness into their favourable consideration. powerful testimony to the bad working of the presen could possibly have been given.

To this proposal, however, the great weight of authority appears to be at present opposed. Mr. Scudamore says that

'postmasters could not undertake it. They are stationary, they must be at their offices; they could not go round to see whether a man who said that he was sick, was so or not. . . . That objection seemed to me to be so very strong, and weighed with me so much, that I did not look about for any others at all. I myself think that the objection is insuperable.'—*Q.* 27,893.

Much might, in our opinion, be said in answer to this objection, but it is clearly impossible for the State to undertake such a responsibility in the face of such opposition from the department which would be charged with carrying out the work; and public opinion will undoubtedly go with the Royal Commissioners in wishing to see Government insurance limited for the present in the manner which they have recommended:—

'It would be difficult, if not impossible,' they say, 'at present to organise any system of government sick insurance which would not carry with it something of the appearance of a relief system; and we believe that, while this would render it distasteful to many most deserving classes, it would rather tend to familiarise another class with the idea of looking to the State for support in time of need, and thus to break down the barrier of honourable pride which now deters many from claiming assistance from the poor rates. The objection does not apply to the case of insurance against death, or even for old age. Here the insurer pays his price, and as soon as the simple fact of death, or of the attainment of a certain age is proved, the Government officers have only to pay what they have contracted to pay.'—*Fourth Report*, p. 848.

There still remains, however, the very important question of what is to be the future action of the State towards existing Friendly Societies, for the purpose of their regulation. Is it really possible for the State to stand aloof altogether from the friendly societies of the poor, while it exercises supervision over the insurance offices of the rich? Suppose that some one in the upper classes wishes to insure his life. He, who has much better means of information than a poor man can have, is not left to choose at random among the societies which come under his notice. For his security the Government compels all insurance offices to publish their accounts annually in a particular form, so that he can without much difficulty judge of their comparative state, and decide between them. Hardly any one ventures to say that the State ought not to do at least as much as this for Friendly Societies. Even Mr. Lowe, with his peculiar hatred of paternal government, does not venture to go this length. Indeed, he believes it possible for Parliament to lay down a legal minimum

of payments for insurance, to which all registered societies shou be compelled to conform; a suggestion which the extraordina variation in the rates of sickness and mortality in different tow and in different occupations seems to us to render it qui impossible to carry out.

The great danger to be guarded against in imposing restric tions upon existing societies is, that if they are too severe (o thought to be so by a class which is specially distrustful o Government interference), the societies may be induced to cut themselves off altogether from registration, and to remain outside the law. No such objection can, we think, be urged against the very moderate proposals of the Government, which were em- bodied in the Friendly Societies Bill of the past session. Hitherto it has been absolutely impossible for one Registrar even to attempt to enforce the law in the 23,000 societies scattered throughout England. The returns even now required by law are in most instances never made at all, and in almost all are irregular, incomplete, and incorrect. The first step, therefore, which is imperatively required is the establishment of an adequate ma- chinery to work out the system. For this purpose the system of registration is to be simplified (the present certificate being abolished), the central office is to be strengthened, and the duties of local registration are to be imposed upon the Clerks of the Peace in the different counties. Accurate tables of sickness and mortality, and suitable forms of accounts, will be prepared, but societies will not be compelled to adopt them. They will, how- ever, be bound to have their accounts regularly audited, to publish them to their members, and to submit their affairs to valuation every five years. Many other provisions of great value are contained in the Bill, of which perhaps the most important is the appointment of public auditors and valuers, and the power given to the Registrar to direct a special examination into the affairs of any society on the application of a certain proportion of its members.

The most important difference of opinion among the Commis sioners arose upon the question whether the State should attempt to draw a line between some societies and others, according as they do or do not come up to a certain standard of excellence. We ourselves lean to the opinion that such responsibility shou be in every way repudiated, and that by the addition of distin words to the certificate of the Registrar, and possibly even b printing a similar statement on the back of every policy or ca of membership, it should be explained to the members, beyo any possibility of doubt, that they, and not the Government, a responsible for the soundness of their society. The Gover

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ıent may advise, may even enforce adherence to such rules as xperience may dictate to be necessary; but to go further would ɔe to make the Government give a guarantee (which the poor ınd ignorant will certainly regard as an absolute one) to societies ɔf whose actual condition it really does not and cannot know ɛnough to enable it to say that they are reliable. And how is it ɔossible to act, without complaints of injustice, towards cases on he 'border line' between soundness and unsoundness, unless the ʃtate is prepared also to overlook the management, and to insist ın the adherence of the society in every particular to a thoroughly atisfactory system? Far more wise will it be to recognise that ocal energy which has been the parent of these institutions, to ;uide it in the right direction, and to develop further the spirit ɔf independence and self-reliance which has been the chief haracteristic of the English people.

ART. VII.—1. *Reports of the Judicature Commission.*
2. *The Supreme Court of Judicature Act*, 1873.
3. *Rules of Court under the Supreme Court of Judicature Act*, 1873.

THE saying that people concern themselves least about what concerns them most, is too paradoxical to be of universal pplication; but there is a class of subjects as to which it is nfortunately only too true. The three traditional faculties of Divinity, Medicine, and Law, were long ago regarded as in-luding in themselves almost the whole range of serviceable nowledge. All studies that lay outside of these specialised lepartments came under the category of general culture, and were counted among the ornaments rather than among the ıtilities of life. Almost as a necessary consequence each of the hree faculties became relegated to a professional class, and, as ı further consequence, the unprofessional laity ceased in great neasure to think on topics upon which they had professional xperts to think for them. There is a mixture of good sense in his tendency. Every man his own lawyer, is a maxim repu-liated by proverbial wisdom. Every man his own quack, would e generally acknowledged as a still more fatal absurdity. Every ıan his own priest, is a doctrine which to the minds of one chool savours of destruction, while many of those who have ccepted it in theory are continually drifting back into the oppo-ite belief, and, consciously or unconsciously, setting up priests nd popes of their own selection. The explanation of this temper of

of mind is simple enough. In all matters which touch the practical side of life it is impossible to dispense with a professional class, and whenever a professional class exists, its superior technical knowledge enables it to dominate the ideas of society. Outsiders feel their weakness and seldom venture to enter the lists against professional dogmatism; but their submission, for the most part, is the submission of sullen rebels rather than of reverent disciples. This is emphatically the case as regards law. The public in this and other countries is profoundly convinced that the administration of the law is not what it should be or what it might be. The law's delays have always been counted among the special curses of civilised life. The cost of law is accepted as an inevitable tribute paid to a grasping profession. The glorious uncertainty of law is recognised at once as an evil which might be remedied if lawyers chose, and as a fate against which it is hopeless for the lay world to struggle. This despairing tone of public opinion has always been the most serious obstacle to the improvement of judicial machinery. Not very long ago an eminent law-officer, since translated to the Bench, was soundly taken to task in the press for having said that the great difficulty in reforming the law arose less from professional prejudice than from public apathy. And yet nothing more true was ever said. The interest taken in such subjects seldom rises beyond vague discontent with things as they are, and it scarcely ever seems to occur to thinking men outside of the profession that although they are—and indeed because they are—without the pale, they have something to teach as well as something to learn. Instead of striving to force the technicalities of legal procedure into the mould of common sense, they are content to accept without a thought what lawyers offer them by way of remedy, consoling themselves with the reflection that if professional projects of reform may do little good they cannot do much harm to what they believe to be a system of ingenious pitfalls.

This prevailing state of opinion and feeling is a grave misfortune, for no construction or reconstruction of a system of law or legal procedure can ever be a real success without the co-operation of minds free from the trammels of professional habits of thought. We do not say this from any disposition to revive the vulgar calumny which still perhaps finds favour in some cynical minds, that professional men, whether priests, doctors, or lawyers, must needs be tempted to frame rules with more regard for their own order than for the interests of the public whom they serve. This is not the way in which professional bias works. We may assume that in these days lawyers are not consciously governed by corrupt motives, but they are not the less ingrained with traditional

traditional habits of thought which lead them into errors curiously like those which self-interest would foster. The root of the mischief lies apart from selfish greed. A professional class (as a class) never is and never can be philosophical, because it always is, and always must be, the slave of custom. If the administration of justice is ever to be based upon a sound philosophy, the impulse must be given in the main by a strong and sustained blast of lay common sense.

No one, we hope, will suspect us of meaning that the technical experience of lawyers is to be superseded by the broad but crude philosophy of unprofessional thinkers. Each class has its own function, and it is not difficult to define the appropriate boundaries of the province of lay thought. The errors of men who are not familiar with the practical working of legal institutions will be errors of detail. The vice of professional opinion is the neglect of first principles. The practice of an art is apt to obliterate from the mind the science on which its philosophy is grounded, and it is in recalling and enforcing the larger doctrines which the actual business of life overlays, that the influence of unprofessional minds will be most beneficially exerted. Guided by this ruling idea, it may be useful to consider what it is that the lay mind can contribute to the problem of judicial administration. And first let us fix our thoughts upon the end and object of every practical system of law. To make such a system perfect these conditions must be satisfied:—First. The law must be just. Secondly. The law must be certain. Thirdly. The law must be living and growing, in order that it may accommodate itself to the growing wants of a living society, always tending by the universal rule of evolution to become more complex as time goes on. Fourthly. The law must be applied to every particular case with the minimum of error. Fifthly. The law should work with the minimum of delay, and, sixthly, with the minimum of expense.

With the first three of these conditions we do not propose to deal at length on the present occasion. They involve many questions of very grave importance which have divided legal reformers into different schools. How far the development of law should be entrusted to Judges, and to what extent it should be guided by the less elastic process of legislative amendment; what measure of respect should be paid to recorded decisions; whether digests or codes can be so framed as to secure at once precision and simplicity: these, and other analogous questions, deserve a far larger amount of consideration than they have yet received. Still it is not here that the most serious defects of English law present themselves. Our law is approximately just;

just; it is more certain, probably, than the law of any o country, and, in spite of a multitude of anomalies, it has ada itself with reasonable facility to the growing needs of society

Where our judicial institutions have most signally faile in their administrative machinery. We have not succeede minimising error, delay, and expense. A law may be fairly j and certain, and yet by far the most fruitful root of error n send forth shoots and branches in rank luxuriance. For miscarriage of justice, which is due to error of law, there fifty which spring from error in fact. When once the truth accurately ascertained, the judgment of such Courts as we en will, in the great majority of cases, be correct. Here and th a new question of legal principle arises—yet oftener a diffic occurs in applying recognised rules to novel circumstances; cases of this kind are not nearly so numerous as the exceptio prominence which they acquire would lead one to supp The problem which really tries Judges in their daily work the investigation of facts, and the difficulty is very largely to the imperfection of the methods which have been elabora for the purpose.

At first sight it may seem that if there were any departm of legal reform which might be safely left to professional perience, it would be this very matter of forensic proced What, it may be asked, can any one but a lawyer know such things? How can the untrained mind of the wi philosopher, unaccustomed to the atmosphere of Courts Justice, offer any suggestion of value on the construc of judicial machinery? And yet it is precisely on this sid the problem that the necessity for lay assistance is most ke felt. There are principles of procedure no less than princi of law; and no one, perhaps, is more in danger of losing s of sound methods of investigating truth than the lawyer, has spent his life in investigating it by one—and that perl a very defective—method. The skilled advocate is pron forget the real end of judicial procedure, while he is consta increasing his power of dealing successfully with the proce which he finds in operation. English experience affor singular illustration of this propensity, which can be matche no other country. We have for some centuries lived under jurisdiction of two sets of tribunals, working with two met of procedure about as widely sundered as can possibly be ceived. Each, as may be supposed, has its strong and its w points, and yet, such is the force of professional prejudice, quite an exception to find a lawyer who can see anyt worthy of imitation in the method of the tribunals b

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which he has not practised. Each man seems conscientiously to believe that what he has been accustomed to is dictated by the eternal fitness of things, and he never dreams of going back to first principles, and asking himself what are the avowed objects of every system of procedure, and how far his favourite machinery adapts itself to the great end in view—the judicial investigation of truth.

In this chaos of professional opinion the true appeal lies to the non-professional mind. Leaving minute details aside, an intelligent man ought to feel no great difficulty in laying down the broad principles by which any inquiry as to facts should be governed. Everyone acts upon such principles in some fashion every day of his existence. In scientific research, in historical inquiry, in the actual business of life, each hour brings with it the necessity of forming an opinion as to facts on more or less imperfect materials. This is precisely what a Judge has to do in every contested case that comes before him; and the same broad principles which determine the methods of the man of science, the historian, and the merchant, must equally lie at the root of judicial investigation.

Let us consider a little what those broad principles must be, carefully eschewing all reference to the technical machinery which lawyers and those who legislate for lawyers will find it necessary to engraft upon them. Keeping ourselves strictly within what we have defined as the province of lay thought, let us inquire whether the philosophy of common sense will not supply a few landmarks, which even the most experienced lawyers may wisely take note of.

The first remark that the subject suggests is that a law-suit is not a game of whist. This may seem too obvious to be worthy of special mention; but no one can go far in the inquiry we have in hand without discovering that the ideas of lawyers are almost invariably built, however unconsciously, upon the opposite assumption.

A few words are needed to explain this singular phenomenon. The object kept in view by those who frame laws for whist, is to make victory depend not simply on the strength of the hands that may be dealt, but in as great a measure as possible upon the skill of the players. If this were not done, the interest of the game would be lost. The rules are consequently framed with this express object, and one of the most essential is that each player shall be at liberty to conceal his hand from his opponents. If the cards were displayed, it would be easy in almost every case to count the honours and the tricks in each hand, and no scope would be given for retrieving a weak hand by superior play.

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The object in view in framing the laws of forensic procedure is, or ought to be, exactly the reverse. Whatever the parties may wish, the desire of the Court must be that the side with the stronger hand—that is the side on which the merits preponderate—should invariably win. The primary aim must consequently be to eliminate as far as practicable the influence of professional skill, and to insure the verdict for the right side, however superior the tactics of the adversary may be. Probably no advocate, however much he may enjoy forensic triumphs, would in terms assert that the rules of law, like the rules of whist, should reward professional skill by making victory largely dependent upon it. But certainly there is no advocate of any eminence who could not tell how in unnumbered cases he had been successful, because his pleadings were better framed, his evidence more judiciously marshalled, his cross-examination more effectively conducted, or his arguments better adapted to the mind of the Judge, or the prejudices of the Jury, than those of his adversary. Under any system superior skill will inevitably tend to influence the result of a legal contest; but it makes all the difference in the world whether this is regarded as an evil to be brought down to the smallest possible dimensions, or as a legitimate incident of the game on which the issue may rightfully be made to depend. Lawyers as a class (whatever their individual reputation may be) have never been special favourites with the public. But probably no one would charge them with anything so heartless as purposely perverting the course of procedure for the sake of turning a solemn judicial quest after the truth into an exciting game for themselves with unhappy clients for counters. To do this of malice prepense would be simply diabolical. But, barring the malice prepense, something very like this has been done in times past, and the fruit of it is reaped in the present day. Rules of procedure have been framed for the purpose, no doubt, of getting at the truth and securing victory to the right side; but always on the assumption that every suitor would find a pleader and an advocate of adequate skill to cope with the ingenuity of the opposite side. This assumption broke down so flagrantly at one period of our judicial history that in a vast number of cases the judgment depended at least as much on the craft of the pleader as on the merits of the client. This result was originally due to the perverse subtlety of the mediæval mind, and it would be unfair to law reformers not to say that the whole tendency of modern legislation has been to mitigate this evil. But the course of these amendments has always been to patch new cloth upon the old garment. The mischief has not been eradicated,

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and cannot be eradicated until the entire system is reconstructed with a steady determination to insure, as far as may be, the success of the suitor who has the better case, irrespective of the capacities of the lawyers employed on either side. At the present moment the Judges are engaged upon the effort to achieve this end—the mind of the country has been stirred to some extent by legal measures of revolutionary magnitude, and the time seems opportune for considering whether some sort of philosophical basis may not be laid for the work which the lawyers have in hand.

Starting with the fundamental principle that the merits of the suitor ought, as far as possible, to be made to prevail over professional skill, some obvious corollaries suggest themselves at once. The analogy, or rather the contrast, of our game of whist supplies one of the most important.

Maxim 1. 'Every suitor should be compelled to show his hand at the earliest possible stage of the contest.'

It is impossible to exaggerate the value of this maxim. Any method of investigation which ignores it must be bad; any method based upon it is sure to be tolerably good. If faithfully observed, it will almost suffice in itself to abolish the traditional uncertainty and perplexity of the law. And its truth seems as obvious as its importance. And yet it is a maxim which the existing methods of our Courts of Law almost wholly disregard. Nay, we suspect that there are some able lawyers, swayed by the habits of their lives, who would even at this day contend that no such rule should be admitted as the foundation of our legal procedure. But casting aside for the moment, at any rate, the theories and the practice of lawyers, something may perhaps be learned by carrying our minds back to patriarchal times and picturing to ourselves the wise though simple procedure by which the chief of a clan or the king of a primitive nation would administer ready justice as he sat in the gate to redress the wrongs of his people. His first step would be, as the first step of every tribunal ought to be, to ascertain exactly what the real matter in dispute was. He would call upon the complainant to state his grievance, and would make the alleged wrong-doer say at once how much of the accusation he admitted to be true, how far he was able to contradict the charge, and in what way he proposed to justify his own conduct. The king at the gate would insist on each of the parties to the contest showing his hand fully, and it would fare ill with the man who tried to hoodwink the sovereign or baffle his opponent by inventing falsehoods on the chance of not being found out. How such a judge would deal with litigants who proceeded on the approved methods which

which lawyers have developed among civilised nations, may b best realised by imagining an actual dispute in which the parties (educated, let us suppose, some centuries in advance of their age) should adopt the devices which we are not ashamed to permit and to practise.

Let us suppose a people among whom flocks and herds are the principal currency: one herdsman, whom, in deference to modern phraseology, we will call the plaintiff, claims to be entitled, say to fifty sheep, which his neighbour (the defendant) has in his possession. The king calls upon the parties to state their cases. 'My case, Sire,' says the plaintiff, 'is, that this man has in his possession fifty sheep, which he has had and received for my use, or, if your Majesty does not understand these technical expressions, I will say, fifty sheep which, for some reason or other, he ought to give to me.' 'Nothing of the sort,' answers the defendant. 'The fact is, your Majesty, that I never had these sheep in my possession at all. Besides that, I gave them back to this fellow before he made his complaint; and I may add that when I took the sheep I took them for myself, and there is no reason whatever why I should give them to the plaintiff.' 'What is the meaning of this jargon?' interposes the King. 'Sir Plaintiff, don't tell me that for some reason or other you ought to have the sheep; but tell me, and tell the defendant, too, what has happened to give you any claim to them; and then he will be able in his turn to tell me why he considers that he has a right to keep them. And you, defendant, don't stand there insulting your King with falsehoods; but tell me, and tell the plaintiff truly, whether you ever did have the sheep—whether you have them now in your fold, and how you make out that the plaintiff ought not to have them. If, instead of telling a plain true story either of you tries to mystify me with jargon and lies, he shall have the bastinado for his pains.'

Somewhat humbled and alarmed, plaintiff and defendant restate their cases. 'The truth is,' my Lord, says the plaintiff 'that the defendant and I both had cows which we desired to exchange for sheep, and the defendant was about to travel into a far country where many sheep could be obtained in return for a cow. I trusted him with fifty of my cows to exchange for me and for his trouble I promised that I would let him take for himself half the sheep he could get for them, if he would give me the other half. He bartered my cows for three hundred sheep and has only given me one hundred; I claim fifty more. I crave pardon for not having stated this plainly at first, but I was afraid that if I did so this wicked defendant might deny everything that I was

able to confirm out of the mouths of our neighbours; fore I thought it better not to show my hand or to know what I was going to prove against him.' 'I d you now,' says the King; 'but never again come with a complaint without telling me at once what it ou complain of. And you, defendant, say honestly h of this story is true.' 'May it please your Majesty, true, except that I do not admit that the bargain the plaintiff says it was. When I said just now ver had the sheep, I did not mean that that was e; but the place where I received them was a long nd I thought the plaintiff could not find anyone who ake them, or if he did, that he would have to reward oming here, and it seemed to me that I had a right to the plaintiff to prove his case, and that if he could not ght to escape.' 'Who has taught you these wicked etorts the King; 'at your peril never again palm false- on me, because you hope you will not be found out. do you say the bargain was?' 'Well, my liege, I ther not say. To make things sure, we employed a o wrote it down and kept it for us. He is far off, but im and he will show you what it was.' 'Why should ' says the King, 'if I can settle the question by your issions? If I find that you say one thing and the ays another, I will send for the writing; but first tell ll me truly, whether you do not know that the plaintiff's f it is true.' 'If your Majesty insists upon it,' replies dant, 'I remember very well that I was to give him I have only given him one-third; but a learned doctor ne that not even the King himself ought to make me ch a question as that. I humbly submit that you ought r the writing, although I own there is no dispute between what it contains.' 'Nonsense,' concludes the King, ed doctor shall be expelled from my dominions for not the difference between discovery and evidence, and you, , shall give up the sheep without forcing the plaintiff e a writing to prove a bargain which you can't and don't you had had any doubt about the terms, I would have e writing; as it is, it would only be causing needless l expense. And you shall give the plaintiff, for the u have caused him, ten sheep more than the fifty which d.'

eming puerility of this fable may be pardoned if we very word which we have put into the mouths of the plaintiff and defendant, including the crowning absurdity

surdity of the learned doctor, would be pronounced by an Engli Court of Law to be sound and right, or, at any rate, in accordan with accepted practice, and that the lay common sense which v have attributed to the King on his judgment-seat is in flagra violation of some of the most cherished rules of our legal pr cedure. The grave question is, Which is right—common sen or the law? With all deference to lawyers, we think comm sense must have the verdict.

The real difficulty, however, of reforming such abuses we have indicated is in inducing the world at large to belie that such things can possibly be. Laymen know that a quar no sooner ripens into a law-suit than it becomes involved a web of mystery which they think it hopeless to attempt unravel; but it is very hard to get any one out of the pr fession to believe the strange things which are daily do within it. Illustrations such as we have given are not t naturally assumed to be exaggerations bearing no relation actual facts, and the surprise which ought perhaps to ripen i indignation often subsides into incredulity and fails to exc a genuine demand for reform. And yet the fiction we h sketched may be matched, and more than matched, by recurri experience. Let us place side by side with our patriarchal l suit a sketch, drawn from life, of a corresponding proceed before an English tribunal.

We will suppose that the plaintiff has purchased goods wh have been shipped from a foreign port, and is in possession the bill of lading which entitles him to demand delivery of goods. He presents the bill of lading, and for some reason, w or ill founded, delivery is refused. He brings his action for wrong, and alleges that the bill of lading was duly presented that the goods were nevertheless withheld. The real defence will suppose to be, that the goods not being paid for, the se claims the right to stop them in transitu, as it is called, whi under certain circumstances, the law allows him to do. T purchaser, however, denies that the circumstances of the case such, in point of law, as would justify the stoppage, and the o question between the parties is, whether the stoppage was righ or wrongful. The fact that the goods were stopped is known both sides, and is in reality their common ground. In orde narrow the contest to the question really in dispute, the plai calls upon the defendant to say on oath whether he denie admits that the bill of lading was presented and that the go were refused. If he admits it, there will be no occasion to in the expense, and it may possibly be the difficulty, of prov what actually occurred. The defendant, like the herdsma

our patriarchal fable, objects to being called upon to give any answer at all, knowing that if he does answer he can do nothing but admit the truth of the plaintiff's statement. A solemn discussion then ensues before a Judge to determine the preliminary point whether the plaintiff is at liberty to ask such a question. The plaintiff urges that it would be idle to force him to prove—certainly with much delay, perhaps at great expense—a matter about which both parties know there is no doubt at all. The defendant does not suggest that the allegation is untrue, but insists that it would be contrary to all rules of law to permit the plaintiff to put such a question as he proposes; and the Judge decides, and, according to the settled practice, cannot help deciding, that the defendant is right. The consequence is, that a jury is empanelled to try, and witnesses called to prove, what no one really questions, and all the cost and delay of a trial are incurred because there is a rule of law that in such a case a defendant must not be forced to admit what he knows to be true.

But why, it may be asked, does a Judge pronounce a decision which leads to such mischievous absurdity? The answer is, because he has no choice. He is bound to follow the settled practice, and to say to a plaintiff in such a case something of this kind: 'You ought not to attempt to ask such a question. True it may be that the defendant's admission would relieve you from the burden of a trial—no small matter; true it is that the defendant may be trusted not to prejudice himself by an admission if he feels a shadow of a doubt on the subject. You may be right in saying that no one could possibly be injured by allowing such a question to be put, and that you will certainly suffer if I refuse to permit it. But you ought to know that there is a rule of law which forbids you to ask whether the thing presented was a bill of lading. No one can say whether it was a bill of lading or not except from its contents, and it is a rule of law that no question can be put as to the contents of a written document. You might ask if a bit of paper was presented, but that would do you no good. What you must do is to produce and verify the bill of lading at the trial, and prove that it was presented, and then you will gain the verdict.' 'But,' remonstrates the plaintiff, 'why should I be put to all this trouble and expense? If the defendant and I were not agreed that this paper was the bill of lading, I allow that the only satisfactory way of settling the dispute would be by producing the paper itself; but where is the necessity for all this, if we are agreed—and why may not I compel him to say whether we are agreed on the point or not?' 'There is a rule of law to the contrary' (the Judge is bound to reply), 'and your question must be disallowed.'

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This is an example of English procedure which may be paralleled in scores of cases which happen every day. Rules of evidence (which may, to a certain extent, be justified as rules of evidence) are applied to the preliminary process of interrogation and discovery, the object of which is to sift out the real subjects of dispute, by forcing each party to show his own hand, and to admit so much of his adversary's case as he knows to be true. The absurd result is that the whole object of this process of discovery is defeated in a large proportion of cases, and issues are solemnly tried, on the strictest principles of evidence, about which no one on either side has ever entertained a scintilla of doubt.

Instead of compelling litigants to show their hands at the earliest stage, so as to confine the costly process of trial to points which are really disputed, every possible facility is given to those who seek to baffle opponents, by raising false issues and keeping the adversary in the dark as to the evidence which he will have to meet.

One more example of the same character must be given to illustrate the extent to which, by crippling the preliminary process of discovery, English procedure tends to convert an action at law into a game of skill.

A man is in possession of an estate which he has enjoyed for many years. Suddenly he is served with a writ of ejectment. The plaintiff claims the estate as his own. The possessor desires to know what the meaning of the demand is. 'By what title,' he asks, 'do you insist on turning me out of my property?' 'You will hear in good time,' says the plaintiff. 'Only come into Court with all your deeds, and all your witnesses, to answer any case that I may set up, and if you have any right to remain in possession you will have a verdict in your favour.' 'But,' says the possessor, 'I do not know what your claim is based upon. Are you going to deny that I am my father's son, and must I be ready to prove that? Or do you say that the deed under which my father entered is a forgery? Or what other claim have you to my estate? I insist upon you telling me what story it is that you have trumped up, in order that, when you attempt to prove it, I may be ready with counter evidence, and I shall ask leave of the Judge to question you on the subject.' Leave accordingly is asked, and again the Judge is forced solemnly to reply, 'I cannot allow the question; what the plaintiff means or hopes to prove is his case, and there is a rule of law which says that you cannot compel a litigant to make such a discovery as you are asking of his own case until the time comes for going into evidence. You must prepare yourself to meet whatever he may

rove, and you must not ask him to tell you beforehand what it s likely to be.' 'But it is a great hardship on me,' says the pos-essor, to come into Court to fight against an enemy who shrouds imself in darkness.' 'That is so, no doubt,' the Judge must eply, 'but I cannot allow your question. There is a rule of law o the contrary. The plaintiff cannot be compelled to show his and before the trial.'

We might multiply examples to the like effect, but we have probably said enough to show both that our maxim is sound, and that it has not yet met with the recognition it deserves.

The next question that suggests itself is this.—In what shape are the litigants to state their cases? The layman's maxim would naturally be this:—

Maxim 2. 'Let the plaintiff state the facts on which he grounds his complaint, and then let the defendant state the facts on which he relies for his defence, in plain concise English, unfettered by any technical rules.'

Most of our readers, we imagine, would regard this maxim as not less reasonable and obvious than that which we have already considered. But lawyers are even now scarcely agreed upon it, and there was a time when they would, with one voice, have laughed it to scorn. How the opposite view came first to be entertained, how the rules founded upon it gradually moulded themselves into a theoretically perfect system for ascertaining the precise points in dispute — how this theoretical system became in practice a game of skill, not less refined and difficult than whist or chess — how lawyers who played at it made blunders, while clients for whom it was played suffered the consequences—how the Legislature interposed to make the game a little easier, at the sacrifice of nearly all its beautiful pre-cision, leaving it, in its present shape, just a little less hazardous and a great deal less exact than it was before—how at last it dawned upon the best class of legal minds that the whole con-trivance was a highly subtle and ingenious mistake, and that it ought to be superseded by the simple maxim which we have enunciated—all this forms a very curious and interesting chapter of our legal history. The system we refer to is what is popu-larly known as 'special pleading,' while the method which our maxim formulates is called by lawyers 'open pleading.' The arguments which have been maintained for centuries between the advocates of these two methods are now so nearly concluded in favour of open pleading, and the successive phases of the controversy are so full of quaint technicality, that we dare not dwell upon them in these pages. And yet no one who knows how much genuine, though misapplied, ingenuity went to the

construction of the science of special pleading, and how elaborately perfect it once was from its own point of view, can see it consigned to oblivion without feeling that a work of genius is fading out of the world. A few words only we may venture on to indicate the train of thought which at one time recommended this subtle system to the minds of English lawyers. It was said, 'If you allow litigants to state their cases as they please, you will get nothing but rambling narratives, from which no Judge will be able to pick out the precise issues raised between them. It is necessary, therefore, to construct a system of alternate statements, the result of which will necessarily be to reduce the whole controversy to a series of specific allegations of fact or law, asserted on the one side and categorically denied on the other. These distinct issues can then be tried by the appropriate tribunal—a Court, or a Judge and Jury, as the case may be.' This was what the rules of special pleading professed to do, and at one time really did; but the inherent vice of the method lay in this:—in order to insure the automatic working out of definite issues or contradictions, it was essential to regulate the process by a very elaborate code of specific rules, prescribing the mode in which alone each successive pleading should be framed. To enforce obedience to these rules it was necessary to impose a penalty, and the penalty for a violation of the rules of pleading was that the litigant who made the blunder lost his cause. This was subject to some mitigation, in certain cases by amendment and the like, but the broad principle remained, that the man whose pleadings were so badly drawn as to be demurrable, was cast just as effectually as if the merits had been decided against him. In this way many a litigant was beaten, though on the facts he had the clearest right to succeed, just as a man who holds winning cards may lose a game at whist for want of skill in playing them. And the game of pleading was so difficult, that even the most skilful were not proof against occasional slips. The ghastly records of these sad failures of justice are to be found by hundreds in our law-books. The method of special pleading broke down because it needed intellectual giants to work it, and constantly visited the mistakes of pleaders upon the heads of unfortunate clients. Efforts made, from time to time, by the Legislature to mitigate the rigour of special pleading, were attended with partial, though only partial, success. But for centuries it never seems to have occurred either to judges, or practitioners, or legislators, to ask themselves the simple question whether they could not do without this science system altogether, and whether the supposed difficulty of extracting the true issues from open pleading was sufficient

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erious to necessitate a remedy which so often led to disaster nd injustice. And yet during the whole time that the experiment of ameliorating special pleading was going on in Courts f Law, with rather sad results to suitors, there existed other ribunals which contented themselves with the simple and nscientific plan of letting the parties tell their stories as hey pleased, and found in practice that the supposed difficulty f ascertaining the precise issues was almost imaginary, and hat, rough as it seemed, the method was so far successful that w-suits really did get decided on the merits, and that one arcely ever heard of a suitor, who ought to have succeeded, iling by reason of the unskilful manner in which his pleadings ere framed. The rival methods of procedure went on side by de, however, from the days of Elizabeth to the days of Victria, before the practical success of the one prevailed over the ientific collapse of the other, and even now the finishing blow, ough imminent, has not yet been given to the singular system nich has so dismally technicalised English law from mediæval nes to our own.

The tenacity with which the ablest lawyers clung to their ricate system is intelligible enough. It sprang from a prinle more deeply seated in human nature even than quips l quiddities. Special pleading has survived so long, not much in spite of its complications, as in consequence of m. Strong men are apt to love the difficulties which they nk they have mastered all the more because others are unable ope with them. You may trace the influence of this feeling very grade of society. Here is a true story, homely, but inent. There was once an Irish ploughman who prided elf on being able to drive a straighter furrow than any of ellows, with the awkward implement which did duty in his try for a plough. His master imported from England a l plough of the most improved construction, and after the had tried it, asked him how he liked it. 'Not at all, sir,' he reply. 'Why not, Flanigan?' inquired the master, any one could plough straight with such a machine as that,' he ploughman triumphantly. So, if any one had invited pinion of a skilful lawyer of the antique type upon the ce of untechnical pleading, the answer which would have up from the bottom of his heart would have been, 'Any ne could plead straight with such machinery as that.' At te, whether it was from sentiment or from conviction, the emained, that lawyers held fast to their technicalities for ies after experience had conclusively condemned them; however, the fact is getting to be generally recognised

that the supposed ambiguity of open pleading, to cure wh special pleading was devised, is a merely theoretical def which does not in practice interpose any appreciable obst to the ascertainment of the real issues on which any litigat turns.

Taking these two principles of Full Discovery and Unte nical Pleading to be established, the next steps must be inquire before what tribunals and by what methods dispu questions are to be tried. There are three kinds of tribu with which we are familiar in England—a Court of seve Judges, a single Judge, and a Judge and Jury. Whether o or other of these should be employed must depend, in gr measure, on the character of the questions to be tried. Before can choose our tribunal, we must know the nature of the iss raised. The theory of what we may now call the explo system of special pleading, was very pretty on this subje The method purported to sift out and separate the issues of f and the issues of law; and the rule was to send the issues of l to be tried by a full Court of several Judges, and the issues fact to be tried by a Judge and Jury. But in this, as in ot respects, the method did not do in practice what in theor was designed and assumed to do. The so-called issues of f very often involved implicitly all sorts of questions of law. I example, a plaintiff alleged that a defendant was indebted him for work done and for money received by the defendant the use of the plaintiff. The defendant denied these allegatio and the issues were sent to a Judge and Jury to decide whet the defendant was so indebted or not. Whether he was would depend, first, on the question of fact as to what had pas between the parties, and secondly, on the question of law, whet those circumstances created indebtedness or not. The find of the jury was not on the issue of pure fact, but on the co bined issue of fact and law. So that, if they either misund stood the Judge's explanation of the law, or thought the cas hard one, and determined to disregard it, you practically h a legal question submitted to a jury, and decided by them might be in ignorance, or it might be in defiance of the l Juries generally took their law from the Judge, but not alwa and it is obvious that on points of law the Judge's ruling ou to prevail, and that it was by no means certain to do so w filtered through the minds of a jury, and tainted by th liability to ignorant or wilful error. This was a defect wh never could be wholly got over under the special pleadi régime, though, as we shall see, it cures itself where o pleading is the rule. But there will be yet another difficulty

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pparent difficulty, to be dealt with when special pleading is bolished. The pleadings will never of themselves sort out the ssues of fact from the issues of law, and if different tribunals re to be employed for the different kinds of questions, it follows iat some new mode must be adopted for ascertaining what the ssues are, and directing how they are to be tried. Practically iere is not often much real difference between a plaintiff and a efendant as to what the issues are: and if a plaintiff picks out om the pleadings what he considers to be the points in dispute, ie defendant will generally accept them as the true issues, iough he may sometimes desire to have them expressed in dif- rent language. In all cases of difference, a Judge finds very ttle difficulty in settling how the issues of fact shall be stated. s for the issues of law, they require no specification, because ie Court knows how to deal with them in its ultimate judg- ent. This method of settling the issues of fact, under the irection of the Court, is practised in certain classes of cases in ie Court of Chancery, and an analogous practice is worked ith facility in Scotland: it has the great superiority over the tomatic method of special pleading, that the issues so settled e really issues of fact alone—like the questions upon which ries are sometimes called to give special verdicts—and are ver allowed to be mixed issues, involving both fact and law. 'e may, therefore, thus formulate our

Maxim 3. 'When issues of fact have to be extracted from the eadings, they should be agreed by the parties, or, in case of fference, settled by the Court.'

Thus far we are provided with an efficient machinery for termining what are the questions in dispute, and for casting em, when necessary, into the form of specific issues. It remains consider to what tribunal the decision should be referred: d this brings us to considerations on which a great divergence opinion exists. The time may come when the inquiry ether, in any but criminal cases, justice is promoted by trial jury may be usefully discussed. The main purpose which institution once served—to check the despotic tendency of Bench—has long since become obsolete; but traditional ling always survives the occasion which called it forth, and nion is not yet ripe for the proposal to substitute in all civil ses the decision of one or more Judges for the verdict of a y. The gravest charge against the institution of trial by y, is the great uncertainty which it introduces into litigation. nitor who is anxious to learn the probable result of a trial by can seldom extract from his advisers anything more definite an assurance that his case looks promising, qualified by the common

common form observations, that it is impossible to say what view a jury may take of it, and that no one can foresee what may result from the chances of Nisi Prius. If the case has to be tried before a Judge, it is practicable, in a great proportion of cases, to predict with considerable confidence what the judgment will be. This power of forecasting the result of litigation is the last and best product of a good system of law and practice. Of course it is important to decide quarrels when they have arisen: but this is not the sole or the chief end of law. That law is incomparably the best which most frequently enables a man in doubt or difficulty to learn with certainty from his advisers what he may safely do, what he may rightfully claim, what he may prudently refuse. The existence of the jury system unquestionably diminishes the number of such cases. The veil which is cast over the deliberations of jurymen is probably the one thing which saves the 'Palladium of English liberty' from immediate abolition. If it were possible to obtain a verbatim report of what was said and done in jury-rooms within the compass of a single week, the ancient institution would perhaps be doomed for ever; and yet there is much to be said on the other side of the question.

It is important not only that judgments should be right, but that they should not shake the general confidence in the administration of justice; and the one great advantage of trial by jury is, that a suitor who is dissatisfied with the result of a trial does not go away with the idea that he has been unfairly treated by the law. If the Judge has put the case, as Judges almost always do, impartially and clearly to the Jury, the unsuccessful suitor accepts the most erroneous verdict as he would the decrees of destiny, without doubting for a moment that he has had a fair trial; whereas, if the same decision had come from a Judge, he would be filled with indignation at the miscarriage of justice. In all cases, therefore, where there are no certain data on which a judgment can be based, there is a real utility in trial by jury, even though it be assumed, as it probably may be, that juries will more often go astray than Judges would do without what is called their assistance. As examples of the class of cases to which these considerations specially apply, we may instance the estimation of damages for moral or physical injuries, and the decision of questions on which opposite witnesses are in direct contradiction. The ablest Judge cannot assess much better than an ordinary man, the pecuniary equivalent of an insult or a broken limb, nor can he always be sure that he is not giving credence to the wrong witness. Yet a grocer might be very

angry if his leg were valued at only half as much as the baker's arm, and a man who had sworn truly would be fiercely indignant with a Judge who preferred to believe his opponent's contradiction, though he would not respect the law one whit the less on account of a similar error committed by a jury. It was once said by a great man, now no more, who was equally eminent for his learning and his humour, that there were lawsuits in which there was nothing to be done but to toss up, and that it was more seemly that a jury should toss up than a Judge. We are not prepared to say that this dictum indicates the only class of issues which ought to be tried with the aid of a jury, but will content ourselves with the safer conclusion that there are some cases, which, in the present state of opinion, at any rate, ought to be sent to a jury.

Not less emphatically, however, may it be asserted that there are other cases which ought not to be so tried. There are prejudices of class, prejudices of sex, and prejudices of all kinds, which on some subjects render a jury a most unsatisfactory tribunal. There are questions of fact so closely associated with considerations of law, that a jury is not always to be trusted to decide them: questions so intricate as to baffle any but the most highly trained minds: and many questions upon which the twelve men in a box are sorely tempted to give a twist to their finding upon facts in order to checkmate what they may consider—perhaps rightly, perhaps wrongly—to be an objectionable rule of law. Then there are cases where the costly apparatus of a trial by jury is wholly unnecessary for the purpose of determining issues which, from their nature, scarcely admit of conflicting testimony. Add to all these the cases in which both parties are willing to dispense with a jury, and you have abundant grounds to justify the conclusion which we venture to state as

Maxim 4. 'The Court should decide in each particular case whether issues of fact should be tried before a Judge and a Jury, or a Judge alone.'

This is a rule for which a successful precedent may be found in the practice of the Divorce Court, where, subject to one special exception, it is left to the Judge's discretion to say whether a jury shall be employed or not.

When the tribunal is thus determined the question still remains, how the proof of the issues is to be given. It is easy enough to describe the ideal method which would most certainly lead to the discovery of truth. Let all the witnesses who have any knowledge of the matter be present, without any previous concert, discussion, or communication with either of the parties, and

and let them then and there state what they know, and the truth will be pretty certain to come out. Occasionally evidence might be given on which witnesses or documents not at the moment forthcoming would be likely to throw light; but, even when that occurred, an adjournment for further investigation would almost surely set the matter right.

But such a procedure is simply impracticable, and the only question is, how nearly it can be approached with a reasonable regard to the limitations which time and cost must ordinarily impose. In real life, a trial at Nisi Prius is very different from the sort of investigation which we have pictured. In many cases the principal witnesses are the parties themselves and persons who, from their position, are warm partisans of one side or the other. Such witnesses, of course, never come into the box unbiassed or unprepared. But even indifferent witnesses are seldom caught by the Court in what we may call their unsophisticated purity. Almost every witness is sought out beforehand by the legal advisers of one side or the other, and, as they call it in Scotland, is carefully precognosced. His knowledge is tested, his pulse is felt, so to speak, and a statement—the witness's proof, as it is termed—is taken down from his mouth, containing what he considers himself able to swear to. The proof, in short, is prepared very much as an affidavit is prepared, and is subject to the same liability of taking colour from the mind of the transcriber, however honestly he may desire to work, and he does very often desire to work honestly. This done, the witness, thoroughly conscious of what he has said to the attorney, is put into the box and examined by an advocate who has been furnished with a copy of the proof. It is an absolute rule—loyally adhered to for the most part—that the questions put shall not suggest the answers desired, or in the technical phrase, that the witness shall not be led. But, without any apparent leading at all, the questions, if judiciously framed, bring back the old train of thought, and the witness unconsciously leads himself into answers very much in the form which they assumed in his proof. If there are any points as to which the proof shows the witness to be shaky, these are omitted or skilfully glided over with a light hand by the examining counsel. In this way the examination in chief, even of the most honest witness, gives a picture coloured in favour of the side that calls him, not quite to the same extent as in a prepared affidavit, but very much in the same sort of way. The favourable lights are all sharply accentuated, while the adverse shadows, if not wholly omitted, are indicated only in the vaguest way. This is a very grave defect, but one absolutely unavoidable. Its existence, as a general rule, is so fully recognised, that all the rules

rules which govern the examination of witnesses in Court are based upon the *primâ facie* assumption that every witness is a partisan bent upon making the best case he can for the side that calls him. Accordingly, while leading is strictly forbidden in the examination in chief, the utmost licence is allowed to the counsel for the other side when he rises to cross-examine. Not only may he lead by palpable suggestions, but he may coax, drive, tease, taunt, frighten, sneer at, bully, worry, provoke, insult, and in every conceivable way cajole and coerce the witness into saying what he desires to have said. No high-minded advocate strains this privilege unless he really believes that he has a corrupt witness to deal with, and that the interests of his client demand a stringent cross-examination. Advocates who are not high-minded practise cross-examination of the severest type, as a habit, upon almost every witness they take in hand. If the subject of the operation is nervous, irascible, or muddle-headed, there is no limit to the contradictions and confusion which may thus be imported into his evidence. To a great extent blundering statements thus extorted from a witness are set right on re-examination, and a wise Judge can do very much to rectify, by a few judicious questions, the distorted narrative which is produced by a savage cross-examination working upon the mental or physical weakness of a feeble witness. But the upshot of the testimony in any case depends, at last, almost as much upon the temperament of the witness and the adroitness with which he is handled as upon the truth of the story which he tries to tell.

All this, of course, introduces an element of chance and an element of skill into the process which largely interfere with its accuracy as a means of eliciting truth. Still the wit of man has not been able to devise a better method of taking testimony than the Nisi Prius practice which we have described, and there can be no doubt that in all cases where there is a substantial conflict of evidence it must (subject to some modifications in detail) be maintained. Perhaps the worst feature of it is, that it is just when a witness is deliberately telling an unexpected tale concocted for the occasion that cross-examination is least effective. If a witness gives evidence based upon the truth, but perverted exactly where the interests of his party require it, it is very often practicable to land him in contradictions which discredit his veracity altogether; but where his evidence is pure invention, either as to one material point or as to the whole narrative, there are often no data on which the cross-examining counsel can work. It is not a very uncommon thing for witnesses called to prove an *alibi* to tell a story perfectly true in everything except date, and in

in such cases cross-examination is generally powerless. The notorious story of the convict Luie in the Tichborne trial was absolutely unshaken by cross-examination, although by the wise though exceptional course of adjourning the trial an opportunity was given for proving it to have been false from beginning to end. With all its defects, however, the Nisi Prius procedure must be mournfully accepted as the best available machinery for extracting the truth from the mouths of conflicting witnesses. It compares, at any rate, very advantageously with the method which has been largely used in the Court of Chancery, of taking evidence by affidavit without cross-examination, or, what is only one grade better, with cross-examination taken down in writing before examiners out of Court.

But though the Nisi Prius method must be accepted as the normal rule, it ought to be qualified by a much freer exercise of the power of adjournment to obviate the effect of surprise than has hitherto been usual, and there are besides large classes of cases in which it would be folly to employ it. To keep witnesses, collected perhaps from all corners of the land, waiting till their attendance is required, is an extremely costly process, especially if it is desired to have them in a kindly frame of mind at the hearing; so that a single witness examined *vivâ voce* often costs more than a score of affidavits. It commonly happens that the testimony to be given is merely formal, or of such a character as to preclude the suspicion of misrepresentation, and in all such cases it is a great boon to the suitor to be able to adduce it without incurring extravagant expense. An illustration of this is afforded in the administrative and in some parts of the litigious business of the Court of Chancery, in which millions of pounds are annually disbursed on affidavit evidence with scarcely a serious error occurring in a century. Judges can generally discern, even when litigant parties are not willing to acknowledge it, whether an issue does or does not need to be sifted by oral evidence in Court. Between the two methods, however, there is no room for a compromise, and the miserable expedient of cross-examination in the absence of the Judge who tries the case ought to be abolished for ever. It was invented only to avoid the necessity of increasing the judicial staff, which the extension of the Nisi Prius practice into all our Courts would have involved, and the petty saving of a few judicial salaries affords no justification for a practice which taints the administration of justice. It is a wretched policy to stint judicial strength. The practical result to which we are led may, therefore, be embodied thus:—

Maxim 5. 'Questions of fact should be tried either by the Nisi Prius

ius method, or by affidavit, as the Court may direct in each rticular case.'

One step only remains to complete the process—the decision issues of law, including the final judgment; and the only estion of principle involved is, whether a Court of several dges, or a single Judge, ought to be employed. The idea on ich the practice of referring every question of law, however inute, to a full Court was originally based, was probably a stake. It was imagined that the chances of error were very ich greater in dealing with legal points than in rightly de-ling, or, what is quite as difficult, rightly presenting to a jury ıputed questions of fact. The truth, in these days at any rate, conspicuously the other way; and if single Judges were in all iginal hearings substituted for full Courts, it is not likely that judgments given would be often different from what they are w. There is settled law and growing law, and a very large rcentage of the questions which come before a Court of First ıtance are essentially settled law—settled law, that is, in the nd of a Judge imbued with legal principles, though not per-ps covered by the four corners of any reported decision. In such cases one good Judge is as good as a score. In the all percentage of cases remaining, questions of serious legal relty and difficulty may no doubt arise; but then nearly all of se are certain to be carried to a Court of Appeal, whatever the t decision may be, if only a cheap and ready process of appeal ovided. The number of cases, therefore, in which the final ult would be affected by limiting the first tribunal to a single lge would be very small, and for the most part unimportant. here were no intermediate hearing between the first decision l the decree of the Irreversible Court, it would be of the hest importance to strengthen to the utmost the original ınal; but the feeling in favour of introducing an intermediate eal, not merely in cases of difference in the Court below, but all cases, into the machinery of the Judicature Act, was so ngly marked in the discussions of last Session, that the osite theory may be regarded as definitively withdrawn. ıming, therefore, the existence of a strong Court of Inter-liate Appeal, there are very cogent reasons why a Court of e or four Judges should no longer be occupied with a number etty little points which any one of them would decide as well ınd more rapidly than the full Court. It is almost as great a take to waste as to stint judicial strength. Judges such as needed to maintain the standard of excellence to which glishmen are accustomed are not to be picked up by hundreds he street corners. It is needful, therefore, to economise our means

means and never to multiply Judges on the same bench, unless there is reasonable ground for believing that there is a knot to be untied worthy of the forces brought to bear upon it. Moreover, rapidity in a Court of First Instance is almost as important as extreme accuracy is in a Court of Appeal, and one Judge can work much faster than four. A Judge of First Instance who decided, say fifty cases, rightly, and went wrong in two, which were forthwith corrected by a Court of Appeal, would really have done better service than a Court which, in the same time, gave thirty decisions with only one error; so that it might well be possible to set three out of four Judges free for other and higher duties and get out of the remaining one as good work as before, or even better. And observe what setting free several Judges out of each Court means. It means that, without extravagantly increasing the aggregate judicial staff, adequate judicial power shall be forthcoming when it is really wanted. It means that we shall then never more hear of cases which require oral evidence being tried by affidavit, or of examinations which the Judge ought to hear being taken by deputy, because the work could not be got through if witnesses were heard in Court. It means that we shall never again hear of appeal cases being hurried because there is a press of business and there are not Judges enough to hear them all with the grave deliberation which always distinguished the House of Lords and did so much to build up its honourable reputation. If *Sat bene si sat cito* may sometimes be admissible as the motto of a primary Judge, *Sat cito si sat bene* should always be the principle of a Court of Appeal. Therefore for such a Court we ask to have many Judges—not overwhelmed with work and driven into hasty decision; and in order that we may have such Courts it is essential that judicial strength should be economised, where it can be well spared, by reducing every tribunal of First Instance to a single seat. Thus we are guided to the principle which we venture to embody as follows:—

Maxim 6. 'Legal questions should be decided by a single Judge of First Instance, subject to appeal to a Court of many Judges, with a further appeal to the Ultimate Tribunal.'

We have nearly traversed the whole range of our inquiry into the primary principles which should govern the procedure of Courts of Justice. But we must add one more—a warning rather than a principle—a negative rather than a positive rule.

These are days of subterfuges—times when men greet principles with one hand and strangle them with the other; and it is, above all, needful now to insist on what we may call the principle of loyalty. Let there be no shams. Let us not affe

constitute tribunals with Judges of the class that we have been accustomed to rate as Judges, and then covertly allow half their proper work to be done by men who are not Judges—who have not the qualifications of Judges—who are not even called Judges—who are termed Registrars, Deputy-Registrars, Clerks, Referees, Arbitrators, it matters not what—but to whom judicial duties are delegated by wholesale to avoid the necessity of providing adequate judicial strength to do the work of the country. Every Court needs a staff of subordinate officers to do subordinate work, but the danger that always threatens from this quarter—which has already developed into formidable dimensions and is daily growing greater—which has eaten into the very heart of the Bankruptcy administration—which is undermining the efficacy of the Court of Chancery—which, under the name of compulsory arbitration, is abstracting the work of Common Law Judges and handing it over to men who are not Judges, is, that the standard of the judicial bench is in reality lowered, when the real Judges who do half the judging work of the country are men who have not been promoted, and many of whom no one would dare to promote to the judicial bench. Nothing is gained by maintaining the highest standard for those who are nominally the only Judges of the land, if they are allowed to depute their work to men who are not Judges and are not fit to be so. Therefore let us complete our code of principles with this final dogma:—

Maxim 7. 'No Judge should be allowed to delegate to inferior officers any portion of his strictly judicial duties.'

With this principle we must close our investigation; but there is a question to be considered which has probably suggested itself to the minds of our readers again and again while travelling with us over the ground we have surveyed.

Are not all these principles too clear to be disputed? Do they need to be dwelt upon at this day? Can we not trace them in the Reports of Judicature Commissions? Are they not recognised and enforced in Lord Selborne's great work the Judicature Act, and in the Code of Rules which has been framed to give effect to its provisions?

Our answer to the last question will, in effect, answer all. And we answer, Yes and No. Every one of the maxims we have laid down is recognised both in the Act and in the Rules. Not one of them is thoroughly and practically enforced. Let it not be supposed that we speak otherwise than with respect and with hope of the Judicature Act and the Rules which have been framed under its provisions. Taken together they give promise of the grandest legal reform that has been seen in England in this, or indeed in any other, generation. But as yet the blessing rests

rests in promise only. It was a gigantic work to get sound principles established, even in name, as the foundation of our future forensic machinery; and it is not surprising that the one session which laid the foundation was not long enough to complete in workmanlike fashion the superstructure for which it was prepared. The postponement of the operation of the Act will, however, afford an opportunity of harmonising and completing what as yet is an unfinished and, in some respects, a crude and inconsistent design. It would not be difficult to point out the numerous modifications required to bring this new Magna Charta of the Courts into consistency and working order. But to do so would lead us beyond the limits which we have imposed upon ourselves, and carry us into the province of professional lawyers. On a few points only—rather by way of illustration than of exhaustive discussion—we may perhaps be permitted to indicate what we mean by the incompleteness which seems to us to mar this great work of reform in its present state.

The most casual glance at the Schedule to the Act and the Rules which have been subsequently framed, will suffice to disclose ambiguities and omissions innumerable. The mere circumstance that the new code of practice is to be picked out of two instruments instead of being scientifically defined with orderly arrangement in a single one, threatens to produce a vast amount of obscurity. If the Schedule contained all the general principles and the Rules all the working details, the separation would still be mischievous and embarrassing enough; but this is not so. On some topics the Schedule descends to the minutest particulars, while in others it leaves the broadest maxims to be enunciated for the first time in the Supplementary Rules. Then again the Schedule and the Rules together do not nearly cover the whole ground. The general scheme of the Act is to substitute one uniform procedure for the conflicting methods at present in use in Courts of Common Law and Equity; but the very first words of the Rules are a confession that it has been found impracticable within the time available for the purpose to do anything of the kind. Accordingly, the whole code of practice is prefaced by this declaration: 'Where no other provision is made by the Act or these Rules, the present procedure and practice remain in force.' There is no definition of what is meant by 'the present procedure and practice,' and it will in practice mean one thing in one division of the Court and a different thing in another—one thing to the mind of a Common Law Judge, and another to the mind of a Judge trained in the Court of Chancery. From the first, therefore, we should have under this system a revival of the discordant practices of Courts

of Law and Equity, which it was one of the primary objects of the Act to extirpate. Much that was good, as well as much that was bad, is swept away for the sake of uniformity, and when all is done we are very little nearer uniformity than before. The division of the New Code of practice into two documents, and the incompleteness of each and of both together, were made inevitable by the hurry of last year's work. The Schedule was hastily drawn, and is sometimes obscurely expressed; and though it shows, with some exceptions, a masterly grasp of first principles, it does not purport to be more than a sketch of the future procedure. Its clauses were forced through the House of Commons at a pace which the period of the session necessitated, but which left no scope for careful amendment. Its phraseology is such as repeatedly to assume the continued existence of fragments of the old procedures, without ever making it clear how much is supposed to be extinguished and how much is intended to survive. The Rules, drawn necessarily in subordination to the Schedule, have reproduced many of its defects of omission, ambiguity, and phraseology, from which it would be most desirable to free the future code of practice. It will be remembered that, while these Rules were undergoing the final process of settlement by the Judges, pressure was continually being applied in Parliament, by which the period of deliberation was confined within limits very narrow indeed, whether we consider the complicated nature of the task, the limited leisure of the Judges, or the widely different standpoints from which many of them must have approached the subject. The result is that what, but for the subsequent postponement, would have been the final code has in many respects the aspect of a first draft. All this can be easily mended now; and if the Rules and the Schedule were consolidated into a revised Schedule to the supplementary Act which must be passed, the work may be made as complete in detail as it is sound in principle.

It may be assumed that these grave defects of form will be remedied now that time is secured for consolidation and completion, but there are errors of principle which call for revision even more urgently than defects of form.

We cannot better explain our meaning than by taking some of our leading doctrines, and noting how they are at the same time recognised in theory and neglected in practice.

The manner in which the first of our maxims has been handled in the Act and the Rules is a typical specimen. Of the principle itself we hope no one can entertain a doubt. Full discovery is of the essence of justice, as light is of the essence of

of investigation; and, as we have said, the Act accepts t doctrine. But if we are asked whether full scope would be giv to it under the Statute and the Rules as they stand at prese we are bound to answer in the negative.

The operation of the Rules, upon this principle, can scarc be made intelligible without a brief statement of the law and pr tice of discovery as it is now administered in our different Cou Prior to the great reform of legal procedure, which was enact more than twenty years ago, discovery—in the large sense which we use the term, as applying both to the production documents and the admission of facts—was a thing practically known in Courts of Law. In the Court of Chancery it had b for ages a familiar and efficient process, though the detailed re lations by which it was governed required then, as they requ now, some important amendments. Under the orders of Cour present in force in the Court of Chancery, a plaintiff may at time and a defendant may after a certain stage in the suit reached, obtain from his adversary,—1. An answer on oath any relevant interrogatories which he chooses to put in writi 2. An affidavit containing a statement (followed by producti of all relevant documents which the deponent has or had in possession. These privileges are subject to certain exceptic which occasionally come into operation, and to which we presently refer; but, in general, each party is entitled to ext from the other side a full discovery both of facts and docum relating to the matters in dispute. The value of this privil cannot be over-estimated, but the machinery of the Cour Chancery is somewhat defective in one or two respects.

In the first place, the discovery is on oath; but if, as someti happens, the answer as to facts, or the affidavit as to docume is untrue or ambiguous, the process for making the disco complete is very cumbersome and ineffective. It is an matter to give an evasive answer to an inconvenient in rogatory, or carelessly, or even wilfully, to omit a docun from the list sworn to; and the obvious remedy in such c would be to bring the party personally before an officer the Court, and then and there cross-examine him on the ject. But this is not allowed, either in a case of a defec answer or of a suspected affidavit of documents. Different cesses are in these two cases substituted for the efficient met of immediate cross-examination.

If an answer is insufficient, the first step is to obtain f the Court a declaration that it is so, and an order fc further answer. If the second answer is also insufficient, application has to be renewed, and so on until the fo

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application, when for the first time a personal cross-examination of the defaulter may be obtained. This is a needlessly tedious and expensive process, and is scarcely ever pushed through to its final stage. This inadequacy of the remedy furnished for evasion has indirectly led to a very mischievous practice. In order to guard as much as possible against evasive answers, the interrogatories administered are commonly twisted, and repeated, and varied, and interlaced, in a manner which is an absolute insult to the English language; and in the simplest case, where perhaps only half-a-dozen short questions need to be answered the written interrogatories sometimes make up a good-sized pamphlet of jargon, and are responded to by an answer of the dimensions of a respectable volume. This is a great abuse and leads to much discreditable expense. An attempt was made in 1852 to cure the evil by an order that interrogatories should follow a certain short form given as a model; but it was soon found to be the easiest thing in the world to evade such questions, and the old abuse revived in all its vigour. The remedy, in short, was the wrong remedy. The only way to get rid of tautology in interrogatories is to make evasion an unprofitable game, and this can be done by no other method than by subjecting the offender to instant cross-examination. But it was contrary to the genius of the Court of Chancery to resort to this expedient, and it has preferred to rest under the obloquy which its ponderous interrogatories and answers have justly brought upon it.

The remedy for an insufficient affidavit of documents is even more unsatisfactory. You may know as well as possible that your adversary is in possession of an important document, which he has deliberately omitted from the list he has sworn to; but you are not allowed to prove its existence, or even to ask him to swear specially whether he has that particular document or not. All you can do is to apply for an order for a further and better affidavit, which is always refused, unless by some slip your opponent has allowed the existence of some such document to appear incidentally on the face of his own affidavit or answer. This, of course, seldom happens; and if a defendant is only dishonest and discreet enough, he can always baffle the demand for production of the most material documents, or at least indefinitely delay the process, until the plaintiff, by a circuitous process of amendment, has put himself in a position to interrogate afresh. Immediate cross-examination would, of course, furnish a complete remedy; but, for some odd reason or other, this is not allowed.

There is a defect common to all our Courts, which largely

detracts from the efficiency of discovery. Besides professiona privilege, which entitles a client to keep secret what has passe between himself and his advisers, and which may perhap be justifiable, there is another exception for which nothin can be said. If a litigant can so far sever the facts and doc ments which are to constitute his case from those advanced b the other side as to be able to say that they do not prove c tend to prove the opponent's case, but relate only to his own distinction which it sometimes requires a robust conscience insist on), he is allowed to keep them back until he thinks t to use them. The action of ejectment which we instanced wa an example of this character, and it may be paralleled as we in Courts of Equity as in Courts of Law. It is easy to see th this exception grafted on to the practice of discovery is a rel of the time when a lawsuit was regarded as a game in whic either side might make the best use he could of his own weapo —play his cards, in short, as and when he thought best, and kee his adversary as long as possible in the dark. The practice h partially survived, and indeed survives still in the proposed ne Rules, though the principle is, we hope we may say, exploded.

In order, therefore, to give full effect to the principle discovery, what is wanted is, first, to abolish the exceptic we have mentioned; secondly, to extend the wholesome pra tice of cross-examining on defective answers and affidavi to all our Courts; thirdly, to give the benefit of discove equally to plaintiff and defendant from the very outset of t proceedings, and, lastly and chiefly, to take from the Cou the power of disallowing questions because they offend again pedantic rules of evidence or for any except well-founded reaso to be distinctly specified in the Rules of Court. No one c read the Schedule to the Judicature Act without seeing indic tions of a desire to remedy the evils which we have pointed o But on this, as on a great many other points, neither the Sched nor the Rules have yet assumed the perfect shape which wou have been given to them if more time had been available f deliberation.

When we examine the specific provisions as to discovery, w find that what the proposed Rules really do, is to leave to t Court the same discretionary power of disallowing question on any ground, which has hitherto been exercised at Comm Law, although the form of the procedure is somewhat im proved. The Schedule indeed provided that no relevant int rogatory should be disallowed, but in the teeth of this enactme the Rules restore the old arbitrary power of disallowance, whi in such instances as we have before given, has practically neut

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lised the benefit of full discovery. We look in vain in the Rules for any clear direction that such petty objections as we have specified shall not prevail in the future as they have prevailed in the past, though there are vague indications that such a reform would be approved. The result may well be, that each division of the new Court will deem itself bound by its own previous practice (as indeed the Rules declare in general terms that it shall be), and that little or nothing substantial will be done to make discovery one whit more effective or less cumbersome than it has been in days gone by. The absence from the practice of the Court of Chancery of any working corrective for imperfect or evasive discovery seems to have attracted some attention, but the subject is dealt with only in the feeblest way. Power is given to a Judge to order a further answer either in writing or *vivâ voce*. This may work, but it would be incomparably better to give to the questioning party the absolute right to cross-examine the offender. The more stringent a rule of this kind is made, the less temptation will pleaders feel to recur to their inveterate vice of tautological interrogatories.

Another blot, still worse in principle, though likely to be less extensively mischievous in practice, is, that the Rules expressly recognise the old doctrine that a man shall not be compelled to make discovery of what in his view forms part of his own case; in other words, the pernicious notion that a lawsuit is a game in which each party may play his cards to the best advantage and keep them dark in the mean time, still finds a place in Rules which, in the main, are based upon the opposite maxim: so hard is it for lawyers to shake off the trammels of long-continued custom.

The same want of vigorous and explicit treatment may be traced in the application of our second and third maxims.

Nothing would have been easier than to preface the chapter on pleading with an express declaration abolishing all the rules of special pleading, and substituting untechnical or open pleading; but this is not done. Instead of it, a series of orders is given on the subject, out of harmony, it is true, with the old special pleading rules, but not at all incompatible with the maintenance of many of them. And when it is remembered that all these specific directions are overridden by the Note that, where no other provision is made by the Act or the Rules, the present procedure and practice of each division of the Court remain in force, it is far from certain that we have yet seen the last of technical pleading.

So in the regulations which provide for settling the form of

issues to be tried, the Rules provide no definite machi for bringing the question under the consideration of the Ju and, what is much more serious, no provision to put an er the mischievous practice of submitting mixed issues of fact law to the decision of juries. Such faults as these can e be remedied; but it is not the less important that the rer should be applied at the outset, instead of waiting until evolved out of a chaos of, perhaps, conflicting decisions rule of practice which might be settled by a stroke of the sometimes takes years to define itself by the costly proce judicial evolution.

Our fourth maxim—that the mode of trial should be l the discretion of the Judge—appears in the Rules in a for mutilated as scarcely to be recognisable.

The discretion given to the Judge is modified in two In the first place he has the power to remit the cause to a de called a Referee (a subject to which we will recur presently) in the next he is deprived of the power of directing a without a jury, if a defendant desires a jury. No such abs right appears to be given to a plaintiff, and it is by no m obvious why either party should be able to override the op of the Court upon the matter, or if so, why the defendant sl be specially favoured in this respect. Experience seen point to a very different rule. Whether a particular litiga allowed the choice, will prefer a Jury to an unassisted or u peded Judge, depends in general a good deal upon his pre habits and experience. But there are certain classes of cas which a jury would always be preferred, and these are, for the part, just the cases in which it ought not to be allowed. a plaintiff in an action against a Railway Company woul imagine, always prefer a jury. The woman, whether pla or defendant, in a breach of promise case, would certainl so. A shopkeeper, suing for the price of goods supplied minor, would invariably make the same choice. A defer in a tangled case, who knows that he is wrong, and is defer merely because he does not like to pay, will rather take chance of getting a blundering jury, than leave himself in hands of an intelligent Judge. And, in general, the man w bad case will desire a jury. There seems no reason why s desire, whether on the part of a plaintiff or a defendant, sl be indulged; and the Rules which deprive a plaintiff o privilege of a jury, unless the Judge thinks fit to grant it, n very well mete out like measure to a defendant also.

This is no doubt one of those matters on which it may been thought desirable to make some concession to what

is supposed to be a popular prejudice, but whatever form the rules are to assume in this respect, they should at least leave no ambiguity on so important a point. And they are by no means free from ambiguity. Thus we find in them a provision empowering a Judge to direct a trial without a jury "in any cause or matter, which before the Act could, without consent of the parties, be tried without a jury." It is almost impossible to say what this means. Two suits involving precisely similar questions may be instituted, even now, one in a Common Law Court, and the other in the Court of Chancery, for there is a large area of concurrent jurisdiction. In one of these there will be an absolute right to a jury; in the other, no such right at all. When universal jurisdiction is given to all the Divisions, how is it to be determined whether a cause of this description is or is not one in which a jury can be dispensed with without consent? Is the meaning this—that in one division of the High Court a jury may be insisted on, and that under circumstances precisely similar it may be refused in another? If so, an intention so startling ought to be much more clearly expressed. And if this obscurity were removed it would still be difficult to reconcile the provision of the Schedule, that a defendant shall always be entitled to a jury, with the apparently conflicting provision of the Rules, that in certain classes of cases the Judge shall have power to direct a trial without a jury.

Nor is this the only incongruity to be found in the regulations on the subject, for while the Schedule, as we have seen, jealously preserves the right of a defendant to insist on a trial by Judge and Jury in all cases, the Statute itself enables the Court, in a large and important class of cases, to substitute a trial before a referee for a trial by Judge and Jury. The singular result is that in many cases the Court is allowed to dispense with a jury, but only on the condition of also dispensing with the Judge. And yet to the lay mind it would seem that if a referee may be trusted, in all cases which the Court thinks suitable, to sit alone without a jury, a judge might be equally trusted to sit alone, in cases also thought suitable, where he does the work himself instead of sending it to a deputy.

Our fifth maxim as to the mode of taking evidence seems to be more cordially adopted by the Schedule and the Rules than some of the other principles which we have considered. The Schedule in effect makes *vivâ voce* evidence the rule, but gives to the Court a discretion of allowing affidavit evidence where it is thought more convenient. It is, however, left in doubt whether the use of *vivâ voce* evidence is to extend to the large class

class of cases in which the pleadings will speak for themselves, so as to require no definite issues to be extracted. If it is to do so, the intention should be much more clearly expressed. If, on the other hand, affidavit evidence is still to be used in all such cases, the Rules must be credited with a deplorable concession in favour of the worst part of the practice of the Court of Chancery.

Another provision of the Rules empowers the Court, for sufficient cause, to allow evidence to be taken before a Commissioner or Examiner. If this is merely intended to adopt the Common Law practice of issuing Commissions to examine witnesses who are prevented by distance or ill health from appearing in Court, it is right enough. Even if it be meant to extend so far as to sanction the examination in chief, before an examiner, of a witness who refuses to make an affidavit in a case where affidavit evidence ought to be received, it is equally unobjectionable. But if it is meant as an adoption of the pernicious practice of the Court of Chancery, under which the evidence of conflicting witnesses is taken out of Court and used before a Judge who has no opportunity of seeing the demeanour of the witnesses, and judging of their credibility, it cannot be too energetically condemned. This abuse exists in the Court of Chancery only because the Legislature declined to supply a sufficient staff of Judges to do the most important part of their work themselves, and ought not to be tolerated for a day after the reconstruction of our whole judicial system. Ambiguity on a vital point like this is about the gravest fault with which a code of procedure could be charged.

Our sixth maxim is handled, both in the Act and in the Rules, with an amount of indecision which, if left unremedied, will be a lasting blot on this great measure of Forensic Reform. It is either right or wrong that, in the first instance, questions of law should go before a single Judge. It can scarcely be possible to assort such questions beforehand, and say that such and such a class shall be heard by a Full Court, and such and such another class by one Judge only; and this for the obvious reason that until the hearing the Court can do no more than guess at the degree of difficulty or importance of the points to be decided. A preliminary hearing to decide such a matter might often be as tedious as the final argument itself, and no one, indeed, has suggested such a course as feasible. A rule that, in Division Number 1 of the Court, Judges shall sit singly to hear legal questions, and that in Divisions 2, 3, and 4, they shall sit in Courts of not less than three, is indefensible on the face of it; and if anything could make it more so, it would be the probability

bability that the points brought before the First Division would be of greater difficulty and greater moment than those which a Full Court is to be employed to solve.

And yet this is the scheme of the Act and of the Rules. The Chancery Division, which now deals with millions where the Common Law Divisions deal with hundreds or thousands, which embraces within its jurisdiction all the most refined and subtle equities which have hitherto been foreign to Common Law practice, is to work in the future, as in the past, with single-seated Judges, while the energies of Full Courts are to be occupied in the Common Law Divisions on every point of law which the advisers of the litigants may be ingenious enough to raise.

Such an arrangement is utterly irreconcileable not only with our principle but with any principle at all, and ought not to be suffered to deform the Statute when it comes into actual operation. And be it observed that this is an arrangement which no one defends. It is simply a relic of a bad past, which the Legislature has not had the courage to destroy, even when it was engaged in the task of revolutionary reform. The only excuse which has been put forward in its defence is, that it would be too costly to multiply Judges sufficiently to furnish full Courts in the Chancery Division, and that single Vice-Chancellors have been found by experience good enough Judges of First Instance. This is true, but the argument of economy is all the other way. Let Sittings in Banco be abolished in all the Divisions (except in certain rare cases to be specially provided for in Chancery and Common Law Divisions alike), and a vast saving of judicial power will be effected, which may be utilised, where it will be urgently called for, in a strong intermediate Court of Appeal. This will serve the purpose now served by Courts in Banco, and other important purposes, too. No one denies that this is the right thing to do, though Parliament has not yet shown the courage to do it.

When we seek in the Judicature Act and Rules for the reflection of our last maxim, we are oppressed by the sadness of the task.

In the most sweeping terms every Judge is empowered to delegate at discretion whatever he thinks fit of his judicial duties. It may be admitted that delegation of some kind ought to be sanctioned, and, indeed, in certain particulars, to an extent which is not permitted at present. It is not right that the time of a Judge should be occupied in adding up figures, and comparing vouchers, and doing a vast amount of analogous work, which must be done by some one in the course of a large proportion

portion of the judicial investigations which came before the Courts. It is grievous waste of power to put upon such men as we have, and always hope to have, for Judges, tasks which may be equally well performed by inferior officials. But the power of delegation should be strictly confined to matters which do not require the highest efforts of the judicial mind; and to send causes by wholesale to be disposed of by referees, arbitrators, chief clerks, registrars, and deputy-registrars, is, in effect, to lower the standard of the acting Judiciary. The excuse for the unqualified power of delegation which it is proposed to create, is, we believe, that it is difficult to define beforehand the precise subjects which admit of so being dealt with, and that the Bench may be trusted to use the authority with discretion, and to impose a seemly limitation on themselves, even though the Legislature has not thought fit to impose it upon them. Experience, however, has taught us the unsoundness of this argument. It is quite true that no Judge will send to a delegate work which he feels ought to be done by himself—that is, if it is possible for him to do it. But every Judge must feel that it is better that causes should be tried by inferior officials than that they should not be tried at all, and when he finds himself overwhelmed with work, it becomes a necessity for him to delegate his functions, rather than leave the work undone. Illustrations of this will crowd upon the mind of every one who has seen anything of our existing procedure. In Chancery and on Circuit, chief clerks and arbitrators are employed to do work which properly belongs to Judges, and the whole of the business of the London Court of Bankruptcy is delegated to a body of registrars, who were not selected to do judicial work, and are not paid on the scale on which judicial work ought to be remunerated.

With such warnings before us let it not be said that unlimited licence to send causes to deputies can be conferred on overworked Judges without grave injury to the administration of justice.

We have said enough to explain why the projected code of practice seems to us to need a thorough consolidation and revision, but before we part with it we are anxious to guard against two very natural misconceptions. We would not have it supposed on the one hand that our observations are put forward as an attempt at exhaustive criticism. The ground covered by the rules is so large that it would need ten times the space at our disposal to pass in review all the details of the scheme. The points we have dwelt upon have been selected from many more, as affording the best illustration of the kind of work which yet remains to be done. If the general principles for which we

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have contended are even approximately sound, the schedule and the rules ought to be consolidated into one complete code of procedure with no omissions to invite the resuscitation of conflicting practices in different branches of the one Supreme Court of Judicature, and no ambiguities to furnish material for years of technical and costly litigation. Such modifications should be introduced as will make the code of the future consistent throughout with itself and with the broad principles on which it purports to be based, and no pains should be spared to weed out imperfections of phraseology which seem sometimes to suggest the revival of the very procedure which is elsewhere abolished.

On the other hand, we should be still more grievously misconceived if it were supposed that we undervalue the work which we have ventured to criticise. It is an ungrateful but inevitable part of a critic's duty to give special prominence to that which he least approves, but it does not follow that the merits on which he is silent may not outweigh the faults which he exposes for the sake of inviting amendment. If we were called upon to make a declaration of faith on the subject, we should feel bound in the fullest sense to recognise the greatness of the design and the truth of the principles on which it has been framed. The errors, as they seem to us, are errors of detail only—not unimportant detail it is true, but precisely such defects as every great work must show for which adequate time has not been forthcoming. The Judicature of England could not be built on nobler lines than those which are traced in Lord Selborne's plan. When all the difficulties of the task are considered, the passing of the Judicature Act was a stupendous work, which no one less able and resolute than its author could have accomplished within the brief period of a single session. But the work is only half done until a superstructure is reared worthy of the foundations that have already been laid, and for this the country will look to Lord Cairns with a confidence not less than that which it reposed in his predecessor.

It was a fortunate accident that political necessities compelled the Government to take another year for the completion of the great work they have in hand. It will not be found a day too much, and the delay will be compensated a hundredfold if the result should be, as we may well hope it will be, to make the Judicature Act and the Judicature Rules, in their final form, as perfect in execution as—in spite of all minor defects—they are grand in conception.

ART.

ART. VIII.—*Discorsi del Sommo Pontefice Pio IX., pronunziati in Vaticano, ai Fedeli di Roma e dell' Orbe, dal principio della sua Prigionia fino al presente.* Vol. I., Roma, Aurelj, 1872; Vol. II., Cuggiani, 1873.

AS a general rule, the spirit of a system can nowhere be more fairly, more authentically learned, than from the language of its accredited authorities, especially of its acknowledged Head. The rule applies peculiarly to the case of the Papacy, and of the present Pope, from considerations connected both with the system and with the man. The system aims at passing its operative utterances through the lips of the Supreme Pontiff: and as no holder of the high office has ever more completely thrown his personality into his function, so no lips have ever delivered from the Papal Throne such masses of matter. Pope all over, and from head to foot, he has fed for eight-and-twenty years upon the moral diet which a too sycophantic following supplies, till every fibre of his nature is charged with it, and the simple-minded Bishop and Archbishop Mastai is hardly to be recognised under the Papal mantle.

It can hardly be policy, it must be a necessity of his nature, which prompts his incessant harangues. But they are evidently a true picture of the man; as the man is of the system, except in this that he, to use a homely phrase, blurts out, when he is left to himself, what it delivers in rather more comely phrases, overlaid with art.

Much interest therefore attaches to such a phenomenon as the published Speeches of the Pope; and besides what it teaches in itself, other and singular lessons are to be learned from the strange juxtaposition in which, for more than four years, his action has now been exhibited. Probably in no place and at no period, through the whole history of the world, has there ever been presented to mankind, even in the agony of war or revolution, a more extraordinary spectacle than is now witnessed at Rome. In that city the Italian Government holds a perfectly peaceable, though originally forcible, possession of the residue of the States of the Church; and at the same time the Pope, remaining on his ground, by a perpetual blast of fiery words, appeals to other lands and to future days, and thus makes his wordy, yet not wholly futile, war upon the Italian Government.

The mere extracts and specimens, which have from time to time appeared in the public journals, have stirred a momentary thrill, or sigh, or shrug, according to the temperaments and tendencies of readers. But they have been totally insufficient to convey an idea of the vigour with which this peculiar warfare is carried

carried on; of the absolute, apparently the contemptuous, tolerance with which it is regarded by the Government ruling on the spot; or of the picture which is presented to us by the words and actions of the Pope, taken as a whole, and considered in connection with their possible significance to the future peace of Europe.

Between the 20th of October, 1870, and the 18th of September, 1873, this nonagenarian Pontiff (he is now aged, at least, eighty-two), besides bearing all the other cares of ecclesiastical government, and despite intervals of illness, pronounced two hundred and ninety Discourses, which are reported in the eleven hundred pages of the two Volumes now to be introduced to the notice of the reader. They are collected and published for the first time by the Rev. Don Pasquale de Franciscis; and, though they may be deemed highly incendiary documents, they are sold at the bookshop of the Propaganda, and are to be had in the ordinary way of trade, by virtue of that freedom of the press which the Papacy abhors and condemns.

The first question which a judicious reader will put is, whether we have reasonable assurance that this work really reports the Speeches of the Pontiff with accuracy. And on this point there appears to be no room for reasonable doubt. Some few of them are merely given as abstracts, or *sunti;* but by far the larger number *in extenso*, in the first person, with minutely careful notices of the incidents of the occasion, such as the smiles, the sobs, the tears * of the Pontiff on the auditory; the animated gestures of the one, the enthusiastic shoutings of the other, which cause the halls of the Vatican to ring again. In a detailed notice which, instead of introducing the first volume, is rather inconveniently appended to it at the close, the editor gives an account both of the opportunities he has enjoyed, and of the loving pains he took in the execution of his task. On nearly every occasion he seems to have been present and employed as a reporter (*raccoglitore*); once his absence is noticed as if an unusual, no less than unfortunate, circumstance (ii. 284). In a particular instance (ii. 299) he speaks of the Pope himself as personally giving judgment on what might or might not be published (*sarebbe stato pubblicato, se così fosse piaciuto a CHI potea volere altrimenti*). The whole assistance of the Papal press in Rome was freely given him (i. 505). Eyes and

* In the estimation of Don Pasquale, all emotion, if within the walls of the Vatican, and on the Papal side, is entitled to respect, and must awaken sympathy: but when he has to describe the tears and sobs which, as he states, accompanied the funeral procession of the ex-Minister Rattazzi (ii. 350), he asks, might not this be a Congress of Crocodiles (*non sembra questo un Congresso di Coccodrilli*)?

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ears, he says, far superior to his own had revised and approved the entire publication (i. 506). The Preface to the Second Volume refers to the enthusiastic reception accorded to the First, and announces the whole work as that which is alone authentic and the most complete (ii. 14, 15). So that our footing is plainly sure enough; and we may reject absolutely the supposition which portions of the book might very well suggest, namely, that we were reading a scandalous Protestant forgery.

Certainly, if the spirit of true adoration will make a good reporter, Don Pasquale ought to be the best in the world. The Speeches he gives to the world are 'a treasure,' and that treasure is sublime, inspired, divine (i. 1, 2, 3). Not only do we quote these epithets textually, but they, and the like of them, are repeated everywhere, even to satiety, and perhaps something more than satiety. 'Receive, then, as from the hands of angels, this Divine Volume of the Angelic Pio Nono' (p. 4); 'the most glorious and venerated among all the Popes' (p. 3); 'the portentous Father of the nations' (p. 11). This is pretty well, but it is not all. He is 'the living Christ' (p. 9); he is the Voice of God. There is but one step more to take, and it is taken. He is (in the face of the Italian Government) Nature that protests: he IS GOD, THAT CONDEMNS (p. 17).

In a letter dated December 10, 1874, and addressed to a monthly magazine,* Archbishop Manning, with his usual hardihood, says, 'for a writer who affirms that the Head of the Catholic Church claims to be the Incarnate and Visible Word of God I have really compassion.' Will this bold controversialist spare a little from his fund of pity for the Editor of these Speeches, who declares him to be the living Christ, and for the Pope under whose authority this declaration is published and sold?

Truly, some of the consequences of a 'free press' are rather startling. And those who are astonished at the strained and preternatural tension, the *surexcitation abnormale*, to borrow a French phrase, the inflamed and inflaming tone of the language ordinarily used by the Pontiff, should carefully bear in mind that the fulsome and revolting strains, of which we have given a sample, exhibit to us the atmosphere which he habitually breathes.

Even those, however, who would most freely criticise, and, indeed, denounce the prevailing strain and too manifest upshot of these Speeches, may find pleasure, while they yield a passing tribute to the persevering tenacity, and, if we may be pardoned

* 'Macmillan's Magazine' for January 1875.

such

such a word, the pluck, which they display. It may be too true that the Pope has brought his misfortunes on his own head. But they are heavy, and they are aggravated by the weight of years: and the strong constitution, indicated by his deep chest and powerful voice, has had to struggle with various infirmities. Yet, by his mental resolution, all 'cold obstruction' is kept at arm's length: and he delivers himself from week to week or day to day, sometimes, indeed, more than once in the day, of his copious and highly explosive material, with a really marvellous fluency, versatility, ingenuity, energy, and, in fact, with every good quality, except that the absence of which, unhappily, spoils all the rest, namely, wisdom. And, odd to say, even the word wisdom (*saviezza*) seems to be almost the only one which in these Speeches does not constantly pass his lips.

Reversing the child's order with his plate at dinner, let us keep to the last that which is the worst, and also the heaviest, part of the task before us: and begin by noticing one or two discourses of the Holy Father to little children, which are full of charm and grace. For even very little children go to him on deputations, and, reciting after the Italian manner, discharge in manufactured verse their anti-revolutionary wrath. An infant of five years old denounces before him the sacrilegious oppressor! (ii. 405.) Another *fanciulletta* declares the Pope to be the King of kings (ii. 465). These interviews were turned by the Pope to edification. He tells the children of their *peccatucci* (ii. 209)—how shall we try to give the graceful *tournure* of the phrase? 'darling little sins:' and certain orphans he again gently touches with the incomparable Italian diminutive on their *difettucci* and their *rabbiette*, and lovingly presents to them the example of their Saviour:—

'Now that the Church commemorates' (it was on Dec. 19) 'the birth of Jesus Christ the babe, do you cause Him to be re-born in your hearts. . . . beg Him to put there something that is good, namely, a good will to study, and to mind your work and all your other duties.'

And so he blesses them, and sends them away (ii. 119).

There are other examples not less pleasing, such as a discourse to some Penitents of the Roman Magdalen. After mentioning the case of Rahab, the Pontiff proceeds in a tone both Evangelical and fatherly (ii. 57):—

'You, too, my daughters, carry the red mark; you, too, carry a mark able to deliver you from the assaults, that the enemies of your souls will make. This red mark you have put upon you; and its meaning is, the most precious blood of Jesus Christ. Often meditate on

on this blood, which has merited for you the grace of your salvation and your conversion. At the feet of the crucified Jesus, even as once did the repentant Magdalen, meditate on the love that He has shown you, and you will triumph over all your enemies.'

There is, perhaps, not a word of this affectionate and simple address, which would not be acceptable even if it were delivered from a Nonconforming pulpit; so devoid is it of the specialities of the Roman Church. Nor is this the only discourse of which the same might be said (see, for instance, Disc. cxxii.). Nor must we very sharply complain if sometimes we find in these Discourses the religious ideas which we are wont to condemn as Popery. They are, perhaps, less frequent and flagrant than might have been expected. They assume prominence, however, in one passage particularly, where the Pope declares that the prayers of the Mother addressed to her Son have almost the character of commands (*hanno quasi ragion di comando*, ii. 394); and there is traceable in some of the Addresses a curious, sometimes an amusing, idea of the personal claim upon the Blessed Virgin Mary and others of the Saints, which he has established by his acts, especially constituting the Immaculate Conception a part of the Christian Faith. 'She owes you the finest gem in her coronet,' says one deputation (ii. 325). 'If,' says another 'it be certain that gratitude is more lively in heaven than on earth, let him' (here we are dealing with St. Louis, to whom the Pope had erected a monument), 'by way of payment, give you back your crown' (ii. 116). And again, with yet greater naïveté; 'and most holy Mary the Immaculate, on whom you conferred so great an honour, surely she will never allow herself to be outdone in generosity?' (ii. 26).

Next after the personal piety and geniality, which not even all the perversions of his policy can extinguish in the Pope, some sympathy remains due to his irrepressible sentiment of fun. To this even social rumour has done justice in some cases. For example, at the time of the Council, when his hospitality was taxed by the presence of large numbers of very poor Bishops as threaten him with an empty exchequer, he is commonly reported to have said, '*facendomi infallibile, mi faranno fallire:* while declaring me *un-failable*, they will cause me to *fail*.' In the volumes he explains to a group of children the prevailing redundance of demoniacal action in Italy by recounting an observation then recently made to him, 'that all the devils had been let out from hell, except a porter, to receive new arrivals.' The preface shows he felt the ground to be tender, for he introduced the story by saying (i. 40): 'Here I should like to tell you an incident

et I am doubtful, as it might excite too much merriment; but me, I will give it you.'

This for children; but for Bishops also, newly-made Bishops, e has his comic anecdote, and in order that it may be suitable, e chooses it from the life of a Saint, though a modern one. Alphonso Liguori, now not only a Saint, but also lately romoted by the Pope to the rank of a Doctor of the Church, in is time, it seems, used to bore the Neapolitan Ministro Tannucci, nd consequently sometimes found it hard to get within his oors. One day, having long to wait, the Bishop sat upon the eps and recited his 'corona;' and he recounts his weariness in ne of his letters, with the comment which shall be given in the riginal tongue: '*questo benedetto ministro mi fa sputare un' ala i polmone*' (ii. 286).

The Pope's references to Holy Scripture are very frequent; and et perhaps hardly such as to suggest that he has an accurate or miliar acquaintance with it. They are possibly picked piecemeal it of the services of the Church for the day. It is, for example, say the least, a most singular method of reference to the diffi-lt subject of the Genealogies of our Lord to say (i. 127), 'we ad at the commencement of *two* of the Gospels *a* long Genealogy Him, which comes down from Princes and Kings.' Where, gain, did the Pontiff learn that the Jews, as a nation, had some lebrity as smiths (*nell' arte fabbrile*, i. 169)? with which aginary celebrity he oddly enough connects the mention of the ntediluvian Tubal-cain in Gen. iv. 22. Nor can anything be ore curious than his *exegesis* applied to the Parable of the Sower. e expounds it to a Roman Deputation (i. 335). The way-de represents the impious and unbelievers, and all who are ssessed by the devil; those who received the seed among the orns are those who rob their neighbour and plunder the Church; e stony places represent those who know, but do not act. And who are the good ground? You. The good ground is at which is found in all good Christians, in all those who long to the numerous Catholic Clubs.' Now the Clubs on the her side are Clubs of Hell (ii. 420 *bis*); sanctity is thus (here d commonly elsewhere) identified with certain politics. Nor oes it seem very easy to trace in detail the resemblance between e exposition of the Vicar and that given by the Principal (St. att. xiii. 18–23).

Indeed the Papal Exegesis appears somewhat frequently to ear marks of dormitation. Thus, placing King Solomon at a te of twenty-two or twenty-three centuries back (ii. 32), he akes that sovereign the contemporary either of Pericles, or of lexander the Great. More important, because it is a specimen of

of the wilful interpretations so prevalent at Rome, is the mo in which he proves his right to be the Teacher-general of States and all nations, because (ii. 456) Saint Peter was chose in the case of Cornelius, to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles.

Many, again, will read with misgiving the Pope's treatment o the text, St. Luke ii. 52: 'And Jesus increased in *wisdom* an stature.' 'This increase was only apparent, for in Him, the Son of God, was' (*i. e.* was already) 'the fulness of all wisdom, as o every virtue' (i. 42). To resolve positive statements of Holy Scripture into mere seeming, is not a mode of exposition the most in favour with orthodox Christianity; and, if it is to be applied to statements affecting the Perfect Humanity of our Lord, to what point is it to be carried? The Commentary of Cornelius à Lapide, which will not be viewed with suspicion in Roman quarters, discusses at great length this most interesting text, and, after considering the varied language of the Fathers, proceeds to lay it down that, besides growth in appearance and in the opinion of men, and besides the growth of what we term experience, 'tertiò et propriè, esto Christus non creverit sapientiâ et gratiâ habituali, crevit tamen actuali et practicâ; nam robur spiritûs et sapientiam cœlestem in animâ latentem, indies magis et magis exercebat etiam existens puer.' Those who desire a moremodern statement may with advantage consult a beautiful passage in the commentary of Dean Alford *in loco*.

But what is really sad in the Scriptural references of the Pope is the incessant and violent application which is made of them to political incidents and circumstances, and the too daring appropriation to himself of passages, very exalted indeed, which relate to our Saviour.

As respects the former of these topics, we may take as an example, a short speech to a company of ladies engaged in the reclamation of girls who have lived a life of shame: 'With the same charity and zeal which you have employed in doing good to these girls, by reclaiming them from sin, be careful to pray the Almighty that your charity may also reach all the enemies of the Church.' What would be thought of the taste of any Protestant association of this country which should exhort the managers of the Magdalen never to forget praying God for the conversion of Papists? Tories and Liberals might in this way reciprocally do a stroke of business in politics while exercising their charity and piety. In truth, it might seem to the readers of these volumes as if the putting down of Italian liberalism and nationality (which are for the Pope one and the same thing) had constituted the one great purpose for which the Gospel had been sent into the world. Certainly no one can complain

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that the Pope's injunctions to pray are not sufficient either in number or in urgency. They are incessant. The Pope gives no countenance whatever to the theory of Professor Tyndall, or to that of Mr. Knight, who, as we understand, so cleverly settles the great Prayer-controversy by 'splitting the difference.' But of the almost innumerable exhortations to pray in these volumes, at least nineteen in twenty are directed to the establishment of sound Papal politics, and the conversion, or, failing this, the destruction of Liberals, as though they were the people of some new Sodom and Gomorrah, or Tyre and Sidon; to the triumph of the Church, and the restoration of what the Pope, with his peculiar ideas, is pleased to call 'peace.'

It appears, however, that the comparison, which he draws indirectly between women living by the wages of sin and Liberals, admits of a yet more pungent application in the case of a class who are, in the Pope's eyes, even worse than Liberals. These are the bad Catholics, who have 'disdained the light of faith.' These will, he says (ii. 31), be judged more severely than women who live in shame, but who are far more likely to repent. 'The light of faith' is, we opine, that of the Vatican Council; and the 'bad Catholics' appear to be the eminent men who declined to affirm as immemorial truths the novelties and the historical falsehoods it imposed.

One touch remains to be added to this portion of the extraordinary picture. The prisoner not imprisoned, who is weekly visited by crowds or companies of lawbreakers, glorying in impunity, receives from them, and from the sycophants about him, an adulation not only excessive in its degree, but of a kind which, to an unbiassed mind, may seem to border on profanity. To compare him with the Scripture worthies generally is not enough. Claiming, under the new-fangled Roman religion, to possess in his single hands all the governing powers of the Redeemer over his Church, it is also in the sufferings of Christ alone that he and his worshippers, he with some little excuse, they with hardly any, find a fit standard of comparison for what he has to endure. Now as to his own sufferings, we have no doubt he must suffer much, when he looks abroad over the Christian world, and reckons up the results of what the most distinguished of our Roman Catholic laymen, in a lecture to the Roman Catholics of a midland town, recently and justly called the longest and most disastrous Pontificate on record. But the sufferings mentioned incessantly in this book are the sufferings pretended to be inflicted by the Italian Kingdom upon the so-called Prisoner of the Vatican. Let us see how, and with what daring misuse of Holy Scripture, they are illustrated in the

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authorised work before us. 'He and his august consort,' say Don Pasquale, speaking of the Count and Countess de Cham bord, 'were profoundly moved at such great afflictions, whic the *Lamb of the Vatican* (*l'Agnello del Vaticano*, ii. 545) has endure.'

On the 23rd of March, 1873 (ii. 291) the Pope draws picture of the Apostles, repairing to our Lord, and desired Him to take their rest around Him. He proceeds:

'Even now there is a parallel to this; when from different parts the Catholic world the Bishops and Missionaries repair to Rome th they may give account of their missions to the present most unworth Vicar of Jesus Christ, and find within the narrow limits of t Vatican an interval of rest from their labours.'

On the 3rd of July, 1871 (i. 131), the Pope reminds his e employés of the solemn words used by St. Thomas, when proposed to accompany his Master to death, 'Let us also g that we may die with him' (John xi. 16). 'You,' he says, 'a they who this morning resemble those faithful followers of Jes Christ, in your visit to the foot of the Pontifical throne.' C the 5th of August, 1871, he is visited by the *Figlie di Mari* and again, he compares their visit to the act of the Bless Virgin and her companions, who stood by the Cross of Chri (ii. 212). He adds: 'It is not, however, true that on Calvary I suffer the pains which Jesus Christ suffered on Hi and only in a certain sense can it be said that in me there renewed in figure all that was in fact accomplished on t Divine person of the Redeemer.' Even so he quotes the i expressibly solemn words of our Lord at the moment of H capture (John xviii. 9), 'I am the Vicar of Jesus Christ, and have the right to employ the very words of Jesus Christ. M Father, those whom Thou hast given me I will not lose (*qu dedisti mihi, non perdam*).*

It is futile to attempt a defence of language such as t by alleging that, according to the beautiful observation St. Augustine, Christ is relieved in His poor, and that accor ing to the yet loftier teaching of St. Paul, the measure of H sufferings is filled up in His saints. Where St. Paul withhe his foot, Pius IX. does not fear to tread. Where St. Paul ga the catalogue of his sufferings, no less truthful than territ (2 Cor. xi. 23–27), he did not call them his Calvary, as the Po

* It is strange to observe that the words quoted by the Pope do not corresp with the Vulgate (Ed. Frankfort, 1826, with the approbation of Leo XII.), eit in John xviii. 9, where it reads, *quos dedisti mihi, non perdidi ex eis quemquam* or in John xvii. 12, where the words are, *quos dedisti mihi, custodivi.*

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calls his voluntary sojourn within the walls of a noble Palace which is open to all the world, and which he can inhabit, leave, re-enter, when and as he pleases. When he recorded the good deeds of Priscilla and Aquila, who for his life had exposed their own (Rom. xvi. 3), he did not compare even these noble sacrifices with the ministries rendered in the Gospels, by her whom the Pope teaches us to deem the holiest of women, to the Son of God Himself. His sublimity is ever as simple, natural, and healthy, as the daring and stilted phrases of the modern Vatican are the reverse.

If the Pope sees in his own official character such high personal titles and such nearness to Christ, it can be no wonder that he should raise those titles, which are official, to an extraordinary altitude. He does not, indeed, quite emulate in all points the astounding language of Don Pasquale, who always goes mad in white linen when the Pope goes mad in white satin.* Yet he says (ii. 265), 'Keep, my Jesus, through the instrumentality of the successors of the Apostles, through the instrumentality of the clergy, this flock, that God has given *to you and to me.*'

No wonder then, as he is thus partner with Christ in a separate and transcendent sense, that he should give us as a rule for our Italian politics, whoever is for me, is for God. (*chi è con me, è con Dio*). It may be thought that this is the assumption which all Christian men should make. But that is not his opinion. When similar manifestations of piety are hazarded on behalf of the Italian Government, mildly to consecrate their cause, which is after all the cause of a great nation, he executes summary justice (ii. 317) upon such pretences. 'Somebody has had the boldness to write, "God is not on the side of the Pope, but on the side of Italy."

'This assertion, *somewhat impudent*, is contrary to the facts. And first of all I shall say, that if Italy is with God, then assuredly she is with His Vicar.' It is all of a piece. Nothing but the superhuman is good enough for the Pope; and in the next edition of the Roman religion, probably even this will not do. We have already shown where Don Pasquale, an accomplished professor of flunkeyism in things spiritual, calls the Pope outright by the term 'inspired.' Again, in presenting his volumes to Count de Chambord (ii. 547), he has it thus:

* In speaking of the probable condition of Rattazzi in the other world (ii. 342) the Pope says he knows not what his fate may be, and is satisfied with calling him *questo infelice*. Don Pasquale, on the other hand (p. 348), says that the Pope being the Supreme Judge in the Church, was thereby entitled to pronounce a sentence far more definite and terrific on the unhappy Sectarian; but was pleased to hide his judgment under the inscrutable veil of the judgments of God.

'Nel gran volume, ove il Divin fecondo
Spirto, *parlando Pio*, suo verbo detta.'

Nor can it be said that the Pope himself, here at least, falls short of his obsequious editor, when we observe the view he takes of his own authority as matched with that of an inspired prophet: even of him whom God 'sent unto David,' and who professed to tell out to the King the very words which the Lord had given him (2 Sam. vii. 1–14). To the parishioners of two Roman parishes, he as 'their Sovereign,' explains the misconduct, and false position, not of Italy only, but of the Governments generally: he coolly, after his manner, appropriates to himself the words of our Lord, 'He that is not with me, is against me;' and then, apparently under some strange paroxysm of excitement, he proceeds (i. 365):

'You have, then, my beloved children, the few words which I desired to say to you. But I go farther. My wish is that all governments should know that I am speaking in this strain. I wish that they should know it, inasmuch as I do it for their good. And I have the right to speak, *even more than Nathan the prophet to David the King* (*anche più che Natan profeta al Re Davide*), and a great deal more than Ambrose had to Theodosius.'

The comparison with St. Ambrose and his memorable and noble proceedings, is pragmatical enough; but it is entirely eclipsed by the monstrous declaration by the Pope of his superiority to an inspired teacher. We spoke some pages back of sighs or shrugs as the signs of emotion, which the Papal utterances, reported in the public journals, have from time to time suggested. But if Christendom still believes in Christianity, this audacity, of which Exeter Hall will indeed exult to hear, is far beyond either sighs or shrugs: it more fitly may cause a shudder.

This daring assumption, however, is not an accident or a caprice; it is as it were a normal result of the Pope's habitual and morbid self-contemplation, of monstrous flattery perpetually administered, and, yet more, of that ecclesiastical system which is gradually (and, we must hope, without any distinct consciousness) raising the personal glorification of the Pope towards the region of a Divine worship, due from men to one who, in these volumes, is not only the official Vicar, but also, in some undefined way, the personal Representative of God on earth (see *e.g.* i. 430, ii. 165). Not only is his person sacred generally, but we have the sacred hand (i. 397), and the sacred foot (ii. 56, 192, 357), nay even the *most* sacred foot (ii. 330). Well may Dr. Elvenich*

* 'Der unfehlbare Papst.' Breslau, 1874–5.

say

there seems to be meditated a Pope-worship (Papstcult), to d beside the God-worship. Of the things we are bringing iew, many are so strange that they can hardly at once be eved. In this instance, as in others, the true passes beyond ordinary limits of the credible.

subordinate part of this system is to be found in the ous coquetry which the work exhibits to the world, with rence to the assumption of the title 'Pius the Great.' In ersed places of the volumes, it is applied; as well it may be, a Pope who is termed in them himself a prodigy and iracle. These precedents carefully gathered, may hereafter n an important element in some *catena* demonstrative a general *consensus* of mankind. But, moreover, it seems t the Marchese Cavalletti, a leading *Papalino*, made known the Pope that good Catholics (a phrase which here means ning Ultramontanes) desired to pay him two new honours. e of them was to adjoin to his name the title of *Il Grande* 484–87). We may, perhaps, refer to another scene, acted 1800 rs ago not far from the Vatican, and recorded by Shakespeare.

Casca. There was a crown offered him; and, being offered him, he it by with the back of his hand, thus; and then the people fell a ıting. . . .

Brutus. Was the crown offered him thrice?

Casca. Aye, marry, was't; and he put it by thrice, every time tler than other.'—*Julius Cæsar*, ii. 2.

o the Pope gives three reasons, as they may be called, for lining, or rather for not accepting; 'every reason gentler n other.' The first is that our Saviour when called 'Good ster,' replied 'that God alone is good.' The second, that od is great and worthy to be praised.' The third admits t three truly great Pontiffs did receive this title, but only en they were dead and gone, and when the judgments of men re therefore more calm and clear. Rather a broad hint for proper time when it arrives.

But it is time to turn, with whatever reluctance, to the trucu-t and wrathful aspect, which unhappily prevails over every ıer in these Discourses.

In order, however, fully to appreciate this portion of the case, is necessary to bear in mind that the *cadres*, or at least the eletons and relics, of the old Papal Government over the oman States are elaborately and carefully maintained;* and

* We have seen it stated from a good quarter that no less than three thousand ons, formerly in the Papal employ, now receive some pension or pittance from the tican. Doubtless they are expected to be forthcoming on all occasions of great putations, as they may be wanted like the *supers* and dummies at the theatres.

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it appears to be one of the main purposes of the 'alm collected from the members of the Papal Church all over t world, as doubtless they are aware, to feed ex-customhou officers, ex-postmasters, and ex-policemen. All these in th turn, and the representatives of several other departmen have from time to time been received by the Pope in solen deputation, and reap their full share of compliment if not martyrs yet as confessors of the Church. The police, indee who in Italy have had but an unsavoury reputation, and Rome were notoriously the scum of the earth, have, notwithstan ing, been deemed worthy to lead the van (i. 46) on the 20th January, 1871. The ex-functionaries of the Post Office foll on February 5 (p. 50), and are gravely assured by his Holin that the Catholic public are everywhere in fond admiration of t conduct of the ex-employés, and that their noble conduct ech through every portion of the world! With a force of imagi tion such as this, it never can be difficult to make a case i what one wishes it to be. The Register Office follows, with t Stamp Department, and alas! the Lottery, on the 9th of Ma (p. 71); and a very conspicuous place is given to the repea military deputations (i. 69, 87, 99).

We must carefully bear it in mind that none of these app at the Vatican as friends, as co-religionists, as receivers of Pontiff's alms, or in any character which could be of doubtful terpretation. They appear as being actually and at the moment subjects, and his military and civil servants respectively, altho only in *disponibilità*, or (so to speak) on furlough; they headed by the proper leading functionaries, and the Pope recei them as persons come for the purpose of doing homage to th Sovereign (pp. 88, 365). Thickly set among all these app the deputations of the Roman aristocracy. True, its roll is complete; for by far the most distinguished member of the bo the able, venerable, and highly-cultivated Duke of Sirmonet a loyal subject of the Italian kingdom. As to the residue (s call them), they are those of whom Edmond About sarcastic said, *Hélas! les pauvres gens! ils n'ont pas même de vices!* Th constitute, however, a mainstay of the Papal hope. It was them he announced (i. 147–8) that Aristocracy and Clergy w the true props of thrones, that plebeian support was naug and that Jesus Christ loved the aristocracy; and belonged it. In a somewhat wide construction of the term, it must owned.

But, if we are to accept the statements of this appro Reporter, the popular gatherings were frequent, and not m frequent than remarkable, in the halls of the Vatican. One

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two parishes would yield deputations said to consist of 1000 or 1500 persons. But the numbers assembled often, as we shall see, went far beyond this mark. Great masses of persons were and, we presume, still are encouraged to congregate in the Vatican for the purpose of presenting most seditious and rebellious Addresses, and of hearing highly sympathetic Replies.

We should have supposed it impossible that the language of treason against Italy could go beyond the licence of these volumes. In a few cases, however, our editor informs us that it has been thought right, once under the direct order of the highest personage concerned, to keep back from the press some portion of the language used (ii. 299). What has been published is certainly flagrant up to the highest degree of flagrancy yet known in the annals of the Popedom or the world; though it may be reserved for Pius IX. in this point, as in others, to surpass his predecessors, as they have surpassed the rest of men. The Discourses generally, and all the daring defiances of law which, with the Addresses, they contain, are ordinarily reproduced in the 'Osservatore Romano;' and words spoken in the air, or taken from private manuscripts, are thus at once converted into the grossest offences against public order that a press can commit.

And all this is borne and allowed by the tyrannical Italian Government, which keeps the Pope a 'prisoner,' and under which, as the Pope declares, 'for good men and for Catholics liberty does not exist' (*questa libertà per gli uomini onesti e pei Cattolici non esiste*, ii. 25).

We have already glanced at the nature of the audiences to which are addressed the speeches we are now about to describe, so far as samples can describe them. We turn to the speeches themselves. 'What boldness,' says the Prince Consort, speaking of the King of Prussia in 1847,* 'in a king to speak extempore!' With his sagacious mind, had he seen what a Pope could do, he would have been tempted to double or treble his notes of admiration.

It is hardly possible to convey to the mind of the reader an adequate idea of the wealth of vituperative power possessed by this really pious Pontiff. But it is certainly expended with that liberality which is so strictly enjoined by the Gospel upon all the rich. The Italian Government and its followers, variously in their various colours, are wolves; perfidious (ii. 83); Pharisees (i. 254, 380); Philistines (ii. 322); thieves (ii. 34, 65); revolutionists (i. 365, and *passim*); Jacobins (ii. 150, 190); sectarians (i. 334); liars (i. 365, ii. 156); hypocrites (i. 341, ii. 179);

* 'Life of the Prince Consort,' i. 407.

dropsical

dropsical (ii. 66); impious (*passim*); children of Satan (ii. 263 of perdition, of sin (i. 375), and corruption (i. 342); enemies of God (i. 283, 332, 380); satellites of Satan in human flesh (i 326); monsters of hell, demons incarnate (i. 215, 332, ii. 404 stinking corpses (ii. 47); men issued from the pits of he (i. 104, 176—these are the conductors of the national press traitor (i. 198); Judas (*ibid.*); led by the spirit of hell (i. 311 teachers of iniquity (i. 340—these are evangelical ministers i their 'diabolical' halls); hell is unchained against him (ii. 387 even its deepest pits (i. 368, ii. 179). Nearly, if not quite, ever one of these words is from the Pope's own lips; and the catalogu is not exhaustive. Yet he invites children, and not childre only, but even his old postmen and policemen, to keep a watc over their tongue! (*custodendo generosamente la lingua*, ii. 125 To call these flowers of speech is too much below the mark nay, they are of themselves a flower-garden; nay, they are *Flora*, fit to stock a continent afresh, if every existing specie should be extinct. It may be thought that other illustration may seem, after these, but flat and stale; nevertheless we mus resume. What remains will be found worthy of what has pre ceded.

After what we have shown of the relation which the Pontif imagines to subsist between himself and the person of Our Lord it may seem to be a condescension on his part when he compare himself, or complacently allows himself to be compared, to such characters as David, or Tobias, or Job. Perhaps these are introduced to act by way of set-off to the representations of the unfortunate Victor Emmanuel, who in the mouth sometimes o the Pope and sometimes of those who address his delighted ea is Holofernes, as in ii. 143, or Absalom (in conduct, not in attrac tions), as in ii. 143, or Pilate, Herod, Caiaphas (i. 461), o Goliath (ii. 301), or Attila. But it may be thought our cita tions thus far have been mere phrases torn from the context and the height, to which the inflammatory style of speech is capable of soaring, will be more justly understood if we quot one or two passages. Let us begin with vol. ii. p. 77.

'Woe then to him, and to them, who have been the authors of so great scandal. The soil usurped will be as a volcano, that threatens to devour the usurpers in its flames. The petitions of millions of Catholics cry aloud before God, and are echoed by those of the pro tecting saints who sit near the throne of the Omnipotent himself and point out to Him the profanations, the impieties, the acts of injustice, and make their appeal to God's remedies; but to those remedies, which proceed forth from the treasures of His infinite justice.'

T

The Papal thought shall be allowed to develop itself by grees. Giving his blessing to a deputation of youths, he ires it may accompany them through life, and when they ld their souls to God.

The soul, too, will the impious yield; but will yield it, as Abraham l to the rich Glutton' (Did he? Not in Luke xvi. 25, 6), 'to pass) an eternity of suffering, amidst the din of the blasphemies of the ils, who bear that soul to hell.'—i. 430.

But who, it may be asked, are these 'impious,' whose breath the stench of a putrid sepulchre (i. 341)? The answer more easy than agreeable. They are simply the Liberals of ly. This is the favourite word for them, and a phrase almost clusively indeed appropriated to their use. One passage in rticular fixes the meaning beyond doubt. The Holy Father s (i. 286): 'In Rome, not only is it attempted to diffuse piety all around, but men *even* dare to teach heresy, and to read unbelief.' Now as impiety proper is the last and worst ult of heresy or unbelief, it is strange at first sight to find it ced on a lower grade in the scale of sins. But, when we re-mber that in these volumes it simply means Italian liberalism, natural order of ideas is perfectly restored.

To a popular audience, from the parish of San Giovanni de' orentini, he says (i. 374):

At the top of the pyramid is One, who depends on a Council that es him; the Council is not its own master, but depends on an sembly that threatens it. The Assembly is not its own master, for ust render an account to a thousand devils who have chosen it, who drive it along the road of iniquity; and the whole of them ether, or at any rate the chief part, are bondmen, are slaves, are ldren of sin: the Angel of God follows them up, and with bared rd menaces those who pretend to be so much at their ease. The will come when the destroying Angel will cause to be known the ice of God, and the effect of His mercies.'

What and for whom His mercies are will be seen shortly. To ain Clubs Pius IX. says (ii. 421, *bis*):

The Cross, appearing in that valley of final judgment, will crush, the mere view of it, both Deputies and Ministers, *and some one* (altri) *set higher still;* and all those who have abused the patience he Eternal. At the sight of that Tree will tremble all the world, the peoples bowed down to earth will implore the mercy of the ne Redeemer, and will trust in Him; but *certain persons, to whom ve alluded*, and that are now in power for the ruin of Church and ple, will utter cries of despair and trouble, inasmuch as there will o mercy for them.'

The

The door of conversion and return indeed is not yet close and frequent prayers are offered for them; but the continued support of Liberalism and Italian nationality can only end in the manner of which the Pope has given so telling a description. Thus for example (i. 224):

'Ah! even upon these I invoke, yet again, the mercy of the Lord that He may convert them, and they may live! But I say at the same time, if at all hazards they persist in refusing the light of Divine grace, well, may God at length accomplish that which in His justice He has resolved to do.'

A word in summing up this portion of our notice. It was not by words of scorn that Christ began the Sermon on the Mount. It is not by words of scorn that the Pope will revive the flagging and sinking life of Christian belief in Italy, or will put down the spirit of nationality now organised and consolidated, or will convert the world. It would be well if he would take to himself the words of a living English poet:

'For in those days
No knight of Arthur's noblest dealt in scorn;
But if a man were halt or hunched, in him
By those whom God had made full-limbed and tall
Scorn was allowed as part of his defect,
And he was answered softly by the King
And all his table.' *

As might be expected, the Addresses to the Pope are not tuned to a lower pitch than his replies. There are hardly any among them which do not contain the language, commonly the most burning language, of treason and of sedition. Manhood, womanhood, childhood, all sing in the same key. Innocence and sedition, as we have already observed, join hands. The little one, who has but just completed a single lustre, announces in the poem she recites (ii. 406) the restoration of the Temporal Power over Italy and the whole world:

'Poco tempo ancora, e Pio
Regnerà sul mondo intiero.'

The lips are the lips of infancy; but the tune has the true ring of the *Curia*. But there are important distinctions to be observed. Even distant observers may appreciate the wisdom with which the Government of Italy leaves to the Pope a perfect freedom to speak his mind on the laws, the throne, and the constituted order of the country. If such freedom exists we cannot well expect it to be used in any way but one, though the use certainly

* Tennyson's 'Guinevere.'

might

t have well been restrained to less frequent occasions, and re civilized range of language. However, let this pass; and very allowance be made for Papal partisans among those his subjects. But what are we to say of the sense of public iety among foreigners, Englishmen we regret to say included e number, who travel from distant countries, and abuse the unity thus accorded to offer public and gross insult to the n Government, under whose protection and hospitality they ving? Perhaps the most inordinate example of this very ent abuse is in the 'most noble Catholic deputation of all ns' which made its appearance in the Vatican on the 7th of h, 1873, and which was headed by Prince Alfred Lichtenstein 57). In their address they denounce 'the most ignoble ion of the law of nations' by the Italian Government, their rable crime,' their 'hypocritical assurances,' and so forth. ontent even with this outrage, they proceed to denounce, eir own authority, all ideas of compromise or adjustment, hich the Government of Italy had always been seeking.

ith the enemies that rage against you, Holy Father, and against ligious orders, no reconciliation is possible. War, waged by nemies, is not terrible: the only thing to be dreaded in this s peace. (Bravo! bravo! bravo!) No doubt they would be glad to conclude with you a perfidious compromise; they ly desire it.'

d then with incomparable taste on the part of such English- ns were present, towards the King of Italy, the Ally of Her ty, 'No, no; Peter, alive in your person, will be ever able in his heroic resolution against Herod' (ii. 257–9). er more slang of the same kind—from persons acting thus ly beyond their right, this language deserves no better —and a glowing eulogy on the Syllabus and the Ency- the Addressers give place to the addressed, who assures that all they have said is true, though some of it severe 261). Have any of these gentlemen, princes and others, lered what sort of protection their own Governments l be able to afford them if the Italian Government should fit to take proceedings against them, or to expel them arily, and rather ignominiously, from its territory, as es of the public peace?

s now time to examine by such lights as we possess what lly the actual state of things in Rome, which furnishes the on for the violent and almost furious denunciations of the ; and to inquire also what would be the state of things he desires to have established in its stead.

The

The condition in which he thinks himself to be is, that he is prisoner in the Vatican; while outside its walls are ruin, oppr sion, revolution, confusion, and unrestrained blasphemy and pi fligacy. And what he desires is simply the restoration of freedc and of peace. It will not be at all difficult to perceive what t Pope signifies by freedom and peace, or by what means they are be attained: but first a word on the actual condition of Rome. never had the name, under the Popes, of a very well-ordered ci The Pontiff, however, speaks of it as having been under dominion holy; whereas now it is a sink of corruption, a devils walk through the streets of it. Now, except upon t authority of one who knows nothing except at second-ha nothing except as he is prompted by the blindest partisans seems totally impossible to discover any evidence that Rome 1874 is worse than Rome before the occupation, or worse th other large European cities. And this really is a question of dogmatism or of declamation, but of testimony; and not the testimony of prejudiced assertion, but of facts and figu To this test the condition of every city can be brought, w more or less of approach to precision. Except, indeed, un a system like that of the Papal Government; when the press v enslaved, and the stint of public information was such, t even a copy of the Tariff of Customs Duties was not to be h in Rome (as happens to be within our knowledge) for love money. Now these odious charges that a peculiar immora and utter disorder prevail in Rome are launched by the P with such vagueness, that if they came from a less exalted p sonage they would at once be called scurrilous and scandal and it would be said, here is a common railer who, having basis of fact for his statements, takes refuge in those clo generalities, under colour of which fact and figment are in tinguishable from each other. After taking some pains to m inquiry from impartial sources, we are able to state that police of the national Rome is superior to that of Papal Ro that order is well maintained, crime energetically dealt with.

It is known that at the time of the forcible occupation in 18 a number of bad characters streamed into the city; but energetic action on the part of the Government, ill-suppor we fear, by the clergy, they were, by degrees, got rid of, a soon ceased to form a noticeable feature in the condition of place. For ostensible morality the streets will compare favo ably with the Boulevards of Paris, and for security they m generally challenge the thoroughfares of London. We cit few words from a very recent and dispassionate account:—

'The police of Rome is far better than the old Papal police; o

is better kept, and outrages in the streets are of rare occurrence. Crime is promptly repressed. . . . The theatres are not much frequented, and are neither worse nor better than such places elsewhere. The city is clean and well kept. There are not half the number of priests or friars in the streets, and mendicancy is not a tenth part of what it was formerly.'

We are entitled, indeed, to waive entering upon any more minute particulars until the charges have been lodged, with some decent attention to presumptions of credibility. But it has been our care to obtain from Rome itself some figures, on which reliance may be placed. They indicate the comparative state of Roman crime in the two last full years of the Papal rule (1868, 1869), and the three full years (1871, 1872, 1873) of the Italian rule:—

	1868.	1869.	1871.	1872.	1873.
Highway robberies	236	123	103	85	26
Thefts	802	714	785	859	698
Crimes of violence	938	886	972	861	603
Total	1976	1723	1860	1805	1327

In 1870, which was a mixed year, and does not assist the comparison, and which was also a year of crisis, the total was 2118, and the crimes of violence (*reati di sangue*) were no less than 1175. It will be observed that these figures confute the statements of the Pope. The two first of the Italian years were affected by the cause to which we have referred; but still their average is lower than that of the last two years in which Rome was still the 'holy' city, and in which devils did not walk the streets of it. The average of the three years is 1665 against 1723 in the last Papal year. The year 1873, in which alone we may consider that the special cause of disturbance had ceased to operate, shows a reduction of 391, or more than 22 per cent., on the last year of the Pope. Yet more remarkable is the comparison if we strike out the category of thefts, the least serious of the three in kind. We then obtain the following figures: for the last Papal year, 1869, 1009; for 1873, 634; or a diminution of nearly 40 per cent.

But while the accusations are thus shown to be utterly at variance with the facts, still they are intelligible. The cursing vocabulary, so to call it, which has been given, exhibits their character, though in a wild and wholly reckless manner. Where

Where the passion shown is rather less overbearing, there is
of the daylight of ideas. And the idea everywhere conv
is briefly this: that a state of violence prevails. Ther
no liberty for honest men or for Catholics (ii. 25): matter
from bad to worse. What is wanted is that God should lib
His Church, give her the triumph (this is the favourite ph
which is her due, and re-establish public order (i. 44);
to escape from this state of violence and oppression, whic
simple truth (*dovere*) is insupportable and impossible for hu
nature (ii. 54). As for the Pope himself, who does not k
so far as Ultramontane organs all over the world can co
knowledge, that he is a prisoner? Although, it must be
fessed, that a new sense of the word has had to be invent
serve his turn: for, as he himself has explained, his pris
a prison with only moral walls and bars, since he admits t
are neither locks nor keepers (i. 298). How, with his sen
humour, how, in making these statements, must he inwa
have smiled the smile of the Haruspex at the gross credulit
his hearers! He cannot go out; and he will not (i. 72).
would be insulted in the streets (i. 298); and here, fortuna
he has a case in point to adduce, for once upon a day it happ
that a priest had actually been pelted; and somewhere else (i.
it appears that an urchin or two had been heard to shout 'a
ai preti,' down with the priests: though in no instance doe
show that, even if a stone was thrown, the public authority
refused or tampered with its duty to afford protection to lay
and priest alike.

However, as we have seen, the Pope's allegations of oppres
and violence are in terms very grave. But his own lips, and
own Volumes, unconsciously supply the confutation; and thi
two ways. For first, it is clear, if we accept the statement
this curious and daring work, that the people of Rome are al
wholly on his side against the Government, not on the sid
the Government and the nation against him. A careful c
putation of the editor (ii. 187) reckons, certainly to the
satisfaction of all Ultramontane readers, that seventy-
thousand of the inhabitants of Rome (in a city of some
hundred thousand, old and young, men and women, all t
have given their names to addresses against the suppressio
the religious orders (ii. 187), a certain sign of Papalism.
there is yet more conclusive evidence. On January 16, 18
the whole College of the Parish Priests of Rome presented
address, in which they state that, notwithstanding the in
ence of intruded foreigners, almost the whole of their for
parishioners (*nella quasi totalità*), whom they know by name,

k

keep the right faith, send their children to the right schools, and remain, subject to but few exceptions, 'with the Pope and for the Pope.' 'I thank Thee, my God, for the spirit that Thou impartest to this excellent People: I thank Thee for the constancy that Thou givest to the People of Rome' (i. 352, also 229). And yet an urchin, or perhaps two, or even three, cry '*morte ai preti*,' and the Pope dare not go out of the Vatican, although he has seventy-one thousand Romans declared by their signatures, and 'almost the entire body of parishioners,' except the new-come foreigners, for his fast allies and loyal defenders! It is really idle to talk of dark ages. There never was, until the nineteenth century and the Council of the Vatican, an age so deeply plunged in darkness worthy of Erebus and Styx, as could alone render it a safe enterprise to palm statements like these on the credulity even of the most blear-eyed partisanship.

But then, it may be said, in vain are the people with the Pope; a tyrannical government, supported by hordes of *sbirri* and a brutal soldiery, represses the manifestations of their loyalty by intimidation. But this allegation is cut to pieces, and if possible rendered even more preposterous than the other, by the evidence of the volumes themselves. One exception there appears to have been to the good order of Rome: one single form, in which a kind of anarchy certainly has been permitted. This flagrant exception, however, has been made not against, but in favour of, the Pope. For, strange and almost incredible as it may appear, his partisans are allowed to gather in the face of day, and proceed to the Vatican for the purpose of presenting addresses to the Pontiff known to be almost invariably rife with the most flagrant sedition, and this in numbers not only of a few tens or even hundreds, but up to 1500, 2000 (i. 242, 258, 353), 2600 (i. 362, 411), 3000 (ii. 92), who shouted all at once, and even (ii. 94) 5000 persons; and again (i. 438), a crowd impossible to count. It may be asked with surprise, has the Pope then at any rate a presentable train of five thousand adherents in Rome? Far be it from us to express an implicit belief in each of our friend Don Pasquale's figures, at the least until they are affirmed by a declaration *ex cathedrâ* or a Conciliary Decree. But in Rome, where the vast body of secular and regular clergy have held so large a proportion of the real property, where all the public establishments were closely associated with the clerical interest and class, where even the numerous functionaries of the civil departments, and where the aristocracy, including families of great wealth, have been, and continue to be, of the Papal party, a long train of dependents must necessarily be found on the same side, and, judging from what

what we have seen and known, we deem it quite possible that the entire city a minority of Papalini numbering as many or even more than, five thousand might be reckoned, though independent citizens we doubt whether there are five hundred. To these civic adherents would add themselves foreigners, whose zeal or curiosity may have carried them to Rome for the purpose. We have, indeed, learned from an authoritative source that on June 16, 1871, when there were no less than eight Deputations the Pope received at the Vatican in all about 6200 persons. We find also that the total number of those who waited on him in 1871, on only fourteen separate days (which however certainly included all the occasions of crowded gatherings), were estimated carefully at 13,893; and in 1872, on the same number of occasions, at 17,477. In the two following years the numbers have been much less, namely, 8295 and 9129 respectively. It is quite plain that large crowds—crowds sufficient to give ample ground for interference on the score of order to any Government looking for or willing to use them—again and again have filled the vast halls of the Vatican, as Don Pasquale assures us. That they went there to stir up or prepare (as far as it depended upon them) war, either immediate or eventual, against the Italian Government, is established by every page of these volumes. Going in such numbers, and for such a purpose, it is not disputed that they have gone and returned freely, safely, boastfully, under the protection of the laws they were breaking, and of the Government they reviled.

It may perhaps seem strange that, while the Italian Government is treated as if the Pope were a Power in actual war with it, yet the *Curia* apparently can stoop to communicate with it for certain purposes, which it will be interesting to observe. We have, for instance, in the Appendix (ii. 419) a letter of the Cardinal Vicar to the Minister Lanza, complaining, as the Pope in his Speeches complains, of the immorality of the Roman theatres.

It complains also that the clerical orders are not spared in the exhibitions of the stage. This is a subject on which the *Curia* has always been very much in earnest; and some day it may be necessary to bring before the modern public the almost incredible, but yet indubitable, history of the negotiations and arrangements which were made by the State of Florence with the See of Rome in relation to the Decameron of Boccaccio. But for the present let us take only the point of immorality. The broadest accusations on this subject are lodged by the Cardinal Vicar, without one single point or particular of places, pieces, persons, or times which would have enabled the Italian Government to put

put their justice to the proof. The Minister, in his reply, could not do more than he has actually done. He declares that the Italian censorship is remarkable for strictness; and that in Italy, and particularly in Rome, many pieces are prohibited which are permitted in France and in Belgium. And of this there is no denial. With a thorough shabbiness of spirit, the complaint is neither justified nor retracted, but is sent forth to the world with the full knowledge that the good (*i buoni*) will take it as a demonstration that the Italian Government is wholly indifferent to morals (vol. ii. 419–24).

Again, we have a complaint of the non-observance of Sundays and feast-days; but the effort of this kind which most deserves notice is one relating to blasphemy. It appears that the newspaper 'La Capitale' had been publishing piecemeal a Life of our Lord, written in the Unitarian sense. The Cardinal-Vicar represented to the Procurator-General (ii. 520) that this ought to be prosecuted as blasphemous and heretical. It is not stated that he founded himself on the manner of the writer's argument, and therefore it may be presumed that the charge lay against his conclusions only. The Procurator-General replied that the law granted liberty of religious discussion, and that accordingly he could not interfere. The Advocate Caucino of Turin—whose Address to the Pope is almost the only one in the whole work that does not contain direct incentives to sedition (ii. 313)—gave a professional opinion to a contrary effect. He pointed out that the Roman Catholic religion was by the Constitutional Statute the religion of the State, and that other laws actually in force provided punishments for offences against religion. Consequently, as he reasoned, these writings are illegal. Over nine hundred of the Italian lawyers have countersigned this opinion. One of his arguments is, to British eyes, somewhat curious. The laws, he says, declare the person of the Pontiff sacred and inviolable. 'But if you take away the Divinity of Jesus Christ, the Pontiff is reduced to a nonentity (il Pontefice non è più *nulla*).' It is difficult to avoid saying, one wishes that were the only consequence.

It would, perhaps, be uncharitable to suggest that this well-arranged endeavour was nothing else than a trap carefully laid for the Italian Government. But it certainly would have served the purpose of a trap. Had the denial of our Lord's Divinity been repressed by law, by reason of its contrariety to the religion of the State, the next step would of course have been to require the Government to proceed in like manner against anyone who denied the Infallibility of the Pope. Under the Vatican Decrees this is as essentially and imperatively a part

of the Roman Creed as is the great Catholic doctrine o
Divinity of Christ. And the obligation to prohibit the pr
gation of the adverse opinion would have been exactl
same. Nor is it easy to suppose that the *Curia* was not
enough to anticipate this consequence, and prepare the
for it.

Independently of such a plot, the paltry game of these
sentations is sufficiently intelligible. It seeks to place the
Government in a dilemma. Either they enforce restricti
the supposed interest of religion, or they decline to enfo
In the first case, they diminish the liberties of the people
provoke discontent; in the second, they afford fresh pr
ungodliness, and fresh matter of complaint to be turned
lously to account by the political piety of the Vatican. B
us pass on from this small trickery; *paullò majora canamus*

Considering on the one hand the professedly pacific
unworldly character of the successors of the 'Fisherman,' a
the other the gravity of those moral and social evils whic
indeed represented as insupportable (ii. 54), an unbiassed
would expect to find in these pages constant indication
desire on the part of the Pope and Court of Rome to
by the surrender of extreme claims, some at least tol
adjustment. There was a time, within the memory
last twenty years, when Pius IX. might have become the
of an Italian Federation. When that had passed, ther
again a time, at which he might have retained, und
European guarantee, the *suzeraineté*, as distinguished fro
direct monarchy, of the entire States of the Church.
this, too, had been let slip, and after another contracti
the circle of possibilities, it was still probably open to
to retain the *suzeraineté* of the city of Rome itself, wit
access to the sea; it was unquestionably within his choi
any period down to 1870, to stipulate for the Leonine
with a like guaranteed liberty of access, and with a perm
engagement that Rome never should become the seat of g
ment or of Royal residence, so that there should not be tw
in one firmament. There was in truth nothing which the
might not have had assured to him, by every warranty tha
friendliness of all Europe could command, except the lux
forcing on the people of the Roman States a clerical gover
which they detested. The Pope preferred the game of 'd
or quits.' And he now beholds and experiences the result

But notwithstanding what he sees and feels, that game
fascinating to be abandoned. Instead of opening the d
friendly compromise, this is the very thing for the treatm

which the furnace of his wrath is ever seven times heated. 'Yes, my sons,' he says in a 'stupendous' (i. 268) discourse, and himself 'resplendent with a grandeur more than human' (269) to an 'innumerable multitude of the faithful, Roman and foreign' (266), whom he has already congratulated (283) on their readiness to give all, even *their blood*, for him. 'Yes, my sons, draw into ever closer union, nor be arrested even for a moment, by lying reports of an impossible "reconciliation." It is futile to talk of reconciliation. The Church can never be reconciled with error, and the Pope cannot separate himself from the Church . . . . No; no reconciliation can ever be possible between Christ and Belial, between light and darkness, between truth and falsehood, between justice and the usurpation.'

This passage, by no means isolated, is, it must be admitted, rather 'superhuman.' The wrath of the aged Pontiff had in fact been stirred in a special way by some *abbominevoli immagini*,* some execrable pictures, which were for him most profane. The editor explains to us what they were. Such is the unheard-of audacity of Italian Liberalism, and such its hatred and persecution of the Pope, that (ii. 285) a certain Verzaschi, living in the Corso No. 135, had for several days exhibited to public view a picture, in which the Pope and the King of Italy were—we tremble as we write—embracing one another!

But if the Holy Father is thus decisive on the subject of visible representations which he conceives to be profane, we should greatly value his judgment, were there an opportunity of obtaining it, on another commodity of the same class, an Italian work, sold in Rome, and not a production of the hated Liberals. It is stamped 'Diritto di proprietà di Cleofe Ferrari,' with an address in Rome, of which the particulars cannot be clearly deciphered, but it is manifestly authentic.

It is a photograph of 6½ by 4½ inches, and it represents a double scene, one in the heavens above, one on the earth below. Above, and receding from the foreground, is one of those figures

* Even from the heart of the Order of Jesuits there sounds a voice of protestation against the insane policy of the Pope. It is that of Curci, a well-known champion, for many long years, of the Papal cause, against Gioberti and others. We learn from a pamphlet published on the part of the Italian Government in reply to a violent and loosely written attack by the Bishop of Orleans (on the merits of which, in other respects, we are not in a condition fully to pronounce), that Padre Curci says it is idle to make a bugbear of conciliation: that much as he laments the departure of the mediæval ways (which perhaps he does not quite understand), they are gone; it is idle to suppose the past can be re-established in the Roman States, either by diplomatic mediation, political re-arrangement, 'or even foreign intervention.'—*Les Lois Ecclésiastiques de l'Italie*, p. 74. Paris, 1874. It seems, then, that there is at least one way in which a Jesuit can forfeit his title to be heard at Rome, and that is if he speaks good sense.

of the Eternal Father, which we in England view with re
nance; but that is not the point. On the right-hand of
figure stands, towards the foreground, the Blessed Virgin M
with the moon under her feet (Rev. xii. 1); on the left-h
and also towards the front, is Saint Peter, kneeling on one k
but kneeling to the Virgin, not to God. In the scene belo
have an elevated pedestal with a group of figures, nearer the
and filling the foreground. On the pedestal is Pope Pius
in a sitting posture, with his hands clasped, his crown, the
regno on his head, and a stream of light falling upon him,
a dove forming part of the upper combination, and represen
of course the Holy Spirit. The Pope's head is not turned tow
the figure of the Almighty. Round the pedestal are four knee
figures, apparently representing the four great quarters of
globe, whose corporal adoration is visibly directed towards
Pontiff, and not towards the opened heaven. We omit some o
details not so easily understood; and indeed the reader will by
time have had a sickening sufficiency of this sort of 'ab
nable images.' We commend this most profane piece of adula
to the notice of the Cardinal Vicar, as it will supply him wi
very valuable topic in his next demand upon the Italian Gov
ment to prevent the public exhibition in Rome of what con
an insult to religion.

The outburst we have quoted against all reconciliation i
we have said, not an isolated one. Declarations essenti
similar may be found in vol. i. 291 (Dec. 7, 1871), 498 (L
to Cardinal Antonelli), ii. 279 (March 7, 1873, in an addre
Bishops accepted and lauded by the Pope).

Out of these two hundred and ninety Speeches, about
hundred and eighty seem to be addressed to the great polit
purpose which is now the main aim of all Papal effort—tha
the triumph and liberation of the Church in Rome itself,
the re-establishment of peace.

When the Pope speaks of the liberation of the Church
means merely this, that it is to set its foot on the neck of e
other power; and when he speaks of peace in Italy, he m
the overthrow of the established order, if, by a reconversio
Italians to his way of thinking, well; but if not, then by
old and favourite Roman expedient, the introduction of for
arms, invading the land to put down the national sentiment
to re-establish the temporal government of the clerical order.

Everywhere, when he refers to the times which preceded
annexations to Sardinia, and the eventual establishment of
Italian kingdom, he represents them as the happy period of wh
every good man should desire the return. Even at the mode
suggesti

suggestions of practical reform which were recommended to Gregory XVI. in the early part of his reign by the Five Great Powers, including the Austria of Metternich, he scoffs; and he appears to think that they brought down upon several of the recommending Sovereigns the judgment due to impiety.

Thus on June 21, 1873, he says (ii. 356): 'Let us pray for all; let us pray for Italy, that we may see her set free from her enemies, and restored to her former repose and tranquillity.'

Now there can be no doubt what he means by calm and tranquillity. He explains it in a passage (ii. 23) when he has occasion to refer to the opening times and scenes of his ill-omened and ill-ordered reign: 'Those times were troublous, just as are the present; but notwithstanding they produced, after no long while, an era of tranquillity and quietude' (ii. 23).

The troubles, for troubles there were, arose from the efforts of a people then without political experience to right themselves under the unskilful handling of a ruler, who prompted movements he had no strength to control, and made promises he had no ability to perform. The tranquillity and quietude were found in the invasion of the State by a French army; in the siege and capture of the city, which its inhabitants and a few Italian sympathisers in vain struggled under Garibaldi to defend; and in an armed occupation, which effectually kept down the people for seventeen and a half years; until there came, in 1866, a winter's morning, when at four o'clock the writer of these pages, by help of the struggling gaslights in the gloom, saw the picked regiments of France wheel round the street corners of the queenly city, in their admirable marching trim, on the way to the railway station, and bethought him that in that evacuation there lay the seed of great events.

To those, who have not carefully followed the fortunes of Italy and her rulers, it may seem strange that this last and worst extreme of tyranny, the maintenance of a Government, and that a clerical Government, by bayonets, and those foreign bayonets, should be spoken of by any man in his five senses, even though that man be a Pope, in any other terms than those of pain and shame, even if it were at the same time, as a supposed necessity, palliated or defended. But the Pope speaks of it with a coolness, an exultation (ii. 248), a yearning self-complacent desire, which would deserve no other name but that of a brutal inhumanity, were it not that he simply gives utterance to the inveterate tradition of the Roman *Curia*, and the tradition of a political party in Italy, which, as long as it had power, made foreign occupation an everyday occurrence, a standing remedy, a normal state.

In 1815, the Pope was brought back to Rome by foreign arms. But

But at that time it was by foreign arms that he had been kept ou
of his dominions. Cardinal Pacca, in his Memoirs, gives us t
understand that the Pontiff was received by the people with thei
good will. It may have been so. But unhappily, after the grea
occasion of this restoration, all the mischief was done. Much
local self-government had existed in the Pontifical States befo
the French Revolution. It was now put down. Of the Fren
institutions and methods, the Pope retained only the worst—
the spirit of centralisation, and a police, kept not to repre
crime, but to ferret out and proscribe the spirit of libert
The high sacerdotal party prevailed over the moderate cou
sels of Gonsalvi. And Farini, in his dispassionate Histo
gives the following account of the state of things even und
Pius VII. :—

'There was no care for the cultivation of the people, no anxie
for public prosperity. Rome was a cesspool of corruption, of exem
tions, and of privileges; a clergy, made up of fools and knaves,
power; the laity slaves; the treasury plundered by gangs of t
farmers and spies; all the business of government consisted in pry
into and punishing the notions, the expectations, and the imprude
of the Liberals.'*

The result was that, as the Pope's native army was th
worthless and even ridiculous, and his foreign mercenaries
sufficient in strength, the country was always either actu
or virtually occupied by Austrian forces: virtually when
actually, because at those periods when the force had been wi
drawn, it was ready, on the first signal of popular movem
and Papal distress, to return. So we pass over the interval u
the accession of Pius IX., and until the month of July 18
Then the Government of France, acting as we believe with
the sanction of the public judgment, and in order to reward
the past and purchase for the future the electoral support of
Ultramontane party, assumed the succession to Austria in
discharge of her odious office of repression, and thus left
doubtful to the last whether her splendid services to Italy
1859 were or were not outweighed by the cruel wrong done
so many years in the violent occupation of Rome. That office
long ago been finally and in good faith renounced by Aust
now the friend of Italy. Let us hope, for the sake of the peace
Europe, that it will never again be assumed by any other Po
It was, however, only the war of 1870 which caused the remo
of the French force from Civita Vecchia. That seaport had b
re-occupied shortly after the relinquishment of Rome in 18

* Farini, 'Hist. of Rome,' Bk. i. chap. i., English translation, vol. i. p. 17.

In

uly 1870, the remonstrances of the Papal Government were by a neat and telling reply from France. 'The fortunes of war will be favourable, or they will be adverse. If the er, we can then protect you better than ever; if the latter, ıust surely have our men to protect ourselves.'

d then as it is, and scarcely credible as it may appear, that great officer of religion, who guides a moiety or thereabouts hristendom, who

'Looks from his throne of clouds o'er half the world,' *

pelessly implicated in the double error; first, that he makes estoration of his temporal power a matter of religious duty necessity; secondly, that he seeks the accomplishment of bad end through the outrage of a foreign intervention nst the people of Rome, and through the breaking up of the t Italian kingdom.

or indeed it is plain enough, that the assaults of the Pope, gh especially directed against that portion of Italy which once ıed the States of the Church, are by no means confined to a narrow range. This approved work describes the Italian al Family at the epoch of the occupation of Rome, as the cipi di Piemonte (i. 58): and the Pope assures a deputation Naples that in his daily prayer he remembers the city, its ıle, its pastor, and its King; meaning the ex-king Francis II. 18). What he prays is that the longed-for peace may be ıred to that 'kingdom.' And in order that we may know this peace is, another speech at a later date tells us he s the Lord that that unfortunate kingdom may return to be which it was formerly, namely, a kingdom of peace and perity (ii. 338). This is the language in which the Pope is ıshamed to speak of a Government founded upon the most s and abominable perjury, cruel and base in all its detail e last degree, and so lost in the estimation of the people, ithstanding the existence of its powerful army, that Gari- i was able in a red shirt to traverse the country as a con- or, enter the capital, and take peaceable possession of the ı of State.

he kingdoms and states of the world are, in Romish estima- , divided into several classes. Let us put Italy alone in the and lowest, as a State with which the Pope is undisguisedly ar. Next come the States which pursue a policy adverse to Ultramontane system; after them, in the upward series, e not very numerous States, with which Rome has no

* Campbell's 'Pleasures of Hope.'

quarrels;

quarrels; next those from which it receives active adhesion or support. And at the head of all comes the Pope's own vanished possession, now represented in his imaginary title to the States of the Church. For whereas the others rule by a *jus humanum*, he ruled by a *jus divinum*; and what is mere revolt, or treason, or rapine elsewhere, has in the Roman States the added guilt of sacrilege. And, indeed, as to revolt or rapine, the Pope treats them lightly enough. Nothing can be more curious in this respect than his references to Germany. The territory of the German Emperor was made up by acquisitions yet more recent than those which set up the Italian kingdom, such as it existed before the war of 1870; and by a like process of putting down divers Governments which were in the Roman sense legitimate, and of absorbing their dominions. But the Pope boasts that he had not been at all squeamish on this score (i. 457), for he had announced to Prince Bismarck that the 'Catholics' had been in favour of the German Empire. When, however, the policy of that empire was developed in a sense adverse to the Roman views, very different ideas as to its basis came into vogue; and the Pope's authorised editor denounces it as the embodied Paganism of Prussia, boldly predicts its early fall (ii. 135, comp. 66), and, speaking of the meeting of three great potentates on a recent occasion, calls them the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of Russia, and 'the new one called of Germany' (*il nuovo detto di Germania*); which, by the way, he is not, for his title is, we believe, the German Emperor. In truth it seems that the legitimacy of every Government is measured by the single rule of its propensity to favour the policy of Rome. And while other Governments generally are here and there admonished, even when they are guilty of no sin of commission, as to the neglect of their duty to restore the Pope (i. 113), there is one which receives his warmest commendations. It is the 'glorious' Republic of the Equator, which 'amidst the complicity, by silence, of the Powers of Europe' sent its poor, feeble bark (we mean its vocal bark, probably it possesses no other) across the Atlantic to proclaim—

'Auditum admissi risum teneatis, amici?'

the principle of the restoration, by foreign arms, of the Papal throne.

In his desire for the realisation of this happy dream, the Pope appears to be wound up to a sensitive irritability of expectation, and accordingly prophecy is liberally scattered over the pages of these volumes. Sometimes he does not know when it will be; sometimes it cannot be long; sometimes he sees the very dawning of the happy day. These varying states of view belong, indeed,

, to the region of what is called pious opinion, but to
: that the day will come is matter of duty and faith.

', this change, yes, this triumph, will have to come; and it is
of faith (*ed è di fede*). I know not if it will come in my
', the lifetime of this poor Vicar of Jesus Christ. I know
me it will. The rising again must take place, this great
' must end.'—ii. 82.

with glee that he inculcates the great duty of prayer,
ı hopeful sign comes up on the far horizon: though that
e no more than some notice given in the Chamber of
'. On February 18, 1872, he says:

the earliest moment, offer prayer and sacrifice to God for
' special object. About this time my affairs are to be the
of discussion in the National Assembly of a great people; and
re those who will take my part. Let us then pray for this
ly.'

so forth (i. 352).
en by itself, a passage of this kind might be perfectly well
:ood as contemplating nothing beyond the limits of a
diplomatic, and even amicable intervention. But then
:stion arises, why, if diplomacy be in contemplation, are
)mises and adjustments so passionately denounced? The
is, that diplomacy is not in contemplation or in desire, but
now perfectly well known in Europe as 'blood and iron.'
eful reader of this authoritative book can doubt, that these
means by which the great Christian Pastor contemplates
ts, aye asks as one who thinks himself entitled to com-
the re-establishment of his power in Rome. There is
a passage, in which he, addressing his ex-policemen!
ıtes an armed reaction, and declares the imputation to be
ıny. And so far as the gallantry of those policemen is
ıed, according to all that used to be seen or heard of them,
uite right. The reaction he desires, in this speech, is
lucation, respect to the Church and the priests. But this
cal reaction, the reaction *in piccolo*. 'As to what remains,
ill do as He wills: reactions on the great scale (*reazioni
de*) cannot be in my hands, but are in His, on whom all
s.'
hows, however, elsewhere and habitually, not only a great
in seconding the designs of Providence in this matter,
:onsiderable disposition to take the initiative, if only he
In words alone, it is true; but he has no power other
words. Let us hear him address his soldiers, on the 27th
:mber, 1872. (ii. 141.)

'You,

'You, soldiers of honour, attached by affection to this Holy See, constant in the discharge of your duties, come before me, but you still come unarmed; thus proving how evil are the times.

'Oh were I but able to conform to that voice of God, which so many ages back cried to a people: "turn your spades, turn your ploughshares and your ploughs, turn all your instruments of husbandry into blades and into swords, turn them into weapons of war, for your enemies approach, and for many arms, and many men with arms, will there be need. Would that the Blessed God would to-day in us repeat these very inspirations! But He is silent: and I His Vicar cannot be otherwise, cannot employ any means but silence."'

Here we should certainly, with these volumes of loud speech before us, desire to interpolate a sceptical note of interrogation. He proceeds, however, to say, it is not for him to give authority for the manufacture of weapons: and that probably the revolution in Italy will destroy itself. But if that be his idea, why the ferocious passage about blades and swords, which has just been presented to the reader, and the many references to forcible restoration in which he delights? It is probable that the Pontiff relents occasionally, and gives scope to his better mind: but habitually, and as a rule, he looks forward with eagerness to that restoration by foreign arms in the future, which forms to him, as we have seen, so satisfactory a subject of retrospective contemplation for the period from 1849 to 1866, and again from 1867 to 1870.

Many may desire to know, in concluding our examination, what are the utterances of the Pontiff with respect to the burning questions of the Vatican Decrees. It must be at Rome that the fashions are set in regard to infallibility, to obedience, and to the question of the relation between the Roman See and the Civil Power; and the work under review is perfectly unequivocal on this class of subjects, though less copious than in regard to that cardinal object of Papal desire, the restoration of the Temporal Power.

In times of comparative moderation, not yet forty-five years back, when Montalembert and Lamennais dutifully repaired to Rome to seek guidance from Gregory XVI., that Pontiff, in repudiating their projects through his Minister, paid them a compliment for asking orders from 'the infallible mouth of the Successor of Peter.' We are often told that the Pope cannot be held to speak *ex cathedrâ* unless he addresses the whole body of Christians, whereas in this case he addressed only two. Now to the outer world, who try these matters by the ordinary rules of the human understanding, it seems to be a very grave inconvenience that the possessor of an admitted Infallibility should formally

nally declare himself infallible in cases where he is allowed his own title-deeds to be only fallible like the rest of us. e chief mark, however, of declarations *ex cathedrâ* is that y are made to all the Faithful; and we observe in the title of ie Discourses that they are addressed *Ai Fedeli di Roma e Orbe.*

a the work of Don Pasquale, the term 'infallible' is very fre-ntly applied to the Pope by the deputations. A crowd of three usand persons shouts Viva il Pontefice Infallibile (i. 372, comp. 07); a lawyer, speaking for a company of lawyers (ii. 313), res 'the great Pope, the superlatively great King, the infallible ter of his faith, the most loving father of his soul;' and the strain prevails elsewhere (*e.g.* ii. 160, 165, 177, 190, 256) hese Addresses, which are always received with approval. ether advisedly or not, the Pontiff does not (except once, 4) apply the term to himself; but is in other places content a alleging his superiority (as has been shown above) to an ired Prophet, and with commending those who come to hear words as words proceeding from Jesus Christ (i. 335).

n the matter of Obedience he is perfectly unequivocal. To Armenians, who have recently resisted his absorbing in him-the national privileges of their Church, he explains (ii. 435) to him, as the Successor of Saint Peter, and to him alone, is mitted by Divine right the Pastorate of the entire Church; ily there is no other real successor of the Apostles, for ops, he says, have their dioceses it is true, but only by a ecclesiastical, not Divine. To limit this power is heresy, has ever been so. Not less plain is his sense of his emacy over the powers of the world. His title and place to be the Supreme Judge of Christendom (i. p. 204). It is the office of any Government, but the sublime mission of Roman Pontificate, to assume the defence of the inde-lence of States (ii. 498), and so far from granting to nations races any power over the Church, God enjoined upon them duty of believing, and gave them over to be taught by the stles (ii. 452).

inally, as respects the Syllabus and its mischievous contents, document is not only upheld, but upheld as the great or hope of Christian Society. We hear (i. 444) of the antage secured by the publication of the Syllabus. The ir of Peter has been teaching, enlightening, and governing, a the foundation of the Church down to the Syllabus and the rees of the Vatican (ii. 427, *bis*). The two are manifestly ed on a level. And, grieved as is the Pontiff at the present version of mankind, and especially of the young, he is also convinced

convinced that the world must come to embrace the S which is the only anchor of its salvation (*l' unica a salute*,' i. 58-9).

One of the main objects of the Syllabus is to re-esta the mass all the most extravagant claims which have time been lodged by the Church of Rome against the C State. Hardly any greater outrage on society in our ju has ever been committed than by Pope Pius IX. in declarations (i. 193, and elsewhere) respecting persons civilly without the Sacrament. For, in condemning guilty of concubinage, he releases them from the recipro gations of man and wife. But of all those which described as the burning questions, the most fan Englishmen is perhaps that of the Deposing Power; half a century ago we were assured was dead and bu long past the possibility of exhumation or revival. now supply us with our last illustration; for true as with reference to the possibilities of life and action, it the shadow of a shade, yet we have lived into a time is deliberately taught by the Ultramontane party gener not, so far as we know, disavowed by any of them.

Lord Robert Montagu, who was in the last Parlia High Church and Tory Member for the orthodox c Huntingdon, and is in this Parliament transformed ardent neophyte and champion of the Papal Church, in Lecture before the Catholic Union of Ireland,* took among other extravagances, to set forth with all honour from a Speech of the Pope, delivered on the 21st of Ju in which he justified and explained the doctrine of the Power. According to the version he gave of the Ital course, this Power was an 'authority, in accordance wi right, which was then vigorous, and with the acquie all Christian nations.'

In the 'Tablet' newspaper of November 21 and I 5, 1874, a writer, who signs himself C. S. D., assa Robert Montagu for erroneous translation; and, wi niable justice, points out that the words, *secondo il diritt allora vigente*, do not mean 'in accordance with publ which was then vigorous,' but 'in accordance with th law (or right) then in force.' He also quotes words n by Lord Robert, to show that the Popes exercised th at the call of the Christian nations (*chiamati dal popoli*); which, as he truly says, give a very differe

* Dublin, M'Glashan and Gill, 1874, p. 10.

the passage. His citation is, he states, from the *Voce della rità* of 22nd July, 1871, the day following the Speech, nfirmed by the *Civiltà Cattolica* of August 19.

Amidst these grave discrepancies of high authorities, our readers ay desire to know what a still higher authority, the Pope mself, really did say; and we have happily the means of forming them from the volumes before us, which contain the ole authentic' report. The Speech was delivered, not on e 21st, but the 20th of July, and will be found at vol. i. p. 203. e need not trouble the reader with a lengthened citation. he passage, as quoted by Lord Robert Montagu, will be found Mr. Gladstone's 'Vatican Decrees,' p. 19. The essential int is that, according to C. S. D., the Pope justified the eposing Power on this specific ground that they were called to ercise it by the desire, or voice, or demand, of the nations. hat will our readers say when we acquaint them that the ssage given by C. S. D. in the 'Tablet' is before our eyes as write, and that the words 'called by the voice of the people' *iamati dal voto dei popoli*) *are not in it?* Whether they were oken or not is another question, which we cannot decide. hat is material is that, from the fixed, deliberate, and only thentic report, they have been excluded, and that the Pope mself sustains, and therefore claims, the Deposing Power, not the ground of any demand of the public opinion of the day, t as attaching to his office.

And now in bidding farewell to Don Pasquale, we offer him r best thanks for his two Volumes. Probably this acknowlgment may never meet his eyes. But lest, in the case of its aching him, it should cause him surprise and self-reproach that should have extorted praise from England and from Albemarle reet, we will give him 'the reason why.' We had already d often seen Infallibility in full-dress, in peacock's plumes; fallibility fenced about with well-set lines of theological phrases, penetrable by us, the multitude, the uninitiated. But Don squale has taken us behind the scenes. He has shown us Inllibility in the closet, Infallibility in dishabille, Infallibility le to cut its capers at will, to indulge in its wildest romps ith freedom and impunity. And surely we have now made od the assurance with which we began. If ever there was a ectacle, strange beyond all former experience, and charged with any-sided instruction for mankind, here it is. We will conde by giving our own estimate, in few words, of the central gure and of his situation.

In other days, the days of the great Pontiffs who formidably mpete in historic grandeur with Barbarossa, and even with Charlemagne,

Charlemagne, the tremendous power which they claim which they often contrived to exercise, was weighted wi less grave and telling responsibility. The bold initi Gregories and Alexanders, of Innocents and Bonifaces indeed could devise bigger and braver words than no from the Vatican:

> 'Quæ tuto tibi magna volant, dum distinet hostem
> Agger murorum, nec inundant sanguine fossæ.'*

But their decisions and announcements did not operat through agencies mainly silent, underground, clandesti agencies, for example, of affiliated monastic societies, the of the consummate scheme of Loyola, the agency, abov that baneful system of universal Direction, which unlc door of every household, and inserts an opaque sacerdotal between the several members of the family, as well as the several orders of the State. Their warfare was the of a man with men. It recalls those grand words of King 'Died Abner as a fool dieth? Thy hands were not bo thy feet put into fetters: as a man falleth before wicked fellest thou' (2 Sam. iii. 33). When they committed ou excess, at least they were liable to suffer for it in a fashi different from the 'Calvary' of Pope Pius IX. They their very gates the Barons of Rome, who then, at les barons indeed; and the tramp of the mailed hosts of the staufens was ever in their ears. But now, when th knows that his income is secured by a heavy mortga the credulity of millions upon millions, to say nothin offers of the Italian Government in reserve, and that ward conditions of existence are as safe and easy as thos well-to-do or luxurious gentleman in Paris or in Lon denunciations, apart from all personal responsibility fo quences, lose their dignity in losing much of their r and all their danger, and the thunders of the Vatican, th no means powerless for mischief with a portion of mank in the generality can neither inspire apprehension nor c respect.

Let us revert for a moment to the month of June, 184

A provincial Prelate, of a regular and simple life, endo devotional susceptibilities, wholly above the love of mo with a genial and tender side to his nature, but without a of learning, without wide information or experience of t without original and masculine vigour of mind, without

* Æn. xi. 382.

insight, without the stern discipline that chastens human vanity, and without mastery over an inflammable temper, is placed, contrary to the general expectation, on the pinnacle, and it is still a lofty pinnacle, of ecclesiastical power. It is but fair towards him to admit, that his predecessors had bequeathed to him a temporal polity as rotten and effete in all its parts as the wide world could show. At the outset of his Pontificate, he attempted to turn popular emotion, and the principles of freedom, to account in the interests of Church power. As to ecclesiastical affairs, he dropped at once into the traditions of the *Curia*. He was and is surrounded by flatterers, who adroitly teach him to speak their words in telling him that he speaks his own, and that they are the most wonderful words ever spoken by man. Having essayed the method of governing by Liberal ideas and promises, and having, by a sad incompetency to control the chargers he had harnessed to his car, become (to say the least) one of the main causes of the European convulsions of 1848, he rushed from the North Pole of politics to the South, and grew to be the partisan of Legitimacy, the champion of the most corrupt and perjured Sovereignties of Italy, that is to say of the whole world. Had he only had the monitions of a free press and of free opinion, valuable to us all, but to Sovereigns absolutely priceless, and the indispensable condition of all their truly useful knowledge, it might have given him a chance; but these he denounces as impiety and madness. As the age grows on one side enlightened, and on another sceptical, he encounters the scepticism with denunciation, and the enlightenment with retrogression. As he rises higher and higher into the regions of transcendental obscurantism, he departs by wider and wider spaces from the living intellect of man; he loses Province after Province, he quarrels with Government after Government, he generates Schism after Schism; and the crowning achievement of the Vatican Council and its decrees is followed, in the mysterious counsels of Providence, by the passing over, for the first time in history, of his temporal dominions to an orderly and national Italian kingdom, and of a German Imperial Crown to the head of a Lutheran King, who is the summit and centre of Continental Protestantism.*

But what then? His clergy are more and more an army, a police, a caste; farther and farther from the Christian Commons, but nearer to one another, and in closer subservience to him. And they have made him 'The Infallible;' and they have promised he shall be made 'The Great.' And, as if to complete

* See the remarkable Tract of Franz von Löher: Ueber Deutschlands Weltstellung. München, 1874.

the

the irony of the situation, the owners, or the heirs, of a hand of English titles, formerly unreclaimed, are now enrolled upon list of his most orthodox, most obsequious followers; altho the mass of the British nation repudiates him more eagerly resolutely than it has done for many generations.

Such is this great, sad, world-historic picture. Sometime will happen that, in a great emporium of Art, a shrewd bu after hearing the glowing panegyric of a veteran dealer u some flaming and pretentious product of the brush, will re Yes, no doubt, all very true; but it is not a good picture to with. So with regard to that sketch from the halls of the Vati which we have endeavoured faithfully to present, we ask reader in conclusion, or ask him to ask himself, *Is it a g picture to live with?*

Note on No. 274, Art. 'The Jesuits.'

We have received a letter from Father Newman, in refe to a paragraph on p. 294 in our last number, informing u he had never contemplated entering the 'Society of Jesus.' regret most sincerely if anything we have written has annoyance to Father Newman. As a matter of fact, h we would point out that we never alleged that he had f demanded admission into the Order, or that his request h met by a formal refusal. We merely coupled his nar those of several men, eminent for their religious vocati had certainly been brought into more or less close c with the Order, without such relation having result abiding connexion. But Father Newman's statement tinct in his letter to us as to remove all possible ambig the nature of his relation to the Order, and we theref Second Edition of our last number, omitted his na paragraph referred to.

THE

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ART. I.—*Macready's Reminiscences, and Selections from his Diaries.* Edited by Sir Frederick Pollock, Bart., one of his Executors. 2 Vols. 8vo. London, 1875.

THE condition of a great actor's work is that it dies with him. Let him have put into it all that life-long observation and study, quickened by the creative energy of genius, can produce, he must still be content to forego the natural yearning of the artist for a hold upon the hearts and minds of a future day. With the kindred spirits, who 'rule us from their tombs,' he knows he can never rank. As Alfred de Musset has said of them—

'*Jamais l'affreuse nuit les prend tout entiers.*'

But with him it is different. Who shall preserve from oblivion that magic of voice, that charm of form, of look, of gesture, through which his soul has spoken to his fellow-men with such resistless eloquence? Yet is he not without his consolations. No noble influence is ever wholly lost; and he may find compensation for the short-lived doom of his noblest creations in the assurance that the power of his genius, which has been reflected to him in the palpable emotion or ringing plaudits of his audience, has opened up to them a world of poetry and emotion, which but for him they would never have known. His 'so potent art' has awakened them to a knowledge of their own hearts. It has widened the sphere of their sympathies; flashed light upon the conceptions of the greatest poets, which has made them living realities, even for the unimaginative; and in doing this it has communicated impulses which may exercise a lasting influence for good on the lives of thousands. Happier, too, than many great poets and artists, the great actor has not to wait for his fame. It meets him face to face in the eager eyes, the hushed breath, the triumphant acclaim of his contemporaries. Not in vain has he lived, who owes such success to having wrought with a pure aim in turning to the highest account the special gift of genius. Even though his work die with him,

he may comfort himself with the thought that its excellence lingers long in the traditions of the world, and that he will at least remain—how few even of the greatest do more?—the shadow of a mighty name.

Great actors as a rule have accepted this condition of their existence cheerfully. They have not sought to keep their name and fame before the world by autobiographies or memoirs, but have left themselves and their merits to be dealt with by other pens than their own. In truth, there is little to awaken interest in the story of an actor's life. The successive steps in his career, the long apprenticeship in the practical study of his art, the passage from stage to stage, the gradual rise to eminence and fortune, all so interesting to himself, can have no attraction for any reasonable creature. The mature fruit of his toils, his impersonations, into which he throws himself with all that study and experience have taught him, it is with these alone that the public have any concern. The true artist on the stage, as elsewhere, will, above all, be a gentleman; and as he will shrink in his life from that vulgar curiosity (never more rife than in the present day) which seeks to penetrate into the private history and habits of those who, by the necessity of their vocation, live much in the public eye, he will be no less chary of ministering to this curiosity when he has passed away, and it can no longer wound his feelings or outrage his self-respect.

Hence it is that the greatest actors have added little to biographical literature. The most illustrious of our own stage, Betterton, Booth, Quin, Garrick, Barry, the Kembles, Young, have all kept silence. Some, if not all of these could write well; and Garrick, the ablest of them all, had, as his letters testify, the very qualities to make him pre-eminent in this branch of literature. It is impossible not to regret that he had not found time to devote himself to it. What memoirs might he not have written! Of himself he would probably have told us little. But what sketches of manners might we not then have had! What anecdotes; what conversations of Beauclerk, of Johnson, of Goldsmith, of Reynolds, of Burke and Chatham; of Diderot, Maupertuis, of D'Holbach, and all the brilliant society of Paris! What pictures of the leading men and women of his time; and there were few whom he did not know! Above all, how might he have set in all the hues of life before us his great compeers on the stage—Quin, Macklin, Powell, Barry, Mossop, Sheridan, Weston, King, Mrs. Woffington, Mrs. Cibber, Kitty Clive, Mrs. Pritchard, Mrs. Abington,—doing for them what Colley Cibber has done for Betterton, for Mountfort and Bracegirdle. What invaluable lessons should we not then have had in

in dramatic criticism! What hints to make the stage, as it ought to be, a school of manners and of high thinking, as well as the most delightful of all amusements!

The great actors of France, it is true—Le Kain, Préville, Molé, Talma, and others—have left written records behind them. But in them little is to be found of their personal history. It is of their art and not of themselves they write; their memoirs being confined almost exclusively to illustrations of what the stage is capable, conveyed either in examples taken from other actors, or in general propositions for the guidance of those who may have to practise or to criticise the actors' art. Nor could better guides to a just appreciation of that art be desired. They were proud of it; for they regarded it from the same high point of view as Voltaire, when he said of a genius for it, that it was '*le plus beau, le plus rare, et le plus difficile des talents.*' It was an art which in its perfection could only come of 'the gifts that God gives.' It could not, as the great comedian Préville wrote, be *taught:* 'A man must be born an actor, and then it is not a master he needs, but a guide.' Mlle. Clairon, though herself open to the charge of too artificial a style—'*elle est trop actrice,*' was Garrick's comprehensive criticism,—was equally clear on this point. 'I am aware of no rules,' she writes, 'no traditions, that are capable of imparting all those qualities of mind and sensibility which are indispensable for the production of a great actor; I know of no rule by which one can learn to *think*, to *feel;* Nature alone can give those faculties, which study, advice, and time, may serve to develop.'* But, though teaching could not make a fine actor, he was not therefore to dispense with culture and study. 'Fill yourselves with knowledge,' Clairon says elsewhere; 'be unremitting in the search for truth; by dint of care, of study, make yourselves worthy to educate your public, and constrain them to own that you profess the most difficult of all the arts, and not the most degraded of mechanical crafts.'

Le Kain, himself an illustrious instance of the power and patience of genius to overcome the disadvantages of face and figure for a vocation where such disadvantages are most felt—that inexpressible something which made 'Pritchard genteel and Garrick six-feet high,'—writes eloquently in the same strain. 'Soul is the foremost requisite of the actor; intelligence the second; truth and fervour of utterance the third; grace and symmetry of person the fourth. To be thoroughly master of his parts,

* '*Vois-tu*' wrote poor Rachel, when sinking under her fatal illness, '*pour étudier, il est bien inutile de parler, de faire des gestes; il faut penser, il faut pleurer.*' —'Madame de Girardin,' par Imbert de St. Arnaud, Paris, 1875, p. 263.

to know the force and significance of every line, never to lose sight of Nature, simple, noble, and affecting; to be assured that understanding is not to be acquired save by ripe meditation, nor practical skill save by persevering toil; to be always in his part; to use the picturesque with skilful reserve; to be as true in level speaking as in the great movements of passion; to avoid whatever is trivial; to make his pauses not too frequent; to let nobility of style be seen even across his lightest moods; to avoid jerkiness in speaking; to weep only when the soul is stormed and thrust in upon itself by grief; to show unbroken attention to what is passing on the stage, and to identify himself with the character he represents:' these are some, and only some, of the qualities which go, in the estimation of one from whose judgment there could be no appeal, to constitute the claim to be considered a great actor.

Those who thought so highly of their art were not likely to be otherwise than proud of it. They bore within them that which might well make them indifferent alike to the prejudices that refused them the social status conceded to other artists, and to the Churchman's dogma, which denied to them, when dead, a resting-place in consecrated ground. Loving their pursuit as they did, with the passionate devotion which was one main secret of their excellence, they felt it gave them a rank above conventional distinctions. They would not, if they could, have exchanged it for any other. What could the sneer at the player's craft of some well-born fool, or of some professional pedant, matter to a man who knew he could cope with the best in every honourable quality, and whose business in life was to make his fellows familiar with 'the high actions and the high passions,' which make a poetical drama the best discipline of humanity? Nor were our English actors behind them in glorying in their vocation. On the Statute-book players might still appear as 'vagabonds;' but the profession which our supreme poet had followed, and for which his best works had been written, could not be degraded by the reckless classification of an obsolete law. The opinion of society soon abolished the stigma: the actor who respected himself was sure of its respect. Whom, indeed, was it prepared to welcome more kindly, or to accept in its most intellectual circles upon a footing of more complete equality? And if in public any slight were offered to him, he was sure of the support of his audience; just as it is upon record that the house went thoroughly with George Frederick Cooke, in his memorable retort, recorded in these volumes, to a young officer in the stage-box, who had made himself conspicuous by interrupting the play: 'You are an ensign? Sir, the King (God bless

s him!) can make any fool an officer, but it is only the
ighty that can make an actor!'
t naturally, therefore, excited no small surprise, not unmixed
h indignation, among the actors of the day, when before the
ect Committee on Dramatic Literature in 1832, presided over
Sir E. L. Bulwer, Mr. Macready, who had by this time taken
k with the leaders of his profession, spoke of it as one so 'un-
niting, that no person who had the power of doing anything
ter would, unless deluded into it, take it up.' In a separate
wer he disparaged it still farther by saying, 'that persons
) could find any other occupation would not take to one in
ich they were dependent entirely upon the humour of the
lic.' It was an ungracious speech, considering that the public
been kind to him to the full measure of his deserts. But
ad a farther and deeper significance, because it showed that
speaker wanted the first element of greatness, a thorough
h in his art, as in itself worthy, without reference to the measure
opular appreciation or of money value. It was obvious from
a reply that Mr. Macready did not view his profession, as
have seen Le Kain do, 'en grand.' His individual self was
e to him than his art. Its followers were exposed to popular
rice. But what artists are not? Did Gainsborough, Con-
le, Müller—nay, did even Flaxman,—rise to their true place
heir own day? Its returns in pounds, shillings, and pence,
e small. The artist in whose thoughts such things are
ermost, may be dexterous, may be popular; but without the
iration which seeks a vent, that will not be repressed, on
canvas, in the marble, or upon the stage, let the world requite
as it may, he will never be great.
he volumes before us are an instructive commentary on Mr.
eady's evidence in 1832. No one can read them without
ng that he had no special genius, in the right sense of the
d, for the stage. Accident, not impulse, took him there;
great force of will, and a determined ambition, carried him
a conspicuous place upon it, which his sound intellectual
ing and high personal character enabled him to maintain
honour. Whatever he had to do, it was his maxim to do
oughly. The inspiration of genius was not within his com-
d; but hard study and a certain fervour of style gave to
y of his impersonations something that seemed to come
r it. He worked at acting as he would have worked at juris-
lence or theology, had circumstances taken him to the Bar
o the Church. Under no conditions would he have been
tent to be lost in the common herd of toilers in the same
l. But to the artist's delight in his work for its own sake
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these volumes show very clearly that he was a stranger. Th fact, now placed by them beyond mere surmise, is, to our mind the best justification of those who qualified their admiration his talents by denying to him the attributes of an actor of th highest class.

While, therefore, this book will not raise the general estima of Mr. Macready as an actor, it will hardly make the world thin better of him as a man. Actors have an evil reputation f egotism and jealousy. No one ever lay more heavily under th imputation than Mr. Macready, while on the stage. We hav heard the greatest comedian of his time say of him: 'Macread never could see any merit in any living actor in his own line nor in any actress either, until she was either dead or off the stage.' The indictment was sweeping, but this book almost bears it out.

So little assured, apparently, was Mr. Macready of his hold on public favour, or, to use his own phrase, on 'popular caprice,' that he lived in constant dread of being ousted from it by some new favourite. The echo of applause, unless given to himself, fills him with 'envious and vindictive feelings.' The words are his own (vol. ii. p. 62). But for his own confessions, as here given, the extent of this weakness would have been incredible. Thus, when he was in the zenith of his reputation (29th August, 1837), he reads in the 'Morning Herald' that Mr. Phelps has made a decided success. What is his comment? 'It depressed my spirits, though perhaps it should not do so. If he is greatly successful, I shall reap the profits.' Mr. Phelps was then under engagement to appear in Mr. Macready's Company at Covent Garden. 'If moderately, he will strengthen my company; but an actor's fame and his dependent income is [*sic*] so precarious *that we start at every shadow of an actor.* It is an unhappy life (vol. ii. p. 88). By this rule nothing would have more thoroughly embittered his existence than a stage filled with performers of the highest stamp. No generous emulation, no triumph in the general exaltation of the drama, no delight in the display of genius or power in others, would compensate for the comparative eclipse of his own star. And yet this was the man whose highest claim on the public favour was his professed desire to raise and dignify the stage!

It is typical of the same morbid egotism, that even when Mr Macready is chronicling in the Diaries here published the production of the numerous poetical plays, which were the glory of his management at Covent Garden and Drury Lane, it is only of his own share in them he speaks. No one would ever suppose that they were supported by a body of performers scarcely inferior

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to himself, and to whom, at all events, quite as much as to himself, their success was due. In truth, Mr. Macready could 'bear, like the Turk, no brother near the throne.' If the main interest of any of the new pieces he produced was found on rehearsal or in performance not to centre in himself, it lost its interest for him. This was often alleged of him by both authors and actors; his own diaries 'give it proof.' Thus, when Bulwer's comedy of 'Money' is first put into his hands, he is charmed with it. He reads it to the Haymarket Company (24th October, 1840). 'It was quite successful,' he notes, 'with them.' A few days of rehearsals change the aspect of everything. 'As I write,' he says (4th November), 'doubts and misgivings rise in my mind. I have nothing great or striking in situation, character, humour or passion, to develop. The power of all this is thrown on Mr. Strickland, and partially on Mr. Webster.' On the 8th of December—in these days a month of rehearsals was not thought too much for a new play *—the comedy was produced. By this time Mr. Macready had apparently discovered that it was not only Mr. Strickland and Mr. Webster who might have the pull upon him—so he is 'very much depressed and low-spirited. . . . . Acted the part of Evelyn—not satisfied. I wanted lightness, self-possession, and in the serious scenes, truth. I was not good; I feel it. In the last scene, Miss Faucit, as I had anticipated, had quite the advantage over me. This was natural.' If so, then surely it was a thing to rejoice in; and those who remember how admirably all the parts of this brilliant comedy were filled on its first production will be surprised to find that this circumstance was only a source of vexation to one who, both as actor and as the trusted friend of the author, might well have been glad of whatever brought the merits of the play into the highest relief.

Mr. Macready was always ready to urge upon the members of his company that it was the actor that made the part, not the part that made the actor; and we have heard him cite in society, with warm commendation, the reply quoted in this book of the German actress, Schroeder, to some one who remarked with surprise on her condescending to perform the unimportant part of Lady Capulet, the night after she had taken her audience by storm as Lady Macbeth. 'Condescend,' she replied; 'is it not Shakspeare I acted?' Constant sacrifices of this kind were con-

* 'We have had twenty rehearsals of this,' said some one, at the end of the last rehearsal of Bulwer's 'Richelieu.' 'Then I wish you luck at *Vingt-et-un!*' said Tom Cooke, the leader of the orchestra. His wish was more than fulfilled.

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ceiled to Mr. Macready. But what was a sound rule for othe was apparently no rule for him. Thus, having played Fri Lawrence, in 'Romeo and Juliet' one night (30th April, 1838 he records: 'I find playing a part of this sort, with no characte to sustain, no effort to make, *no power of perceiving an impressio made*, to be a very disagreeable and unprofitable task. Havin required many of the actors to do what they considered beneat them, *perhaps* it was only a just sacrifice to their opinions t concede so far.' How little of the Schroeder spirit is here! Lad Capulet has not one feature of dramatic interest. On the othe hand, the character of Friar Lawrence is sketched with subtl skill, and he has, at least, one considerable speech of great beaut But it is beneath Mr. Macready's notice, because it gives n scope 'for perceiving the impression made,' or, in plain Englis for what is technically called 'bringing down the house.'

With strange inconsistency, the man to whom the plaudits an audience were as the breath of his nostrils, who could c nothing without the stimulus of 'perceiving an impression mad affected to abhor, and even to despise the only profession which this stimulus can be had. All through this book re lamentations at the untoward fate that made him an actor. Th wretched old Statute about 'vagabonds' poisons his existenc It is in vain that audiences cheer, that critics extol, th honours are showered upon him by statesmen and men letters as the great regenerator of the British stage. He was n a gentleman by Statute. 'The slow unmoving finger' of purely imaginary scorn troubled his peace. Nor was this a What might he not have done at the Bar, or in some other pr fession? The First Satire of his favourite Horace might ha taught him to cure himself, betimes, of that most foolish of foolish habits, which makes men sigh for some occupation oth than what choice or destiny has assigned them. What a ma does best may be pretty safely taken to be what he is be fitted to do. And Mr. Macready did his acting so well, that may fairly be doubted whether he could have done anythin else better, if so well. In his boyhood he was destined for th bar; but, judged by his own confessions, he had neither the patience, tact, nor temper, without which no man need hope to make his way there. A disposition like his, so morbidly sensitive, so impatient of control, so dictatorial and supercilious, would have exposed him to sufferings far more acute in that career than any he had to encounter on the stage, where it made many others suffer, who had to bear with it, as it would have been borne with nowhere else. Where else, too, could he have hoped to secure so many of the prizes for which so many excellent men

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to struggle in vain? His place upon the stage brought fame, a fair fortune, troops of friends in England, America, France, among them many of the choicest spirits of his , and the honours of more than one public dinner; and yet diaries abound with such entries as this: '19th February, 5.—I see a life gone in an unworthy, an unrequiting pursuit. at energy, great power of mind, ambition and activity that, discretion, might have done anything, now made into a er.' Or this, on the 1st July, 1843, when he has been to tminster Hall to see the Exhibition of Cartoons:—'Saw ral persons that I knew, to whom I did not speak, as I did know how far they might think themselves lowered in their opinion by speaking to me.' And yet the same morning ad breakfasted with Monckton Milnes (Lord Houghton), to Carlyle, Bunsen, Lord Morpeth, and several other people he same class, not one of whom but esteemed him, and ed him as they would any other gentleman of their acntance.

n it be, is the question that again and again rises, as we passage after passage of this kind, that Mr. Macready usly meant such revelations of personal foibles, if not of thing worse, to be given to the public? It is conceivable a man should turn his diary into a confessional, in which ld up in black and white before his own eyes his vanity, verweening estimate of his own powers and importance; his of temper, of envy, of jealousy, of morbid pride; his ges at fortune; his occasional misgivings about himself; his ences and self-reproaches. It may be also well for him, he should write down there his appeals to Heaven for help st these and other besetting sins. But such revelations can ely have been intended for the public eye. They are inly painful to those who would wish to think with respect of n, in many points of view, so excellent and so distinguished. teach nothing, because they are only one evidence the more e ineradicable weaknesses and follies even of the wise. y, too, the taste is more than equivocal which dictated the cation of such prayers as are here recorded, for protection st the vices of an overbearing temper which, by the way, was ys ready to break out with fresh vigour after every smiting breast, and cry of '*Mea culpa, mea maxima culpa.*' From lations such as these one turns away, as one would from a te letter left accidentally open. What can be said of them hat St. Beuve says of similar pious out-pourings in Madame etzine's Memoirs: '*Dès que la prière commence, la critique ire expire*'?

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We suppose that Sir Frederick Pollock did not feel himse at liberty, as the executor of his friend, to suppress any portic of the 'Reminiscences,' begun by Mr. Macready in 1855, an brought down to the end of 1826. We venture to think, howeve that Mr. Macready would have done more wisely, if, like his di tinguished predecessors, he had left the story of his life altogeth in other hands. But, if the 'Reminiscences' were retained, n mercy should have been shown to the subsequent Diaries. A that is really valuable in them would have gone into a compar tively small compass; and worked up, as the Editor is so we qualified to have worked them, into a compact and animate biography, he might have added an agreeable volume to th not too numerous list of good works that deal with the history the English stage. Had he used the contents of the prese volumes as the materials for a biography, cutting remorseless away all that is essentially private and unimportant, or nee lessly communicative, enough would have been left to make a amusing and instructive book. If he had been a little blind the faults of his hero, so much the better; Mr. Macready's go qualities would then have stood out in probably truer propo tion and relief. We should have thought only with pleasure the old favourite, to whom we had owed many a delightful a instructive hour in the dreamland of the theatre. At the sa time we should have escaped a host of details, with which t book is now weighted, of where, and what, and when M Macready played; how much a night he got; how his Macd at one place was imbecile, his Laertes, at another, infected wi the vice of the Court of Denmark; his Evadne, at a third, wit out brains or bearing; how much money was in the theatre one night, how little on another; how, at one time, he w called on, night after night, after the play, or how, to his amaz ment, he was not once called on through a whole engagemen of petty squabbles, and prosy speeches—all that, in a word, ma be dismissed as the merest chronicling of personal and theatric small talk.

William Charles Macready was born in London, on the 3r of March, 1793. His father, the son of a well-to-do Dublin u holsterer, left the paternal business for the stage, and after ru ning the usual career in the provinces, and playing for son time in London, became the manager of the Birmingham, She field, and other theatres. He wrote the successful farce of 'Th Irishman in London,' produced at Covent Garden, in 1782, an seems to have enjoyed and merited the respect of the vario towns where he flourished as a manager through a long lif

His first wife, the mother of W. C. Macready, was also on the stage, a fact of which, oddly enough, her son makes no mention in his 'Reminiscences.' She seems to have been one of those mothers whose sweet influence penetrates the lives of their children, and haunts them like some holy presence. She died in December, 1803, and her son never speaks of her but with the deepest reverence and devotion. Doubtless he cost her no small share of anxiety, for in his childhood he was marked, to use his own words, by 'a most violent and self-willed disposition;' an inheritance from his father, in which the gentle mother must have foreseen a pregnant source of future trouble.

Macready was one of six children. The family means were small, the parents busy. So while little better than an infant he was got out of the way by being sent to a day-school. Henceforth he says, 'my childhood and boyhood were all school.' A preparatory school at Kensington, where the pupils were arrayed 'in uniform of scarlet jacket, with blue or nankeen trousers,' next received him; and from this he was removed to a school in Birmingham, where the master, a Mr. Edgell, 'a violent tempered man,' who was confidently believed to have forsaken the tailors' shopboard for the ferule and the desk, did his best to make his pupil's bad temper worse, while initiating him in the mysteries of English grammar and Bonnycastle's arithmetic. But the future actor was even then foreshadowed in the fact, so commonly met with in the lives of players, that recitation was his forte.

He learned quickly, and retained what he learned. Pope's Homer was got almost by heart; and its author became so great a favourite with him, that long afterwards he prepared for his children, and subsequently published, an expurgated edition of Pope's works. The great London actors when set free by the close of the London theatrical season, which was then a winter one, were available for his father's theatre at Birmingham. Here in the manager's dressing-room he had a glimpse of King, dressed as Lord Ogleby. The grand deportment and beauty of Mrs. Siddons were engraven on his boyish memory. The face of Mr. W. T. Lewis, the great comedian, also made an indelible impression on the boy; but of Mrs. Billington all he could remember was the figure of a very lusty woman, and the excitement of the audience when the orchestra struck up the symphony of Arne's rattling bravura, 'The Soldier Tired,' in the opera of 'Artaxerxes.' He had the much greater good fortune to catch a glimpse of Nelson when, during the short

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peace of Amiens, the hero of the Nile made a tour of seve of the provincial towns—'a recreation apparently innoc enough, but which was harshly reflected on in the House Lords:'—

'The news of his arrival spread like wildfire, and when his intent of going to the theatre got wind, all who had heard of it, as ma have been expected, flocked there to behold, and do him honour. play was Shakespeare's "Merry Wives of Windsor," for the benefi a player of the name of Blissett, who had some repute in the part Falstaff. At my father's request Lord Nelson consented to bespe for the next night the play of "King Henry IV.," wishing to s Blissett again in Falstaff. The box-office was literally besieged ear the next morning, and every place soon taken. At the hour commencement my father was waiting with candles to conduct t far-famed hero through the lobby, which went round the whole sem circle of the lower tier, to his box. The shouts outside announced t approach of the carriage: the throng was great, but being close to m father's side, I had not only a perfect view of the hero's pale an interesting face, but listened with such eager attention to every wo he uttered, that I had all he said by heart, and for months afterwar was wont to be called upon to repeat "what Lord Nelson said to yo father." This was in substance to the effect that the univers esteem in which his, my father's, character was held in the town ma it a pleasure and a duty to render him any assistance.

'Nothing of course passed unnoticed by my boyish enthusiasm the right-arm empty sleeve attached to his breast, the orders upon a sight to me so novel and remarkable; but the melancholy expressi of his countenance and the extremely mild and gentle tones of his voi impressed me most sensibly. They were indeed for a life's remem brance. When with Lady Hamilton and Dr. Nelson he entered t box, the uproar of the house was deafening, and seemed as if would know no end. The play was at length suffered to proce after which was a sort of divertisement in honour of the illustrio visitor, from one song of which I can even now recollect one couple Oh sacred Nine, forgive me while I quote it!

'"We'll shake hands, and be friends; if they won't, why, what then?
We'll send our brave Nelson to thrash 'em again.
Derry down," &c.

The crowded house was frantic in its applause at this sublime effusic Lady Hamilton, laughing loud and without stint, clapped with uplift hands and all her heart, and kicked with her heels against the fo board of the seat, while Nelson placidly and with his mournful lo (perhaps in pity for the poet)* bowed repeatedly to the oft-repeat cheers. Next day my father called at the hotel to thank his Lordshi when Nelson presented him with what he intended to be the cost

* Surely not. The lines had the right ring in them,—the faith in their her their faith in themselves, which carried the British nation through the fier ordeal of that time.

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his box wrapped in paper, regretting that his ability to testify his respect for my father was so much below his will. My father never told me the amount, but purchased with it a piece of plate that he retained to his death in memory of the donor. I should not omit to mention that in the hall of the hotel were several sailors of Nelson's ship wanting to see him, to each of whom the great admiral spoke in the most affable manner, inquiringly and kindly, as he passed through to his carriage, and left them, I believe, some tokens of his remembrance.'

The failing health of Macready's mother drew her to the waters of Leamington, 'then a small village, consisting only of a few thatched houses, not one tiled or slated, the Bowling Green Inn being the only one where very moderate accommodation could be procured.' It was there he saw her last, when he set out with his father for Rugby, with all a boy's trepidations and reluctance to face the unknown future of a great Public School. He fell there as fag under a very harsh master, 'a young Irishman of the name of Ridge,' and wrote home such piteous letters, that his father more than once thought of sending for him. The mother, with a wiser sagacity, prevented this. Her boy was no worse off than other boys, and he had a kind cousin in Mr. Birch, one of the masters, who would not suffer him to be ill-treated. So there he remained —making a course through the school rapid beyond precedent, and attaining the fifth form in three years, 'from which advance he began to be sensible of a certain enjoyment of his position.'

It was one of the amusements of the bigger boys at Rugby to get up plays, and they were not likely to overlook the fact that the father of one of their school-fellows had a theatre no farther off than Birmingham. Here was an easy way to get at play-books and dresses, and these were readily furnished to them on the application of the manager's son. Some requital for such a service was due even to an Under School-boy. It was given first in the distinguished post of prompter. Higher honours followed; and Dame Ashfield in 'Speed the Plough,' Mrs. Brulgruddery in 'John Bull,' the Jew in Dibdin's 'School for Prejudice,' and Briefwit in the farce of 'Weathercock,' a tolerably varied list, were the maiden efforts of the future tragedian.

Other excitements varied the school routine. Nothing was talked of but Buonaparte and invasion. The older boys went through regular drill after school-hours with heavy wooden broadswords, 'their blue coats cuffed and collared with scarlet.' These

These were also the days of one of the maddest frenzies that ever possessed the play-going public. It was only in August last that its object died at the ripe age of eighty-three, 'a prosperous gentleman.' William Henry West Betty, the Young Roscius, 'a miracle of beauty, grace, and genius,' as Macready calls him, and still a mere boy, was the theme of all discourse:—

'"The young Roscius" became a rage, and in the *furore* of public admiration the invasion ceased to be spoken of. He acted two nights at Leicester; and on a half-holiday, my cousin Birch having sent a note to excuse me and his eldest son from the afternoon's callings-over, at my father's request Tom Birch and myself were smuggled into a chaise and reached Leicester in time for the play, "Richard III." The house was crowded—John Kemble and H. Harris, son of the Patentee of Covent Garden, sat in the stage box immediately behind us. I remember John Kemble's handkerchief strongly scented of lavender, and his observation, in a very compassionate tone, "Poor boy! he is very hoarse." I could form little judgment of the performance, which excited universal enthusiasm, and in the tempest of which we were of course borne along.

'. . . After the play, Tom Birch and myself got into our chaise, and travelling through the night reached Rugby in good time for "first lesson" in the morning.'

This popularity, like all similar fashionable crazes, was doomed to a sudden extinction. When he had reached manhood the public turned a cold ear to him, and, as Macready thinks, unjustly:—

'It seemed,' he says, 'as if the public resented on the grown man the extravagance of the idolatry they had blindly lavished on the boy.' His level speaking was not agreeable. 'A sort of sing-song and a catch in his voice suggested the delivery of words learned by heart, not flowing from the impulse or necessity of the occasion; but when warmed into passion he became possessed with the spirit of the scene, and in witnessing as I have done, his illustration of passages with all the originality and fire of genius, the conviction was pressed upon me that if he had not had to his prejudice the comparison of his boyish triumphs, and the faulty manner derived from frequent careless repetition, he would have maintained a distinguished position in his maturer years.'

In 1807 Dr. Wooll succeeded to the headmastership of Rugby. He was too indulgent; and there being no longer the same pressure on his industry as under Wooll's predecessor, Dr. Inglis, young Macready for a time fell back in his studies. Happily he pulled up in time; and to retrieve what he had lost, would get out of bed when the house was asleep, hang up clothes against the windows to hide his light, and with the help of strong tea, sit up to a late hour working at his Homer or Virgil.

Dr.

oll varied the exercises of the elder boys by introducing position of English verses, and in addition to the prizes e and Latin verse, gave prizes for speaking, as a test of utionary powers of the fifth and sixth forms. Young ly had clearly struck him as a declaimer above the . He assigned the boy the closet scene in 'Hamlet' for lic declamation, and in answer to his remonstrance on e of its difficulty, silenced him by saying, 'If I had not d you to do something extraordinary, I should not have ou out of your place.' 'Robinson, afterwards Master of nple, Lord Hatherton (*né* Walhouse), and the late Sir ketts,' Mr. Macready notes, 'were the best speakers.' comments made at the time on one of the cards by an tleman who was present at the representation on the Tuesday in June, 1808, quoted by his Editor, while they the excellence of Robinson and Ricketts, place Macready n a level with them. They are 'excellent,' 'very well,' xcellent,' but his share in the entertainment is pronounced 'surprisingly well indeed.' In Dr. Wooll's time the plays were got up 'in a more expensive style' than in his ssor's, and 'with great completeness.' Audiences from n and neighbourhood were invited. The young actors high game. Dr. Young's tragedy of 'Revenge' with ce of 'Two Strings to your Bow' made a strong bill. and Lazarillo, the leading parts, fell to Macready.

success was great; we were all much applauded, and I er the remark of a Mr. Caldecot, reported to me, "I should sy if I saw a son of mine play so well." I had, however, no of this but as an amusement, and my pride would have been d if a suspicion had been hinted that I could regard it in any ght. The half-year closed with speeches before an auditory ng only of the school and the gentry of the town. My place last among the speakers, and I can now remember the inward I felt in marking, as I slowly rose up, the deep and instant at went through the whole assembly; I recollect the conscious felt, as the creaking of my shoes came audibly to my ears I deliberately advanced to my place in the centre of the school. ech was the oration of Titus Quintius, translated from Livy. a little triumph in its way, but the last I was doomed to obtain old Rugby.'

ther reminiscence, which falls within this period, is not resting. In passing through Birmingham Macready went theatre, which had by this time fallen into other hands, her having left it for Manchester. The afterpiece was a pantomime, founded on Monk Lewis's ballad of 'Alonzo and

and Imogene.' The manager's wife, a lady cast in 'Natu amplest mould,' was the fair Imogene:

'As if in studied contrast to this enormous "hill of flesh," a li mean-looking man, in a shabby green satin dress (I remember h well), appeared as the hero, Alonzo the Brave. It was so ridiculc that the only impression I carried away was that the hero and hero were the worst in the piece. How little did I know, or could gu that under that shabby green satin dress was hidden one of the m extraordinary theatrical geniuses that have ever illustrated the drama poetry of England! When, some years afterwards, public enthusia was excited to the highest pitch by the appearance at Drury Lane an actor of the name of Kean, my astonishment may easily be c ceived on discovering that the little insignificant Alonzo the Bra was the grandly impassioned personator of Othello, Richard, a Shylock!'

On young Macready's return home for the holidays of t winter, 1808-9, it was to find his father ruined. The Manches theatre had proved a failure, and had absorbed the little proper which the elder Macready had accumulated in previous years successful management in Birmingham, Sheffield, Newcastle, a elsewhere, and out of which he had sustained the very conside able expenses of his son at Rugby. An exhibition at Oxfo a degree, and a call to the bar had till then been the boy's a bition. But this dream was all at once rudely dispelled. T last half-year's bills at Rugby even were unpaid. Mr. Bir his kind cousin there, at once relieved him of this difficulty; b his father was, in fact, bankrupt, and a return to Rugby w impossible. Mr. Macready writes, in a mysterious way, of lady then staying in our house,' who had made mischief betw his father and himself, and from whom he first learned the st of his father's affairs. From her the suggestion came at same time that he should go on the stage.

'Would not my doing so relieve my father from the fart expense of my education? My expectations did not go beyond t result. The extravagant views of my counsellor looked to anot young Roscius *furore* (I being not yet sixteen years of age), speculated on a rapid fortune.'

When he spoke to his father it was to tell him his mind made up to go on the stage. His father, who by this time well aware of the obstinacy of his son's temper, seems to h dealt quite fairly with him. 'It had been the wish of his li he said, 'to see me at the Bar, but if it was my real wish to upon the stage, it would be useless for him to oppose it.' the Zanga of Rugby School the stage was probably not with allurements. In any case, he went there of his own choi

sway

swayed, perhaps, by the thought that he was doing something noble in sacrificing his dreams of forensic distinction to filial duty. If he really had within him the qualities to make a great lawyer, all the odds are against his having given up his first ambition. Men have fought their way to the first rank at the Bar under heavier disadvantages. At once he set about preparing himself for his future vocation, taking lessons in fencing, and getting by heart the words of the youthful characters then in vogue. Meanwhile his classics were not forgotten, and this, with the assistance which he gave his father in the business of his theatre, kept him fully employed. Of his father as an instructor for his future work he speaks slightingly. He had no originality himself. Macklin and Henderson, the heroes of his youth, John Kemble, and even Pope and Holman, were his ideals. Consequently he referred always to what he had seen, and cited the manner in which past celebrities would deliver particular passages. A worse monitor for a young man, who was not strong enough to think for himself, and find his own modes of expression, could not well be conceived. Every period has its style; so has every genuine artist; neither will fit another age or another individual. So we are not surprised to hear that Macready 'in after-life had the difficult task of unlearning much that was impressed upon him in his boyish days.'

Worse for a youth afflicted with a fierce and imperious temper was the circumstance that, as his father was forced to keep out of the way to avoid arrest, he had to carry on the business of his theatres for him. Managers are by necessity despots. How hurtful to one, already too self-willed, must it have been to find himself in a position where he could lay down the law on all subjects within a little kingdom of his own! The entire management devolved on him at Newcastle, where he remained for two months, 'not deriving much advantage, though some experience, from the society of some of the players, and falling desperately in love with one of the actresses—no improbable consequence of the unguarded situation of a boy of sixteen.' Availing himself of the invitation of his father's friend, Fawcett, one of the best comedians of the day, he came to London in the end of 1809, to see the best actors, and to learn fencing from the best masters. During this time Macready reports that he had the satisfaction of seeing Cooke, Young, C. Kemble, Munden, Fawcett, Emery, Liston, and other first-rate performers. It was his business to see as much good acting as he could, and he did so. Among other things, he saw the fine powers of Elliston, who had taken the Surrey Theatre, where the law

allowed him to perform only burlettas, wasted on Macbeth performed as a pantomime, and on Captain Macheath, with Gay's pithy prose thrown into jingling rhyme. The first public experiment in the use of gas also attracted his notice in the shape of a star before a house in Pall Mall, 'which relighted itself as the wind every now and then blew out some of its jets.'

This visit over, young Macready had to begin the work of life in earnest. The father was in Lancaster Castle, a prisoner for debt, until set free by the proceedings in bankruptcy, and the task of working his company and keeping it together was undertaken by his son. All went so well in his hands, that the son was able to remit to his father three pounds a week 'in his melancholy duress at Lancaster,' and to carry on his theatre at Newcastle with credit. Before the season closed his father obtained his release, his certificate of bankruptcy having been granted under circumstances which speak volumes for his integrity, and which his son records with an honourable pride.

When the elder Macready resumed the direction of his theatre, his son, though relieved from business responsibilities, continued to superintend the rehearsals, and in the getting up of the melodramas, pantomimes, &c., he 'was the instructor of the performers.' No wonder he fell into the habit of playing the schoolmaster to all about him, which made him in after-years so obnoxious to his fellows. The time for his own *début* had now arrived. It was made in the character of Romeo at Birmingham, where his father had again become manager. What he tells of his feelings on the occasion confirms our conviction, that inclination, quite as much as duty, sent him upon the stage.

'The emotions I experienced on first crossing the stage, and coming forward in face of the lights and the applauding audience, were almost overpowering. There was a mist before my eyes. I seemed to see nothing of the dazzling scene before me, and for some time I was like an automaton moving in certain defined limits. I went mechanically through the variations in which I had drilled myself, and it was not until the plaudits of the audience awoke me from the kind of waking dream in which I seemed to be moving, that I gained my self-possession, and really entered into the spirit of the character and, I may say, felt the passion, I was to represent. Every round of applause acted like inspiration on me: I "trod on air," became another being, or a happier self; and when the curtain fell at the conclusion of the play, and the intimate friends and performers crowded on the stage to raise up the Juliet and myself, shaking my hands with fervent congratulations, a lady asked me, "Well, sir, how do you feel now?" my boyish answer

wer was without disguise, "I feel as if I should like to act it all r again."'

)nce launched in the profession, Macready worked at it with husiasm. Not content with the regular work of the week, used to lock himself into the theatre after morning service on Sundays, and pace the stage in every direction to give him- ease, and become familiar in his deportment with exits and ances, and with every variety of gesture and attitude. 'My racters,' he adds, 'were all acted over and over, and speeches ted, till, tired out, I was glad to breathe the fresh air again. s was for several years a custom with me.' The manager's was sure to get quite his share of all the best parts, as well f the public favour; and so early as 1811 we find him, while only eighteen, risking his honours at Newcastle in the part Iamlet. It was a success. All Hamlets are so, more or less. remarks on the occasion are much to the purpose.

The critic who had made a study of this masterpiece would predict confidence a failure in such an experiment, but he would not taken into account the support to the young aspirant supplied he genius of the poet. There is an interest so deep and thrilling e story, such power in the situations, and such a charm in the nage, that with an actor possessed of energy, a tolerable elocution, some grace of deportment, the character will sufficiently interpret f to the majority of an audience to win for its representative, their delight, the reward of applause really due to the poet's llence. A total failure in Hamlet is of rare occurrence. . . . ere be players, that I have seen play, and heard others praise, that highly," in the character, who could as soon explain and ncile its seeming inconsistencies, as translate a page of Sanscrit. Johnson, who so lucidly describes the mind of Polonius, has us in his observations clear proof that he did not understand that Hamlet; and audiences have been known to cheer innovations traps for applause, which the following words of the text have n to be at utter variance with the author's intention! My e essay, like those of many others, was pronounced a success; the probing inquiry and laborious study of my after-life have ifested to me how little was due to my own skill in that early onation.'

n 1812 he found himself cast to play with Mrs. Siddons, as took Newcastle on her way to London, where she was about ake her leave of the stage. The plays were 'The Gamester' 'Douglas.' Young Norval in the latter was one of Macready's ourite parts; but he might well have been appalled, as he s he was, at the thought of playing Beverley, and for the first e, to the Mrs. Beverley of the great actress. It was one of

her greatest parts. Leigh Hunt, writing in 1807, classes it with her Lady Macbeth. He cites—'The bewildered melancholy of Lady Macbeth walking in her sleep, or the widow's mute stare of perfected misery by the corpse of the gamester Beverley, two of the sublimest pieces of acting on the English stage,' as the highest illustration of Mrs. Siddons' power in the natural expression of profound emotion, which he considered to be 'the result of genius rather than of grave study.'

Mr. Macready writes, as he always spoke, of Mrs. Siddons with enthusiasm. With fear and trembling he was sent by his father to her hotel to rehearse his scenes with her. 'I hope, Mr. Macready,' was her goodnatured salutation to him, 'you have brought some hartshorn and water with you, as I am told you are terribly frightened at me.' Some farther remarks she made about his being a very young husband. Had he not been the manager's son the remark would in all likelihood have been more pointed than it was. It could not have been pleasant for an actress of her mature and stately proportions to find herself played to by a comparative boy. The business of the morning over, he took his leave with fear and trembling to steady his nerves for the coming night. He got through his first scene with applause. In the next, his first with Mrs. Beverley, he was so overcome by fear that his memory failed him, and he stood bewildered. 'Mrs. Siddons kindly whispered the word to me (which I never could take from the prompter), and the scene proceeded.'

'What eulogy can do justice to her personations! . . . Will any verbal account of the most striking features of "the human face divine" convey a distinct portraiture of the individual? How much less can any force of description imprint on the imagination the sudden but thrilling effects of tone or look, of port or gesture, or even of the silence so often significative in the development of human passion! . . I will not presume to catalogue the merits of this unrivalled artist but may point out, as a guide to others, one great excellence that distinguished all her personations. This was the unity of design, the just relation of all parts to the whole, that made us forget the actress in the character she assumed. Throughout the tragedy of "The Gamester" devotion to her husband stood out as the mainspring of her actions, the ruling passion of her being; apparent when reduced to poverty in her graceful and cheerful submission to the lot to which his vice has subjected her, in her fond excuses of his ruinous weakness, in her conciliating expostulations with his angry impatience, in her indignant repulse of Stukely's advances, when the awful dignity of outraged virtue she imprecates the vengeance of Heaven upon his guilty head. The climax to her sorrows and sufferings was in the dungeon, when on her knees, holding her dying husband

l, he dropped lifeless from her arms. Her glaring eyes were
i stony blackness on his face; the powers of life seemed
ed in her; her sister and Lewson gently raised her, and slowly
unresisting from the body, her gaze never for an instant
from it; when they reached the prison door she stopped, as if
ɔd from a trance, uttered a shriek of agony that would have
the hardest heart, and, rushing from them, flung herself as if
ɔn in death, on the prostrate form before her.
stood alone on her height of excellence. Her acting was
ɔn, and as I recall it I do not wonder, novice as I was, at my
ɪtion when on the stage with her. But in the progress of the
ɡradually regained more and more my self-possession, and in
scene as she stood by the side wing, waiting for the cue of
rance, on my utterance of the words, "My wife and sister!
ɾell! there is but one pang more, and then farewell world!"
ɜed her hands, clapping loudly, and calling out "Bravo! sir,
' in sight of part of the audience, who joined in her applause.'

incident of the 'Bravo! sir, bravo!' comes with a chilling
fter so much to make us think that the actress was lost
part. It might at least have been kept out of sight of
lience to whose tearful sympathies she was the next
t to make so terrible an appeal. Douglas went off with-
itch. The great lady sent for her 'Norval' after the
ɑd in her grandiose manner gave him some excellent

ɯ are in the right way," she said, "but remember what I say,—
tudy, study, and do not marry till you are thirty. I remember
was to be obliged to study at nearly your age with a young
about me. Beware of that: keep your mind on your art, do
it your study and you are certain to succeed. . . . God bless
Her words lived with me, and often in moments of despond-
ve come to cheer me. Her acting was a revelation to me,
ɔver after had its influence on me in the study of my art.
race, untiring energy *through all the variations of human*
blended into that grand and massive style, had been with her
ılt of patient application.'

words in italics are surely the mere hyperbole of praise.
iddons was no doubt supreme within her range; but her
vas narrow. She had dignity, grandeur, force—tender-
so in many of its phases. Constance, Hermione, Lady
ːh, Volumnia, and characters of the same class were
her means, physical and mental. But there was a wide
of passion outside these limits which she could not reach.
ıour, the primary requisite for the treatment of Shakspeare,
ɜ devoid; and in the portrayal of playful affection, and of
ɐigh Hunt calls the 'amatory pathetic,' she wholly failed.

She

She could, as Hunt says, 'overpower, astonish, affect, but she could not win.' What else might be expected from her 'grand and massive style'? From her acting Macready says he received a great lesson. 'Where opportunity presented itself,' he says, 'she never failed to bring out the passion of the scene and the meaning of the poet by gesture and action, more powerfully, I am convinced, than he originally conceived it.' This is the special gift of the great actor. As Voltaire said to Brizard, of the Comédie Française, '*Vous m'avez fait voir, dans le rôle de Brutus, des beautés que je n'avais pas aperçues en le composant.*' Mrs. Siddons had another great merit, which Charles Young tersely expressed by saying, 'She never indulged in imagination at the expense of truth.' Macready says the same thing in a more roundabout way.

'In giving life, and as it were reality to the character she represented, she never resorted to trick, or introduced what actors call "business," frequently inappropriate, and resulting from the want of intelligence to penetrate the depth of the emotions to be portrayed.'

Of Mrs. Jordan, whom he acted with soon afterwards at Leicester, Mr. Macready gives us some pleasant glimpses. The gayest, merriest, most spontaneous of actresses, she left no point unstudied, spared no pains to ensure her effects.

'At rehearsal,' he says, 'I remarked, as I watched this charming actress intently through her first scene, how minute and how particular her directions were; nor would she be satisfied, till by repetition she had seen the business executed exactly to her wish. The moving picture, the very life of the scene, was perfect in her mind, and she transferred it in all its earnestness to every movement on the stage.' 'With a spirit of fun, that would have out-laughed Puck himself, there was a discrimination, an identity with her character, an artistic arrangement of the scene that made all appear spontaneous and accidental, though elaborated with the greatest care. Her voice was one of the most melodious I ever heard; . . . and who that once heard that laugh of hers could ever forget it . . . so rich, so apparently irrepressible, so deliciously self-enjoying as to be at all times irresistible.'

What this laugh was, and the secret of its charm, Leigh Hunt has told us in even happier language.

'Her laughter is the happiest and most natural on the stage . . . It intermingles itself with her words, as fresh ideas afford her fresh merriment; she does not so much indulge as she seems unable to help it; it increases, it lessens with her fancy, and when you expect it no longer according to the usual habit of the stage, it sparkles forth at little intervals, as recollection revives it, like flame from half-smothered

smothered embers. This is the laughter of the feelings; and it is this predominance of the heart in all she says and does that renders her the most delightful actress in characters which ought to be more lady-like than she can make them, and which acquire a better gentility with others.'

Oh for the return of such acting and such criticism!

In 1813, the elder Macready having become the tenant of the Glasgow and Dumfries Theatres, his son made acquaintance with a fresh public, and laid the foundation of his popularity in the West of Scotland. He remembered with peculiar satisfaction the knot of playgoers who clustered in corners of the Glasgow pit, and by their murmurs of approval encouraged the young actor with the belief that they were giving their thoughts to what was going on before them. The theatre was the largest out of the metropolis, and the necessity which he felt himself under of more careful study and practice to satisfy the demands of an audience, which then, and we believe now, was critical as well as enthusiastic, had an excellent effect in advancing his mastery of his art. Here he had to measure his strength against young Betty, of whose energy, dignity, and pathos he speaks warmly, admitting at the same time that Betty did not study improvement in his art, and consequently 'deteriorated by becoming used-up in the frequent repetition of the same parts.'

Hitherto Macready had lived with his father. The temper of neither was good. The infirmity of his own, the son declares 'to have been the source of most of the misery he had known in life.' But when passion got the better of his father, 'there was no curb to the violence of his language.' Each had strong opinions; and as they did not always run in the same groove, the son very often provoked the displeasure of the father. 'If two men,' as Dogberry says, 'ride upon a horse, one must ride behind;' and we can well believe that the younger Macready was not likely to accept the hindmost place. He was now, too, approaching manhood; and after an angry parley, father and son parted on the understanding that the latter should thenceforth live apart, and receive a salary of three pounds a week. A truce was patched up for a time after the return of the company to their headquarters at Newcastle; but with such jarring elements, it could be of only brief duration. Meanwhile the son did his best to keep up the reputation of his father's theatres, taking on himself a heavy share of the work, writing pieces from Scott's 'Marmion' and 'Rokeby,' and re-arranging others, to meet the exigencies of the hour. In the midst of his labours, to spur his ambitious hopes, the tidings reached him of the triumph

triumph at Drury Lane, as Shylock, of the insignificant little Alonzo, of the Birmingham Theatre.

Macready had up to this time worked loyally for his father, and repaid all, and more than all, that had been expended upon that education at Rugby which was to prove of priceless value to his future career. Fresh disputes between them arose. Neither would give way, and Macready left home upon an engagement for Bath. The theatre there was at that time regarded as a sort of antechamber to the great Patent Theatres of London, 'and the judgment of a Bath audience a pretty sure presage of the decision of the metropolis.' The young actor stood the scrutiny of this critical public. He was hailed with 'compliments, invitations, troops of friends, and all the flattering evidences of unanimous success.' The rumour of his success soon spread. Mr. Harris, of Covent Garden, opened negotiations with him, and an engagement for seven weeks in Dublin at 50*l.* a week was the best assurance that he had now fairly got his foot on the first round of the ladder. The negotiations for Covent Garden having taken him to London, where Kean and Miss O'Neill were crowding the two great houses, the impressions they produced on him are well described:

'Places were taken one night at Drury Lane for "Richard III.," and for another Fawcett procured seats for us in the orchestra of Covent Garden, to see the Juliet of Miss O'Neill to the best advantage. Kean was engaged to sup with my father at the York Hotel after the performance of "Richard," to which I went with no ordinary feelings of curiosity. Cooke's representation of the part I had been present at several times, and it lived in my memory in all its sturdy vigour. . . . There was a solidity of deportment and manner, and at the same time a sort of unctuous enjoyment of his successful craft, in the soliloquising stage villany of Cooke, which gave powerful and rich effect to the sneers and overbearing retorts of Cibber's hero, and certain points (as the peculiar mode of delivering a passage is technically phrased), traditional from Garrick, were made with consummate skill, significance, and power.

'Kean's conception was decidedly more Shakespearian. He hurried you along in his resolute course with a spirit that brooked no delay. In inflexibility of will and sudden grasp of expedients he suggested the idea of a feudal Napoleon. His personation was throughout consistent, and he was only inferior to Cooke where he attempted points upon the same ground as his distinguished predecessor. . .

'My father and self were betimes in our box. Pope was the lachrymose and rather tedious performer of Henry VI. But when the scene changed, and a little keenly-visaged man rapidly bustled across the stage, I felt there was meaning in the alertness of his manner and the quickness of his step. As the play proceeded I became more and more satisfied that there was a mind of no common order. In his angry

ry complaining of Nature's injustice to his bodily imperfections, ıe uttered the line, "To shrink my arm up like a withered shrub," remained looking on the limb for some moments with a sort of er discontent, and then struck it back in angry disgust. My er, who sat behind me, touched me, and whispered, "It's very :!" "Oh, no!" I replied, "it is no common thing," for I found elf stretching over the box to observe him. The scene with Lady ıe was entered on with evident confidence, and was well sustained, he affected earnestness of petulance, to its successful close. In pting Buckingham to the murder of the children, he did not im- s me as Cooke was wont to do, in whom the sense of the crime apparent in the gloomy hesitation with which he gave reluctant rance to the deed of blood. Kean's manner was consistent with conception, proposing their death as a political necessity, and ply requiring it as a business to be done. The two actors were ılly effective in their respective views of the unscrupulous tyrant; leaving to Cooke the more prosaic version of Cibber, it would ı been desirable to have seen the energy and restless activity of n giving life to racy language and scenes of direct and varied ıcy in the genuine tragedy with which his whole manner and earance were so much more in harmony. In his studied mode of vering the passages, "Well! as you guess?" and "Off with his d! So much for Buckingham!" he could not approach the search- , sarcastic incredulity, or the rich vindictive chuckle of Cooke; but the bearing of the man throughout, as the intriguer, the tyrant, the warrior, he seemed never to relax the ardour of his pursuit, senting the life of the usurper as one unbroken whole, and closing vith a death picturesquely and poetically grand. Many of the ıble school resisted conviction in his merits, but the fact that he le me feel was an argument to enrol me with the majority on the isputable genius he displayed.

We retired to the hotel as soon as the curtain fell, and were soon ed by Kean, accompanied, or rather attended, by Pope. I need say with what intense scrutiny I regarded him as we shook hands our mutual introduction. The mild and modest expression of his ian features, and his unassuming manner, which I might perhaps ly describe as partaking in some degree of shyness, took me by rise, and I remarked with special interest the indifference with ch he endured the fulsome flatteries of Pope. He was very sparing ords during, and for some time after, supper; but about one o'clock, n the glass had circulated pretty freely, he became animated, fluent, communicative. His anecdotes were related with a lively sense he ridiculous; in the melodies he sang there was a touching grace, his powers of mimicry were most humorously or happily exerted in admirable imitation of Braham; and in a story of Incledon acting dy the Quaker at Rochester, without any rehearsal—where, in ing the favourite air, "When the lads of the village so merrily, " he heard himself to his dismay and consternation accompanied a single bassoon,—the music of his voice, his perplexity at each recurring

recurring sound of the bassoon, his undertone maledictions on the self-satisfied musician, the peculiarity of his habits, all were hit off with a humour and an exactness that equalled the best display Mathews ever made, and almost convulsed us with laughter. It was a memorable evening, the first and last I ever spent in private with this extraordinary man.'

This animated sketch is followed by an account of Miss O'Neill's Juliet, not so discriminating but, naturally, more glowing. The writer was young, susceptible, and he would have been more or less than mortal, if admiration for the beauty of the woman had not heightened the estimate of the actress.

Two years were yet to elapse before Macready was to face the ordeal of a London audience. He stood out for terms which the managers there were not prepared to yield. The interval was spent in most useful practice in the chief provincial theatres; but, at length, his cautious scruples having been overcome, and good terms secured, Mr. Macready appeared at Covent Garden as Orestes in 'The Distressed Mother,' on the 16th of September, 1816. He was received with the applause always liberally bestowed on every new performer, and this Kean, who was conspicuous in a private-box, helped to swell. Better still, the critics of the Press admitted his claims to distinction; Hazlitt, one of the best of them, described him 'as by far the best tragic actor that has come out in our remembrance, with the exception of Kean.' Othello, his next part of importance, confirmed the favourable estimate. The 'Times' gave him the highest praise in saying of it: 'The actor's judgment is shown in his practice of employing all his force in those passages of noiseless but intense feeling, and exhibiting it in all its sublime depths, if not by a sudden look or startling gesture, yet by a condensation of vigorous utterance and masculine expression, from which few will be disposed to appeal.' In Iago, which in after-years was one of his finest studies, he failed by his own admission. Hazlitt's remark, that 'Young in Othello was like a great humming-top, and Macready in Iago like a mischievous boy whipping him,' he owns was quite as complimentary as his own share of the performance deserved.

Miss O'Neill, John Kemble, Young, and Charles Kemble, were all at Covent Garden, and in the height of their popularity, and Macready found that he must be content to drop into a comparatively subordinate place. Kean, at Drury Lane, divided with them the public enthusiasm; and he had, consequently, abundant leisure to profit by the study of the performances of his great compeers. By this we are gainers, in a few excellent pages of description, which bring their distinctive qualities vividly before us,

s, and which are of especial value from the pen of one so well ualified to judge. But this enforced banishment to the second nk was wormwood to Macready, whose way it was to drop ito despondency whenever things did not go exactly to his ind. It actually led him to cast about in his thoughts 'in uest of some other mode of life less subject to those alternations f hope and dejection which so frequently and so painfully acted n my temper.' While in this mood he was summoned to the eading of a tragedy by a new author. This was Richard Lalor heil, with whose dramatic successes Macready was destined to ecome henceforth in a great measure identified. The play was 'The Apostate.' There were parts in it for Young, C. Kemble, and Miss O'Neill; that of Pescara was assigned to Macready. He took it 'mournfully and despondently.' Charles Kemble, a better judge of what was to be done with it, cheered him by saying, 'Why, William, it is no doubt a disagreeable part, but there is passion in it.' This was true; and the part, odious as it was, gave Mr. Macready his first real hold on the London public. Ludwig Tieck, who saw him in it, speaks of it in his 'Dramaturgische Blätter,' as a performance 'so vehement, truthful, and powerful,' that, for the first time in England, he felt himself recalled to the best days of German acting. 'If the young man,' he adds, 'continues in this style he will go far.' The impression produced on Tieck must have been a strong one, for he told Goethe's biographer, Mr. Lewes, many years afterwards, that he liked Macready better than either Kemble or Kean. It was, in some respects, unlucky for Macready that his very success in portraying the villanous passions of Pescara led to his having a series of others of a kindred character assigned to him. But if this had its bad side, it also had its good; for by the intensity and picturesqueness which he threw into these and other characters of a somewhat melodramatic cast, he made more progress in public favour than he would probably have done in the great characters of Shakspeare, where, rightly or wrongly, he would have suffered by comparison with established favourites.

In 1817, John Kemble gave his last performances. Asthma, and a general decline of health, had left but a wreck—a splendid one it is true—of his former self. Of all his parts, Macready gives the preference to King John, Wolsey, The Stranger, Brutus, 'and his peerless Coriolanus.' He was present at his last performance of Macbeth, and on this occasion Mrs. Siddons was unwise enough to appear as Lady Macbeth. The contrast with her former self was pitiable. 'It was not,' he says, 'a performance, but a mere repetition of the poet's text—no flash, no sign of her all-subduing genius!' Her brother languished through the

rising to a climax of desperation that brought down the en
cheers of the closely-packed theatre. All at once he seeme
away by the genius of the scene. At the tidings of "th
Birnam moving," he staggered, as if the shock had struck the
of life, and in the bewilderment of fear and rage could just
the words, "Liar and slave!" then lashing himself into
frantic rage, ended the scene in perfect triumph. His shrin
Macduff when the charm on which his life hung was brok
declaration that his antagonist was "not of woman bor
masterly stroke of art; his subsequent defiance was most hero
his death Charles Kemble received him in his arms, and laid h
on the ground, his physical powers being unequal to further

Mr. Macready nowhere appears to more advantage
volumes than in passages like this. When no persona
interfered, his criticisms as a rule are excellent. Th
both where books and acting were concerned, on wide
tion and careful study. But although his active life, a
self says, had been devoted chiefly to the study of p
playing, he always speaks with the modesty of true k
of his own powers as a critic. The standards by
judged were high, for he well knew that on the sta
books, '*le moyen le plus sûr*,' as Clairon says, '*d'anéantir
est de protéger la mediocrité*.' Knowing as he did, that o
his own was the most complex, and rested on facts
which few are even capable of observing, he was entitle
with some contempt of the opinion prevalent in Engl
no particular study is requisite to make a critic or conn

fitted him. Its rugged heroism, dashed with the poetical element, stood well out in his somewhat abrupt and impulsive mode of treatment. Barry Cornwall, the fast friend of his after-life, wrote a sonnet about it, praising 'the buoyant air,' the 'passionate tone' that breathed about it, and lit up the actor's eye 'with fire and freedom.' This success revived Macready's hopes, and encouraged him to 'bide his time.' 'Amurath,' in another of Sheil's now-forgotten plays, 'Bellamira, or the Fall of Tunis,' enabled him soon after to score a fresh success. 'Macready,' wrote the 'Times,' 'quite surpassed himself in the cool, remorseless villain regarding his victim with the smile of a demon.' The next season saw the production of the most successful of Sheil's plays, 'Evadne, or the Statue,' in which some fine situations, splendidly treated by Miss O'Neill, Young, Charles Kemble, and Macready, concealed that inherent weakness of both plot and dialogue, which have consigned it, with its fellows, to unregrettable oblivion. Here, as usual, Ludovico, Macready's part, was the villain of the piece. Such parts as Posthumus, in 'Cymbeline,' or Cassius, in 'Julius Cæsar,' however, came in to soothe his disappointed ambition. But it was not till the winter of 1819 that his chance came of being recognised as a Shakspearian actor. To his consternation, he found himself one day announced for Glo'ster, in 'Richard III.' It was no ordinary trial, with the fresh fame of Kean in the part staring him in the face. However, he was committed to the public, and must screw up 'each corporal agent to the terrible feat':—

'All that history could give me, I had already ferreted out; and for my portrait of the character—the self-reliant, wily, quick-sighted, decisive, inflexible Plantagenet—I went direct to the true source of inspiration, the *great* original, endeavouring to carry its spirit through the sententious and stagy lines of Cibber, not searching for particular "points" to make, but rendering the hypocrisy of the man deceptive and persuasive in its earnestness, and presenting him in the execution of his will as acting with lightning-like rapidity.'

His triumph was complete. It overcame even those who had hitherto thought lightly of his powers. Among these apparently was Leigh Hunt: 'We thought him a man of feeling,' he wrote in the next 'Examiner,' 'but little able to give a natural expression to it, and so taking the usual refuge in declamation. . . We expected to find vagueness and generality, and we found truth of detail. We expected to find declamation, and we found thoughts giving a soul to words.'

Covent Garden Theatre had been for some time in so languishing a state, that the company were playing on reduced salaries. Macready's success turned the tide, the exchequer was replenished, and

and by common consent, he now felt himself the leading actor of the Theatre. The ball once started kept rolling. In Coriolanus he won his next honours; and to confirm him in his place, Knowles's 'Virginius,' with its fresh and forcible, if somewhat flashy style, gave him a character which especially fitted him in all his strongest points. 'Austere, tender, familiar, elevated, mingling at once terror and pathos,' was the just description given of it by a critic of the day. It spoke home to people's hearts, and in Macready's treatment no play of modern times has drawn more tears, or more truly touched the springs of pity and terror.

From this time Macready's position was assured; and allowing for the vicissitudes of life, and of his profession, he became a prosperous, and but for his own desponding and querulous disposition, might have been a happy man. He rose at once in market value. Engagements poured in upon him, and he began to lay the foundation of the comfortable independence which he ultimately secured.

Macready was a Liberal and something more in politics, as so many men are who, like him, resent not having been born of gentle blood. In his Diary, on 30th December, 1835, *à propos* of the President's Speech, he writes: 'I read it through, and think it is to be lamented that European countries cannot learn the lesson of self-government from our wiser and happier brothers of the West.' The remark does not say much for his political sagacity; and a rough experience of American mobs, to be afterwards mentioned, cured him very effectually of his regret that we had gone on governing ourselves in our own way. In 1826, and again in 1843–4, when he visited the States, he was received with enthusiasm, and in a literal sense had secured 'golden opinions from all sorts of people.' The best men in the country had held out the hand of friendship to him. He had even thought for a time of settling there, and forgetting England with its mortifications, and its social distinctions, which were so abhorrent to his spirit.

Visits to Italy in 1822, and again in 1827, enabled Macready to gratify his love for art, and to enrich his mind with remembrances, which his previous studies qualified him to turn to excellent account. An engagement in Paris, in 1828, established his reputation with the most critical of audiences. Virginius, William Tell, Othello, and Hamlet, with the wide range of character, passion, and pathos which they involved, came as a sort of revelation to audiences accustomed to tragedies of a more limited scope, and transported them to an enthusiasm, which made them rank the young Englishman with Le Kain and Talma.

When

hen he returned to play in Paris, in 1844, this enthusiasm, we member, had very sensibly cooled. Either the actor's power had minished, or the taste for his methods had changed. His great bility and accomplishment continued to be recognised. But it as 'talent,' as distinct from 'genius,' of which such critics as anin, Th. Gautier, Edouard Thierry, and A. Dumas spoke.

The Diaries here published, which continue the story of lacready's career, from 1826, tell through many years a sad tale f bad temper, of angry jealousies, of somewhat unmanly queru-usness. The condition of the London stages was declining om bad to worse; and, if we may judge from his annual balance-eets, which no tradesman could have kept with closer care, his opularity was on the wane. An income of 3285*l.* 5*s.* 0*d.* in 827, has dropped, in 1832, to 1680*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.* Then come such ntries as this (October 2, 1832), '*Newspapers, middling, mid-ling. They persecute me.*' He finds the key to his own dis-uietudes in Johnson's remark on Dryden: 'He is always ngry at some past or afraid of some future censure.' He proaches himself with exhibiting '*odiosam et inutilem morosi-tem;*' and to what lengths this must have carried him we e from his noting (21st February, 1833), as something appa-ntly exceptional, '*Rehearsed with civility.*' A poor little boy, aying Albert to his William Tell, 'disconcerts and *enrages*' m. He plays Iago, at Manchester (13th March, 1833), 'pretty ell, but was certainly disconcerted, *if not annoyed*, by the share applause bestowed on Mr. Cooper.' Well might he say of mself; 'Vanity and a diseased imagination are the sources my errors and my follies,' although it was not quite so clear at they were what, in the same sentence, he calls 'the evil re-lt of a neglected youth.' It is so pleasant to throw the blame r our 'cunning bosom-sins' anywhere but upon our own pride d passionate will. What an amount of self-torture and humi-ation does a nature of this kind prepare for itself! It not only akes troubles, but magnifies those to which all men are born. ntolerant, it begets intolerance, and robs itself of the kindly mpathy that makes half the pleasure of life. On 30th March, 835, he notes:—

'I begin to despair of obtaining that mastery over myself which I we to myself, to my children, and to society. It is no excuse nor les that I suffer so keenly as I do from regret and shame at my own ntemperance. I feel the folly, the madness, the provoking extrava-ance of my behaviour, *treating men like slaves, and assuming a power er them which is most unjustifiable and most dangerous;* and yet con-ition and stinging reflection seem to have no power in the punishment hey inflict of producing amendment.'

It

It was more than mere jest Bulwer's saying of him, as he at a public dinner, that he looked like 'a baffled tyrant.'

This fretful state of mind was wrought to frenzy in the beg ning of 1836, by the studied slights put upon him by his Dru Lane Manager, Mr. Bunn, a man, whom he might be forgiv for regarding with contempt. Macready held, however, a luc tive permanent engagement at the theatre, to which he was de mined to hold fast. Bunn, on the other hand, wanted to get of him, for the twofold reason, that his attraction had fallen and that Malibran had been secured for the Theatre, and ma the manager independent of the legitimate drama. The parti were at covert warfare, each trying to outflank the other. It w Bunn's tactics to disgust Macready by professional slights, pu ting him up for inferior parts, for important ones at too sho notice, and the like. At last the climax of indignity wa inflicted by announcing Macready for '*The three first Acts o Richard III.*' The night came. He went through the part 'i a sort of desperate way.' As he left the stage, he had to pass th manager's room; opening the door, he rushed in upon the startle *impresario*, who was seated at his writing-table, and launching highly appropriate but by no means complimentary epithet a him, with the pent-up force of a wrath that had been nursed fo months, 'he struck him a backhanded slap across the face.' A vehement scuffle ensued, in which Bunn, a much smaller an feebler man, had necessarily the worst of it. Macready was to truly a gentleman not to feel that, in this scene, he had, to us his own words, committed a 'most indiscreet, most imprudent most blameable action.' His shame and contrition, as expresse in his Diary, are overwhelming. 'The fair fame of a life ha been sullied by a moment's want of self-command. I can never never during my life forgive myself,' are among their milde expressions.

Happily for him, his character stood as high with the world a that of his adversary was low. There were few to regret tha Mr. Bunn had got a thrashing; many who were sure that, if no for his offences to Macready, at least for other delinquencies, h had richly deserved one. All the leading actors felt tha Macready had been cruelly provoked, and they rallied loyall round him. Bunn brought his 'action of battery,' and hi injuries were ultimately assessed at 150*l.* But in the mean tim Mr. Macready had been secured at Covent Garden, receivin 200*l.* for an engagement of ten nights; and on his appearanc there had been greeted with tumultuous applause. At the clos of the play (Macbeth) he was called for, and spoke. Had an thing been wanted to seal his peace and popularity with th public

public, it was given in his frank avowal, after a slight reference to the provocations, personal and professional, which he had received, that he had been 'betrayed, in a moment of unguarded passion, into an intemperate and imprudent act, for which I feel, and shall never cease to feel, the deepest and most poignant self-reproach and regret.'

Everything now conspired in Mr. Macready's favour. The flagging attention of the public had been re-awakened. There was a company at Covent Garden well qualified to do justice to his plays. Charles Kemble was there; and all the town was crowding to see Helen Faucit, then a mere girl, 'unschooled, unpractised,' who a few months before had captivated it by a freshness, an enthusiasm, a truthfulness and grace, to which it had long been unaccustomed. The interest in Shakspeare and the higher drama had revived, and it was kept alive during this and the following season by a succession of excellent representations of the most favourite plays. All this tended to the advancement of Mr. Macready's reputation. His scholarly attainments and general culture were also well-known, so that when, at the end of 1837, he undertook the management of Covent Garden Theatre, with the avowed purpose of making it a home for Shakspeare and the best dramatic art, the ablest members of the company and of the profession, combined to lend him their hearty support; accepting greatly reduced salaries, and more than one agreeing to appear in parts much below their recognised position in the profession.

To undertake the conduct of such a theatre, loaded as it was with a too heavy rent, and damaged by many years of wretched management, was a venture of considerable risk. But Mr. Macready had every inducement to make it, quite apart from any wish he might have to raise the standard of his art. Drury Lane was closed to him, for it was still in Mr. Bunn's hands. Only there and at Covent Garden could the legitimate drama in those days be played, and if that theatre were shut up, he must have been thrown on the provincial theatres, where, for some time, his attraction had been waning. But by taking it, he at once secured the sympathies of the public, and was able to bring his powers, both as actor and manager, before them with far more effect than he could have hoped to do in any other way.

He had, it is true, everything to cheer him in his arduous task. The Queen was a constant visitor at the theatre; the public were warm in their admiration; and such men as Bulwer, Knowles, Browning, and Talfourd, enabled him to sustain an interest in his management by a constant succession of new pieces. Stanfield painted for his first pantomime an exquisite moving diorama of

many of the most picturesque scenes in Europe, and returned h cheque for 300*l.*, refusing to accept more than 150*l.*, whi Mr. Macready records as 'one of the few noble instances of di interested friendly conduct he had met with in his life!' Th 'Lady of Lyons,' produced on the 15th of February, 1838, re plenished his then failing exchequer; neither would its author hear of being paid for it. He, too, returns the manager's cheque for 210*l.* in a letter 'which is a recompense for much ill-requited labour and unpitied suffering.' This play, like many other successful plays, did not attract at first. Macready, quickly dispirited, on the eighth or ninth night talked of withdrawing it. The curtain had just fallen on the exciting scene of the Fourth Act: 'Could you see,' said Mr. Bartley, who was playing Damas, 'what I see, as I stand at the back of the stage,—the interest and the emotion of the people, you would not think of such a thing. It is sure to be a great success.' Mr. Macready took his advice; and the prediction was fully verified. 'King Lear,' with Shakspeare's text restored, was produced early in the season with great effect, Bulwer ministering incense of the most pungent kind by telling Mr. Macready that his performance of the old King was 'gigantic.' 'Coriolanus,' admirably acted and put upon the stage, soon followed. The house on the first night was bad, and Macready was in despair: 'I give up all hope,' are his words. Among the old stock pieces, 'The Two Foscari,' and Talfourd's feeble 'Athenian Captive,' came as novelties; and, towards the end of the season, Knowles's charming comedy of 'Woman's Wit, or Love's Disguises,' charmingly acted, was also brought out.

In direct pounds, shillings, and pence, Mr. Macready was a loser by the season. So, at least, we understand him to put its results, where he says (3rd Aug., 1838): 'I find I managed to lose, as I first thought, judging from actual decrease of capital, and absence of profit by my labour, 2500*l.*, or, measuring my receipt by the previous year, 1850*l.*' But against this was to be set the positive increase of reputation and *prestige*, which secured him engagements, both in London and elsewhere, that, in the long run, far more than compensated this temporary loss. Moreover, the business of theatrical management, like every business, takes time to make, and practical men do not regard a deficit in the outset as an actual loss. Mr. Macready, no doubt, in his less desponding moods, took the same view, and having made a more favourable arrangement with his landlords, he took Covent Garden for another season, and opened a fresh campaign, with renewed vigour, on the 24th September, 1838.

Aided by a company of unusual and varied strength, he advanced

nced still further the reputation already won by his Shak-rean revivals. 'The Tempest' and 'Henry V.' were pro-d with a completeness and a sense of the picturesque erto unknown. The public crowded to see them, and proved no truly well-directed effort to make the theatre a place of intellectual recreation will be made in vain. Mr. Macready s, on the 20th June, 1839, as 'not a common event,' that e Tempest' was acted fifty-five nights, to an average of 250*l.* ght. But these performances were distributed throughout season. To have run this or any other piece, however essful, night after night, as we now see done, was a thing undreamt of. A practice so fatal to the actors as artists, to speak of the mere fatigue, is the result of the merely mercial spirit on which theatres are now conducted. The successful plays were, in those days, alternated with others. s the actors, if they had not complete rest, had, at least, the of change. They came fresh to their work, instead of ig into mechanical routine. How much the public also ed by this it is needless to say. Play after play was brought re them, in which the performers were seen at their best. y learned to understand good acting; and this appreciation ed beneficially on the actors, who felt that good and careful was never thrown away. Bulwer again came to the help is friend by writing 'Richelieu,' where he fitted him with a that gave scope for his best qualities of intensity, strong ers of contrast, and a certain grim humour. It proved one ie great successes of the season. Every character was in hands. Elton, Diddear, Warde, Anderson, Vining, Phelps, ge Bennett, Howe, and Miss Helen Faucit, all names of gth, appeared in the cast. Never was dramatist more fortu-than to be so interpreted. Never had manager such a staff. he season passed off brilliantly; but Mr. Macready was dis-fied with the money results. It seems to have left him 1200*l.* ocket; certainly a most poor return for all the intellect and gy expended. Mr. Macready, at all events, thought he l not afford to persevere in the course he had so well begun, he retired from the management at the end of the season. he warmth of the public he could not complain. On the night (16th July, 1839) he notes:—

My reception was so great from a house crowded in every part, I was shaken by it. . . . The curtain fell amidst the loudest uses, and when I had changed my dress I went before the cur-and, amidst shoutings, and wavings of hats and handkerchiefs by hole audience standing up, the stage was literally covered with hs, bouquets, and branches of laurel. . . . The cheering was

renewed, as I bowed and left the stage; and as I passed through the lane which the actors and people, crowding behind, made for me, they cheered me also. Forster came into my room, and was much affected; [W. J.] Fox was much shaken; Dickens, Maclise, Stanfield, T. Cooke, Blanchard, Lord Nugent (who had not been in the theatre), Bulwer, Hockley of Guildford, Browning, Serle, Wilmot came into my room; most of them asked for memorials from the baskets and heaps of flowers, chaplets, and laurels, that were strewn upon the floor.'

The same enthusiasm was shown at a public dinner, four days later, given to him at the Freemasons' Tavern, and presided over by the Duke of Sussex. When he rose to speak, he says: 'I never witnessed such a scene, such wild enthusiasm, on any former occasion.' In the course of his speech he stated that his hope and intention had been—

'to have left in our theatre the complete series of Shakespeare's acting-plays, his text purified from the gross interpolations that disfigure it and distort his characters; and the system of re-arrangement so perfected throughout them, that our stage would have presented, as it ought, one of the best illustrated editions of the poet's works. But,' he added, 'my poverty, and not my will, has compelled me to desist from the attempt.'

Much good had, however, been done, and the truth had been brought home to many minds that, as Shakspeare wrote for the stage, and not for the closet, his plays to be thoroughly felt and understood, must be acted, not read.

All that Mr. Macready had lost at Covent Garden he soon retrieved by the increased value of his engagements elsewhere. Mr. Webster secured him for the Haymarket Theatre upon most liberal terms, engaging at the same time Miss Helen Faucit and several other members of the Covent Garden Company, who thus kept alive the interest in the higher drama which they had helped to create. Bulwer's 'Sea Captain' and 'Money,' Talfourd's 'Glencoe,' Troughton's 'Nina Sforza,' and other plays of mark, in addition to many of the older plays, were all produced by Mr. Webster with a finish no less complete—allowing for the size of the theatre—than had distinguished the recent performances at Covent Garden. Mr. Macready continued at the Haymarket, with slight interruptions, down to the end of 1841. While there, thoughts of resuming the managerial sceptre revived in his mind. Soon after, Drury Lane passed out of Mr. Bunn's hands, and the temptation of reigning in his stead became irresistible. Mr. Macready took the theatre, and opened his season in 'The Merchant of Venice,' on 27th December, 1841, having again drawn round him a most powerful company.

His return to management was hailed with sincere pleasure by every lover of the drama. 'Acis and Galatea,' produced on 5th February,

ry, was his first great success. Those who remember what ld did for the one scene of the piece, and the fine singing ı Romer, Miss Horton, Mr. Allen, and Mr. Phillips, will oncur with Mr. Macready when he says of the perform- that he had never seen anything of the kind so perfectly ıl.' Gerald Griffin's fine play of 'Gisippus,' in which ıember Mr. Anderson created a very powerful effect in narkable scene, was produced on 23rd February follow- t had only a *succès d'estime*. Darley's 'Plighted Troth,' ed on 20th April, from which Mr. Macready to the last ated a brilliant success, proved 'a most unhappy failure.' ay was full of fine things. So, too, was William Smith's wold,' produced on the 18th May; but not even the fine and more than one powerful scene could carry it beyond d performance. 'Marino Faliero' followed on the 20th nd two nights afterwards the season closed.

ng this season, as well as during that which followed, was chiefly assured either by the admirable style in Shakspeare's best-known plays were presented or by plays ady established reputation. 'As You Like It,' 'King 'Othello,' 'Macbeth,' 'Much Ado About Nothing,' eline,' 'Romeo and Juliet,' 'Hamlet,' 'The Winter's 'Julius Cæsar,' 'Henry IV.,' and 'Catherine and Pe- ,' represented Shakspeare. 'She Stoops to Conquer,' School for Scandal,' 'The Rivals,' 'The Way to Keep 'The Provoked Husband,' 'The Jealous Wife,' 'The r,' 'The Road to Ruin,' 'Jane Shore,' 'Virginius,' er,' 'The Lady of Lyons,' 'Marino Faliero,' and 'Acis Galatea,' were also given, besides a number of minor pieces. s 'Comus' was given in a way never to be forgotten; mong the new pieces of exceptional merit were Marston's ian's Daughter,' Browning's 'Blot on the Scutcheon,' es's 'Secretary,' Planché's delightful Easter piece 'For- and the opera of 'Sappho.' It is a splendid list, and the y of the playgoer of those days naturally kindles as he . In these Diaries, however, nothing will strike him as worthy as Mr. Macready's total silence as to those by whose ation alone he was able to produce this magnificent f performances. Of himself, and how he acted, and was or, &c., &c., we hear more than enough; but no word s of gratitude or recognition for loyal service rendered, and t-rate ability applied by others, as it most certainly was, ining the fame of his theatre with sincere artistic devotion. ne midst of success apparently unclouded, and when it as if a theatre were now likely to be established worthy

of

of England and its drama, Mr. Macready suddenly threw up the reins, upon some difference with the proprietors of the Theatre about terms. All at once, upon a few days' notice, his fine Company found themselves once more adrift, and their hopes of seeing one high class National Theatre annihilated. The blow fell heavily upon them; and they had not even the consolation of being called to mind by their leader when he was receiving what he describes as the 'mad acclaim' of the public, on the last night of his management. Again the honours of a public dinner, with the Duke of Cambridge in the Chair, and the presentation of a magnificent piece of plate, were accorded to the retiring manager. His speech on the occasion is given in this book, but not even in it does he say one word about the very remarkable body of performers who had so ably seconded his efforts. His own sensitiveness to ingratitude, real or imagined, had not taught Mr. Macready to avoid the sin in his own person. Time does its work of oblivion quickly; and the readers of this generation should be reminded that there were actors and actresses in Mr. Macready's companies to whose assistance much of the great reputation of his management was due, for from these Diaries they will get no hint of the fact.

In the autumn of this year he went to America, with the glories of his Drury Lane management fresh upon him. They brought him a liberal return for all his pains. After a year spent in the States he came home richer by 5500*l.* than he had gone there. No bad return for what it pleases him to call (22nd April, 1848) 'the worst exercise of a man's intellect.' On arriving in Europe at the end of 1844, he played for a few nights in Paris, not greatly, it would appear, to his own satisfaction, and then entered upon a series of engagements in London and the provinces, which occupied him, with varying success, till his return to America in the end of 1848. This visit was, upon the whole, an unlucky one. It brought him into contact with some of the worst features of the 'rowdyism' by which the great Republic is afflicted. Mr. Forrest, a native and favourite actor, in resentment at some offence given or imagined, had apparently determined to make the land of freedom too hot to hold the English tragedian. When Mr. Macready, soon after his arrival, appeared in Philadelphia, hissing and catcalls greeted his entry as Macbeth. 'I went through the part,' he writes, 'cheerily and defyingly, pointing at the scoundrels such passages as "I dare do all, &c."' No wonder that the discharge at the usurper first of a copper cent, and then of a rotten egg, followed this very undignified style of sending home his points. The better part of the audience supported

ted Mr. Macready, and no further outbreak occurred. But
:n he returned to New York a few months afterwards, the
rest movement assumed a more serious shape. The first
ht he appeared, copper cents, eggs, apples, a peck of potatoes,
ons, pieces of wood, a bottle of assafœtida, were thrown upon
stage. At last the missiles grew even more miscellaneous and
gerous. Chairs were thrown from the gallery on the stage,
the play had to be brought to a premature close. Two days
:rwards another attempt at performance was made. But this
e matters were more serious. Inside the theatre comparative
et was maintained; but outside a complete bombardment
stones and missiles was carried on. Through all this riot
. Macready persevered, 'acting his very best,' as he says,
id exciting the audience to a sympathy even with the glowing
rds of fiction, while dreadful deeds of real crime and outrage
re roaring at intervals in our ears, and rising to madness all
nd us. The death of Macbeth was loudly cheered.' But,
ile he was changing his dress, he was startled by volley on
ley of musketry. The soldiers had been sent for, and were
ng into the mob. Eighteen were killed, and many wounded.
.cready was with difficulty got away from New York to
ston, where he embarked for England on 23rd May, 1849,
:ctually cured of his dream of settling in America.

On his return home he commenced a series of farewell engage-
nts. Happily, for himself, he seems at this period to have
wed his own performances with something more than com-
cency. It is scarcely fair to let the world see the terms of
h commendation with which he mentions his own Iago,
ıtus, Lear, Hamlet, &c. But notwithstanding all this, he
ords (26th February, 1851) that, 'not one feeling of regret
intermingled with his satisfaction at bidding adieu to the
upation of his life.' That same evening saw him for the last
e upon the stage. The play was 'Macbeth,' and the stage
t of Drury Lane. 'I acted Macbeth,' he says: 'with a reality,
igour, a truth, a dignity, that I never before threw into the
ineation of this favourite character.' The audience were in
critical mood. They had come to do honour to one to whom
y owed much pure pleasure from an art, which they, at least,
not despise, and they thought of little else. Such were the
eting and farewell they gave him, that he says; 'No actor
ever received such testimony of respect and regard in this
ntry.' His triumph did not end here. Four days afterwards
ublic dinner, at which six hundred guests were assembled,
given to him. His constant friend, Sir E. L. Bulwer, pre-
ed, and around him were gathered many of the most distin-
guished

guished men of the day. The Chairman pronounced a brilliant panegyric, and the speaking generally was good. One speech appeared in the papers, and is here reprinted, which we well remember was not spoken. It had been prepared by the Chevalier Bunsen, and was by far the ablest of them all; but it came so late in the programme that Bunsen wisely substituted for it a very few words.

The curtain could not have fallen upon a more splendid close to an honourable career. Surely all these honours, these unreserved gratulations, might have made Mr. Macready forget his old apprehensions that he was looked down upon because he was an actor. But no, the same feeling remained; though with it comes the absurd conviction that, because he is an actor no longer, he 'can now look his fellow-men, whatever their station, in the face, and assert his equality' ('Diary,' 19th March, 1851). He quite forgets that, had he not been an actor, he would have been nobody. The applause, the 'salutations in the market-place,' so precious to a man of his temperament, would never have been his. The grandson of the Dublin upholsterer would have had no 'Reminiscences' to write, no name to be proud of, or to be carried down to generations beyond his own.

Mr. Macready survived his retirement from the stage more than twenty-two years, which he spent first at Sherborne, and afterwards at Cheltenham, where he died on the 27th April, 1873. It was his fate to see many of his 'dear ones laid in earth.' His wife, and most of his children, preceded him to the grave. He married most happily a second time in 1860. Removed from the stage and its jealousies, all his fine qualities had freer scope; and we think now with pleasure of his venerable and noble head, as we saw it last in 1872, and of the sweet smile of his beautiful mouth, which spoke of the calm wisdom of a gentle and thoughtful old age. We have reason to know that he looked back with yearning fondness to the studies and pursuits which had made him famous. The fretful jealousies, the passionate wilfulness of the old times seemed to have faded into the dim past, and no longer marred the memory of kindness done, and loyal service rendered to him. He had done much good work in the sphere which Providence had assigned him, and we believe had learned to know that it was not for him to repine, if 'the Divinity that shapes our ends' had so shaped his, that his work was to be accomplished upon the stage. It is of the man as we then saw him, the man whom we had known as a highly cultivated and essentially kind-hearted gentleman, that we would rather think, than of the actor with all his weaknesses cruelly laid bare, whom these volumes have placed before us.

—1. *Statement exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress ondition of India during the Year* 1871-2: *presented to ment by Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, and l by the House of Commons to be printed.* London,

n Missions. By Sir Bartle Frere, G.C.S.I., &c., late nor of Bombay. Reprinted from 'The Church and the London, 1873.

re on Missions, delivered in Westminster Abbey on ber 3rd, 1873. By Max Müller, M.A., Professor of ırative Philology at Oxford; with an Introductory n by Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., Dean of West- r. London, 1873.

t of the General Missionary Conference held at Allah- 1872-3. London, 1873.

tical Tables of Protestant Missions in India, Ceylon, and t for 1871. Prepared at the request of the Calcutta nary Conference. Calcutta, 1873.

ı has always from the most ancient times attracted a e share of the interest of the rest of the civilised world; s special claims to be regarded with interest by the f modern England. The thoughtful portion of the people cannot but feel deeply impressed with the of those claims and with the weight of the responsi- rising out of the peculiar relation in which England India. It cannot be supposed that India has been us for no other purpose than our national aggran- . It must surely have been, mainly and ultimately, benefit of India itself that so great and populous a was committed to our care, that we might impart to it fit of our just laws, our rational liberty, our mental ıment, and our progressive civilisation. And if this be , we must admit more. We must admit that it was we should endeavour to impart to it also a knowledge eligion which has made our own nation what it is, and which no nation can ever become free, happy, or per- great. Our duty as a Christian nation to promote not material welfare of the people of India, but also, as far possible for us, their moral and religious welfare, is more and more widely recognised, in proportion as course with India increases. A remarkable amount of n the progress of Christianity in India has recently kened, and a demand for information has been excited.

We

We purpose, therefore, to give our readers some idea of the position and prospects of Indian Missions. In proceeding to do so we think it desirable at the outset to help our readers to realise in some degree the vastness, the variety, and the difficulty of the field in which those missions are carried on, that they may be enabled to form something like a correct estimate both of the results that have already been attained and of the results that may still be expected.

The possessions which have fallen to the lot of the English nation in India and the East are the most extensive and populous, and probably also the most valuable and important, that any people ever acquired beyond its own natural boundaries. India alone, not including Ceylon, Burma, or the Eastern Settlements, comprises upwards of a million and a half of square miles, an area which is nearly equal to that of Europe; and though nearly two-thirds of the soil are uncultivated, so thickly peopled are the cultivated districts, that the population of India was estimated in 1872 as amounting to nearly 300 millions, which is more than equal to the population of the corresponding area in Europe, and which constitutes probably more than a fourth, certainly more than a fifth, of the whole population of the globe. Nowhere, except in China, is there a field of missions so vast as that which India presents; and in no other part of the world—certainly not in China—is there to be found so varied a field. In proportion to the variety is the interest; but in proportion to the interest is the difficulty.

It might not be too much to say that the work of propagating Christianity in India is the most difficult work in which the Christian Church has ever been engaged. Some of the difficulties that formerly existed have, it is true, disappeared, and the strength of some has diminished. Others, again, are still very formidable.

There is one difficulty less now than in the days when Christian missions were first introduced into India. The opposition of the Indian Government has disappeared. Scarcely two generations have elapsed since the Indian Government ceased to refuse permission to missionaries to labour in India, and scarcely one generation has elapsed since it ceased openly to patronise idolatry. It administered the affairs of all the principal pagodas, and required its Christian servants to do honour to pagan festivals. It was commonly said at that time that it was impossible to convert the Hindus, and some of the people who said so did their best to fulfil their own predictions. The Indian Government has always professed to observe a strict neutrality

ılity between the various religions professed by its subjects; ıtil a comparatively recent period the neutrality it observed one-sided neutrality, which showed itself mainly in the ragement of the indigenous religions and in opposition to ianity. We have reason to be thankful as a nation that a lifferent state of things now prevails. The Government ıdeed professes to hold a neutral position, and in certain ulars it is desirable that it should always continue to do so. an should be favoured, no man should be molested, on ıt of his religion; all religious professions should be equal the law. But this neutrality is now no longer regarded onsistent with the repression of crimes committed in the of religion, with the protection of converts to Christianity enjoyment of their civil rights, or with an enlightened, ıt solicitude for the peaceful diffusion of the blessings of ian civilisation and morals. The Indian Government forward slowly, but it keeps constantly moving, it takes p backwards; and hence, notwithstanding its characteristic n, the caution necessary to its position, perhaps there is ly any Government in the world that has achieved a greater ate of progress within the memory of the present gene- , especially in regard to educational and social reforms. ıtatement receives a remarkable illustration from one of ɔrks contained in the list prefixed to this article, a docu- presented to Parliament by the Secretary of State for India, ɔrdered by the House of Commons to be printed. It itled, 'A Statement exhibiting the Moral and Material ess of India during the Year 1871-2,' and a considerable n of the statement is devoted to a survey of existing missions lia. This portion of the book evinces an enlightened ıt in the progress of Indian missions, considered with ıce to their bearing on the intellectual and moral advance- ɔf the people. Probably no such utterance on the subject ristian missions ever before proceeded from any Govern- and what renders it specially encouraging to all who take terest in that work is that, as it is based on statistics fficial information, its impartiality cannot reasonably be in question.

are not of opinion that the Government system of education ia can fairly be regarded as hostile to Christianity or to ɔrk of missions, though we are unable to regard it as a : system. We do not see how any system of education e regarded as perfect which ignores the emotional part n's nature, which ignores a divinely-sanctioned morality, ignores religion. Probably the Government itself does

does not consider its system as perfect, but only holds it to be the best that is possible under the circumstances. It is an important consideration that the Government makes grants in aid on a liberal scale to missionary schools and colleges. At one time, indeed, it refused grants to such institutions in one of the presidencies, but that ill-advised policy has been abandoned; and if the missionary societies, or other associations of persons unconnected with Government, were to set themselves to promote the education of the people on a larger scale, larger funds would doubtless be provided by Government to aid them in their undertaking. The teaching in the schools and colleges entirely supported and managed by Government is restricted to secular subjects; but though to this extent it is non-Christian, it is certainly not the intention or wish of Government that it should be anti-Christian; and if in any particular it should appear to have acquired this character, the blame, we believe, is to be attributed, not to the system itself, but to the manner in which it has been worked. It cannot be admitted to be a necessity of the Government system that any of the text-books used in the teaching of the Indian languages should teach immorality or indecency, or that any members of the European educational staff should diffuse around them an atmosphere of scepticism. Whatever defects may attach to the Government system of education, and whether those defects be essential or accidental, it cannot be doubted that in the main it has proved to be an immense benefit to the people of India. It was thought at one time that the young men, whom the Government was training up in its schools, would turn out to be a specially dangerous class; but fortunately this anticipation has not been confirmed by the result. On the contrary, the educated classes have generally shown themselves to be better citizens and better servants of the State than the members of any class the country ever knew before. Some of them, it is true, have abandoned their old faith without adopting any other faith instead; but it does not follow that their condition has become more hopeless, for it has been proved in the history of India again and again that a bad religion is worse than none.

On comparing the relative strength of the various obstacles to the regeneration of India that appear to exist, we are inclined to regard as the most formidable a pernicious influence of the very existence of which many persons who are interested in this question are scarcely aware. We mean the influence of the Hindu philosophies on the national character, the influence of those philosophies in fostering, if not causing, the dreaminess and apathy of that character. It is doubtless owing in a great degree

ree to the heat of the sun that many of the people of lia are so apathetic; but it appears to be due also in a consi-able degree to the circumstance that they have been systemati-ly taught apathy as a religious virtue. Some of the Hindu ilosophies are atheistic, some materialistic; but the systems ich have at all times been most popular, and consequently st influential, are pantheistic and idealistic. The more purely ntheistic and idealistic any system is, the more popular it is, d in the same proportion it is found to be the more productive apathy. It is rare to find these systems thoroughly understood, d still more rare to find them carried out consistently into actice; but there are few indeed, down even to the lowest ss, except only in the hill districts and the forests, who ve not acquired some acquaintance, however slight, with the minology of these philosophies, and fewer still who have not bibed their unpractical spirit and caught their dreamy tone. he poison is held in solution in the popular mind. Worse ects, however, than listlessness and dreaminess have arisen m the prevalence of these systems. It is to this cause, we lieve, more than to any other, that we have to attribute the oral weakness of the Hindu character, its indifference to th, its unfaithfulness to its convictions of duty, its willing bjection to the tyranny of custom and the authority of great mes, its want of public spirit, its carelessness of the future. hat could be expected of the philosophy of apathy but that it ould leave things to take their course? There is much real rk now being done in India, especially in the teaching of th and the diminishing of evil; but all that work is being ne, not by the followers of the Bhagavad Gîtâ, or by Vedantists, by quietists of any school, but by Christians from Europe, hose highest philosophy is to do good, and by those natives of dia, now a considerable and increasing number, who have en stimulated by the teaching and example of Europeans to and do likewise. The prevalence in India to so great an tent of these pantheistic idealistic philosophies must neces-rily act as a formidable obstacle to the reception of the hristian religion. They have produced not only mental apathy t moral insensibility. They have not only enfeebled the intellect, t eaten out the hearts of the people. Christianity professes provide a remedy for moral evil; it aims at a restoration harmony between man's moral nature and the constitution things under which he is placed; it presupposes a moral vernment and a moral Governor; it presupposes moral sponsibility: but if people have been taught, on what they ppose the highest authority, to believe either that everything that

that exists, moral evil included, is a part of God, or else that everything that seems to exist, moral evil included, is only ideal, it is obvious that there is not much likelihood of the claims of Christianity being seriously considered. Where no disease is supposed to exist, the best remedy in the world will appear to be unnecessary. Hence we must be prepared to expect a considerable difference in point of susceptibility to Christian influences between the Greeks, Romans, and Teutons of ancient Europe, who, whatever their defects or vices, certainly had consciences, and a people like the Hindus, amongst whom the power of conscience has been reduced to a minimum. It is a happy circumstance that the educated Hindus of the present generation, being educated almost exclusively in the language and literature of Christian England, know in general little or nothing of the philosophies of their own country. In so far as the study of philosophy enters into the curriculum of their education, they study, not a dreamy philosophy founded on the dicta of sages, but a practical philosophy founded on observation and experience. Hence, except only in so far as positivism has of late made its appearance amongst them, we now generally find educated Hindus believing, or at least not denying, the existence of a personal God, creation, providence, a moral law, human responsibility, almost as if they were Christians, yet for the most part quite unconscious that the ideas they entertain are Christian ideas. It would be a sad aggravation of the evils of India if positivism should spread amongst the educated classes; but we hope and believe it will not. The tendency of all Hindus to idealism is so strong that blank materialism cannot permanently attract them.

We do not class the existence of the religious community called the Brahma Samâj amongst obstacles to the progress of Christianity in India. On the contrary, we regard that community as an ally; an ally, it is true, up to a certain point only, but still up to that extent, and it is a very considerable extent, an ally. The Brahma Samâj movement originated in the contact of the newly awakened Hindu mind with the Christianity of the English mind, and is one of the most interesting indirect results of Indian missions. Already it has divided into two parties, the original, or Conservative Brahmas, who seem to have become alarmed at their own progress, and are supposed by many to be steadily gravitating back into Hinduism; and the Progressive Brahmas, headed by Keshab Chander Sen, who have altogether broken with tradition, and are endeavouring to lead their countrymen onwards to purer sentiments, as well as to a higher purpose of life. Professor Max Müller

ler declares that this movement appears to his mind 'the t momentous in this momentous century.' Without being to go so far as this, we are quite prepared to welcome it ı feelings of thankfulness and hope; with thankfulness that, gh a purely national movement, it has gone so far already Christian direction; with hope that it will go further. The fessor seems to us somewhat unreasonably severe on the istian missionaries in India for their attitude towards the hma Samâj. He admits that 'they do not deny the moral th, the noble aspirations, the self-sacrificing zeal of those ve reformers.' If so, it is not clear what more could be ected of them, so long as it is not expected that they should e to be believers in Christianity. To them Christianity ns a better remedy for the evils of India than a religion ıded on mere emotions and intuitions. It may be added, others besides missionaries are of opinion, that as India is politically united to England, and as it is dependent on land alone for its intellectual influences, it would be of the test possible advantage to it to be united to England also he bonds of religious sympathy. The progress of India be in proportion to its reception of English ideas; and it ne of the most deeply-rooted of those ideas that Christianity ıe only religion compatible with modern civilisation. The ers that were read, and the discussion that took place, ecting the Brahma Samâj, at the Conference held by Indian ionaries two years ago at Allahabad, show that Christian ionaries could scarcely regard any non-Christian system eligion with greater respect, or treat it with more sympathy, ı they do the Brahma Samâj, without ceasing to wish that nen should become, 'not only almost, but altogether,' what ' are themselves.

he divisions and differences of opinion prevailing amongst istians in India do not appear to us to impede the spread of istianity in so considerable a degree as has sometimes been posed. 'The Protestant missions of India, Burma, and Ceylon, carried on,' the Blue-book states, 'by 35 missionary societies, ıddition to local agencies; and now employ the services of foreign missionaries, of whom 551 are ordained.' It might rally be supposed that the spectacle of so divided a Christi- y would deter, rather than attract, inquiring Hindus; and any multiplication of the number of missionaries under such umstances would be an increase of weakness, rather than of ngth. Facts, however, are not in accordance with this sup- ition. Divisions do, it is true, exist, and it is a pity they but it is a consolation to know that, as a general rule, they are

are not apparent to the Hindu. In this old Christian country the community of baptized believers, which ought to be in all things an example to new Christian communities in distant lands, is rent into hostile sects and parties, each of which too often thinks it serves God by ignoring God's gifts to its neighbours. The missionary spirit has done much to mitigate both the spirit of division and the spirit of exclusion; but partly from the resistance which relentless theories offer to charity, and partly from ignorance, the number of persons who care to know, and are able to appreciate, work done by communities different from their own, is not great. In India the missionary spirit has freer scope, and has generally brought about a more satisfactory state of things. India is so wide a country that he must be a person of very narrow ideas indeed whose mind is not found to be somewhat enlarged after he has resided there for some time. The religious divisions which originated in England, and which are kept up by influences emanating from England, have not, it is true, been healed in India; but the feelings out of which those divisions arose have generally been repressed, and care has generally been taken that they should have as few opportunities as possible of breaking out into action. The various missionary societies have generally selected as the sphere of their labours some extensive district, some province or state, in which Christianity was almost or entirely unknown; and in such unoccupied regions they have located their missionaries, in the hope that they would be exempt, both from the temptation to interfere with the labours of the missionaries of other societies, and from the danger of being themselves interfered with. This rule has so generally been acted upon, especially in rural districts, that in many parts of India Christianity exhibits but one phase. There are, it is true, exceptions; and we fear the number of such exceptions, as time goes on, seems likely to increase rather than diminish. But the arrangement we have mentioned is undoubtedly the general rule, and up to this time it may almost be said that the antagonism of rival sects and parties is unknown in the mission-field, and that though the religious divisions of Europe exist, they have been deprived of their sting.

Even in the greater cities of India, where no such arrangement is any longer practicable, and where the missionaries of different societies carry on their work in somewhat of a promiscuous manner, it would be an error to suppose that they have hitherto placed any stumblingblock in the way of the conversion of the Hindus by the diversity of their teaching or their want of charity. In everything which, according to Hindu notions, constitutes

s a religion, the religion of all Protestant missionaries
rs to the Hindus to be one and the same. When they see
ll missionaries appeal to the same sacred volume, trans-
nto the vernacular; that they all worship the same God
reach salvation through the same Divine Saviour; that
re all free from the suspicion of image-worship; that they
rform divine worship in the vernacular language; when
ind, also, that they are all alike, or as nearly alike as
dual peculiarities will admit, in manner of life; that
ive on terms of friendly intercourse with one another,
s to repudiate mutual proselytism, and evidently rejoice
e another's successes; they cannot but regard them as
rs of one and the same religion, bearing the united testi-
of many independent witnesses to the truths which they
in common. It is also to be remembered that Hinduism
uliarly tolerant of diversities, that it may be said, indeed,
e a liking for diversities. It will be considered by some
is a more legitimate ground of consolation, that Hindus
t become acquainted with any matter on which a really
s difference of opinion exists amongst Christians until
hey have made up their minds to become Christians them-

The only doctrines which are, or can be, preached to
ns and Muhammedans are those on which all Protestant
ians are agreed; and questions respecting disputed points
arily lie over till those who are now outside the Church
mitted into it.

s representation has been remarkably confirmed by the
ony of the Indian Government itself. It says:

is large body of European and American missionaries, settled
lia, bring their various moral influences to bear upon the
y with the greater force, because they act together with a com-
ss which is but little understood. Though belonging to various
inations of Christians, yet from the nature of their work, their
d position, and their long experience, they have been led to
rather of the numerous questions on which they agree, than of
on which they differ; and they co-operate heartily together.
ties are divided among them by friendly arrangements, and
w exceptions it is a fixed rule among them that they will not
re with each other's converts and each other's spheres of duty.
-books, translations of the Scriptures and religious works, pre-
by various missions, are used in common; and helps and im-
nents secured by one mission are freely placed at the command
. The large body of missionaries resident in each of the
ency towns, form Missionary Conferences, hold periodic meet-
and act together on public matters. They have frequently
sed the Indian Government on important social questions

in the first ages of the Church? We need only recall th
Ebionites, Basilideans, Ophites, Valentinians, Marcionites, a
less other heretical sects—differing from each other and
Catholic Church incomparably more widely in creed than
differs from the Romanist—to dispel this illusion at once
graviora. We have surmounted worse obstacles than these

The number of missionaries and the number of th
with which they are connected being so great, it may
be concluded that all the agencies at work will not
everyone equally wise and efficacious. Whilst the
taught may substantially be the same, and whilst t
aimed at may be almost identical, the plans pursued
600 missionaries from England, Germany, and Ame
differ widely. As was apparent at the Allahabad C
some will advocate a variety of departments of wor
English education in the front rank, as the work mo
to a period of preparation; whilst others will advocate
alone. Possibly, also, amongst so large a body of
will form too high, some too low, an estimate of the
of leavening the Hindu mind with European ideas; s
perhaps, concede too much, some too little, to nationa
and prejudices; some will devote too much of their
labour to helping their people in their temporal affai
others will consider the teaching of religion their
and decline even to prove to the people that they
friends by doing them a few acts of temporal good
they can appreciate. These differences, however, in

ent itself, which, in speaking of the advantages conferred on dia by the missionaries as a body, eulogises their 'blameless ample and self-denying labours.' The intellectual power of large a body of men belonging to different nationalities and nmunions will naturally possess different degrees of value. ut it is well to bear in mind, that India is so extensive a untry, comprising so many different degrees of civilisation, at there is room in it, as for every variety of educational and issionary agency, so for every variety of intellectual power. here are spheres of usefulness in the rural districts, and espeally amongst the lower castes and aboriginal tribes, for which e lowest order of intellectual qualifications consistent with uropean strength of character and zeal for progress would ffice; whilst there are also spheres in the great centres of popution and amongst the higher castes and classes for which the ghest order of intellect and acquirements that can be obtained required.

The evils, which a certain class of persons once predicted ould follow from any attempt that might be made to proagate Christianity in India, have been proved by the event to e imaginary. It must also be admitted that the speedy and lorious successes, which another class of persons anticipated, ave not been realised. It may well be, however, that the sults which have been accomplished, though short of what was nticipated, and still further short of what was desired, are f such a nature, notwithstanding, as to furnish abundant ncouragement to the friends of the work to go forward. It is ot a fact, though it has often been taken for granted that it is fact, that Indian missionaries have exaggerated the results their work; but even if it were a fact, it would not follow at the exaggeration was intentional, for in every department effort, whether social, political, or religious, we constantly id people who are labouring to accomplish some object on hich their hearts are set, unintentionally allowing their estiate of their success to be coloured by their hopes. On the her hand, it is undoubtedly a fact that the work of missions India has been unduly and unfairly depreciated. It seemed, l quite recently, to be almost the unanimous opinion of rsons who claimed to be regarded as the leaders of opinion, t only that Indian missions had failed, but that for some ason or another it was right that they should fail, and that ople should rejoice over their failure. Dr. W. W. Hunter, e head of the Indian Statistical Department, says in his work n Orissa, 'It seems to me that no impartial observer can learn or himself the interior details of any missionary settlement in

India (to whatever form of Christianity it belongs) without a feeling of indignation against the tone which some men of letters adopt towards Christian missions.' It might have been expected, one would think, that even persons who do not believe in Christianity would sympathise with any honest endeavours to make the millions of our Indian fellow-subjects better men and better citizens than we found them; and if such endeavours appeared in any degree unsuccessful, it might have been expected that want of success in so good a cause would have been regarded, not with triumph, but with regret. A considerable change in the feelings with which Indian missions are regarded has recently taken place. The emphatic testimony of the Indian Government in their favour has already produced a marked effect on the public mind, an instance of which is apparent even in an article on 'Christian Missions' in a recent number of the 'Westminster Review,' in which the writer, whilst disparaging missions in general, goes so far as to admit that the results of the Indian missions 'constitute the most brilliant page in the whole history of our missionary enterprise.' Notwithstanding this turn of the tide, we are anxious to avoid falling into the error of exaggeration. No person who has any acquaintance with India, or who bears in mind the numerous and very peculiar difficulties with which, as we have seen, Indian missions have to contend, will be inclined to paint, or to accept as correct, any rose-coloured picture of missionary progress. Were there no other reason for taking a sober view of the case, the conflicting theories that are put forth from time to time respecting the mode in which Indian missions should be conducted, will naturally raise the suspicion that the results that have been obtained hitherto are not so full of encouragement as could be wished. Good work is undoubtedly being done in India, and progress is undoubtedly being made; but the results are of such a nature as will best be appreciated by persons who know something of the history of the progress of Christianity in the Roman Empire in the earliest times, or who have had some experience in carrying on some moral or religious enterprise of a more or less similar character amongst our heathens at home.

In proceeding to give some account of the progress of Indian missions we shall restrict ourselves to the work done by Protestant missionary societies alone, partly because of the paucity of Roman Catholic statistics, but chiefly in consequence of the fact mentioned in the statement of the Indian Government that 'the Catholic missions in India are almost entirely confined to their Christian converts, and have little to do with the non-Christian population.'

According

›rding to the Statistical Tables prepared in 1871, it
s that there are thirty-two societies engaged in carrying on
rk of Protestant missions in India, including Burma and
, in addition to a few isolated missionary agencies, and to
›rk carried on in some places by Government chaplains
her clergymen in charge of English congregations. Of
societies nine are American, six are German, and the
ıder are connected with the British Isles. The number
sionaries connected with these societies, not including
ı engaged in educational and other work, is 548, of whom
'e connected with the British and Irish societies, 131
ıe American societies, and 84 with the German societies.
ıing the missionaries according to ecclesiastical con-
, irrespective of nationality, 166 belong to the Church of
ıd, 88 are Presbyterians, 87 Lutherans, 77 Baptists, 69
ndents, 51 Wesleyans, and the remaining 12 are con-
with isolated bodies. One of the inferences naturally
from these facts is that America and Germany are
ıg a remarkable and most commendable degree of interest
welfare of India, a degree of interest greater in propor-
ıan that which is evinced by England herself. India
to have been specially committed by Divine Providence
care of England, and certainly has special claims on
ıd, both as a portion of the English Empire, and on
t of the advantages England derives from India. India
such special claim on the United States; yet the mis-
es from the United States to India, including Burma and
, number, as we have seen, no fewer than 131. When
ımber is compared with the 333 missionaries from the
Isles, the comparison, in so far as it is an indication of
an zeal and enterprise, cannot be said to be so decidedly
favour as a nation as it should have been. It certainly
seem as if we were considered by neighbouring nations
ither unable or unwilling to do our duty to India when
l America thinking itself obliged to send so large a body
sionaries to the British possessions in India to teach
anity to the subjects of the British Crown. The interest
rmans take in the Christianisation of India is still more
able. It is considered almost a matter of course that
rmans should know more about the languages and anti-
of India, as of almost every other country in the world,
e do; but if so 'practical' a people, as we pride ourselves
ıg, require to receive help from the Germans in so prac-
work as the moral and religious improvement of our
subjects in India, it might justly be considered, not as a
matter

matter of course, but as a ground of reproach. Another inference deducible from these facts is, that whilst it is evident that almost all the Protestant communions in Europe and America are evincing a commendable degree of interest, and expending much money and effort in the work of propagating Christianity in India, it can scarcely be said that the position occupied in relation to this work by the great, powerful, and wealthy Church of England, is such as it ought to be. It is true that that position is not so deplorable as it has sometimes been represented. The Church of England must receive the credit due to it for the important services it renders to the best interests of India, in virtue of the fact of its employing in its Indian missions no fewer that 166 missionaries, 114 in connexion with the Church Missionary Society, and 52 in connexion with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and local associations; but when it is found that the missionaries from the non-Episcopal communions in the British Isles, omitting the Americans and Germans, amount to the large number of 132, the Church of England can scarcely be admitted to be doing all that it ought to do. It is something that in this holy war it occupies the van; but if it were only pervaded throughout with the warm missionary feeling with which particular portions of it are pervaded, it might almost undertake to do the whole work itself. As far as direct results are concerned, the scale turns a little, but only a little, more in favour of the Church of England. The missionaries of that church are but 29 per cent. of the entire number of missionaries in India; whilst the native converts connected with the Church missions number 41 per cent. of the entire number of converts. The missionary societies of the Church of England have shown their capacity for doing well whatever they are enabled to do; but unfortunately there are multitudes of persons, calling themselves members of the Church of England, who either render those societies no help whatever in their great work, or mock them with help of the most niggardly kind. The special claims of India on the Church of England have been forcibly pointed out by Sir Bartle Frere and, more recently, by the three Indian bishops, and it is hoped that that Church will ere long rise to the full dignity and glory of the position she might assume.

The labours of the missionaries employed in so wide and varied a country as India necessarily assume a considerable variety of forms. Professor Max Müller divides missions into the two classes of 'parental missions' and 'controversial missions,' and observes, that 'whilst the work of the parental missionary is clear, and its success, even in many parts of India, undeniable,

niable, the results of controversial missions have been dis-
ging.' The distinction between these two classes of mis-
is one which it will be well for every missionary to bear
ind. To a certain extent, however, every well-conducted
tian mission, even amongst civilised races, is parental
r than controversial. The prudent missionary everywhere
ns, as much as possible, from arguing and attacking; and
vours, as much as possible, to gain his end by instruction,
e, personal influence, and parental love. To a certain
t, also, the most distinctively parental mission, amongst
idest tribes, must be controversial. It has to deal, not with
rless simplicity, but with a hostile array of errors, pre-
es, and evil habits, which require to be encountered and
ome; and it seldom happens that even a barbarous creed
s itself so barbarous as to be unable to defend itself by
of argument.

lian missionaries are not only preachers, pastors, and edu-
; they also contribute to the enlightenment of the country
eir literary labours:

body of men,' says the Indian Government, 'pays greater
ion to the study of the native languages than the Indian mis-
ies. With several missionary societies (as with the Indian
nment) it is a rule that the younger missionaries shall pass a
of examinations in the vernacular of the district in which they
; and the general practice has been, that all who have to deal
natives who do not know English, shall seek a high proficiency
se vernaculars. The result is too remarkable to be overlooked.
nissionaries, as a body, know the natives of India well; they
prepared hundreds of works, suited both for schools and for
al circulation, in the fifteen most prominent languages of India,
n several other dialects. They are the compilers of several
naries and grammars; they have written important works on
ative classics and the systems of philosophy; and they have
y stimulated the great increase of the native literature prepared
ent years by educated native gentlemen.'

may be added, that five rude languages, not previously
nitted to writing—the very existence of which was gene-
unknown—have within the last few years been mastered
dian missionaries; and that the literary life of the tribes
ting those languages has now commenced by the publica-
and circulation amongst them of Christian books. Apart
the effect of such literary labours in enabling missionaries
lfil their mission to the people amongst whom they labour
structors and guides, as well as preachers, they have in-
t value of considerable importance, especially in the more
highly

highly civilised districts, in respect of the conciliatory effect they produce on the native mind. The natives are gratified by seeing foreigners take a lively interest in their languages, customs, literature, and antiquities, and are prepared to regard such persons, though foreigners, as friends, and as persons whose advice it may be safe to follow. In every part of the world people are pleased when they find an interest taken by others in what is interesting to themselves. This is not the only good effect produced by studies of this kind; they are beneficial to the missionaries themselves, as well as agreeable to the people; they preserve the missionary from the temptation of despising the people amongst whom he lives and labours, and help to sweeten the loneliness and monotony of his sojourn in a strange land.

The mission presses in India are numerous and remarkably active. There are twenty-five of those presses at present at work, and during the last ten years they have printed and published 3410 separate works, in thirty-one languages, including English. The total number of copies of school-books, printed at these presses during this period, was over two millions, of tracts nearly six millions, of Christian books nearly three millions, of portions of Scripture more than a million and a quarter, of entire Bibles 31,000. Including presses from which returns were not received, the total number of copies printed during the ten years, chiefly tracts, seems to have been over sixteen millions. Formerly, tracts and Scriptures were generally given away; now, as a rule, all publications are sold, which shows that they are more valued.

Medical missions have largely developed of late years in almost every part of the Indian mission-field. Medical missionaries, some ordained, some unordained, have taken up their abode at central stations in connexion with the work of most of the societies, and impart to the people around them the benefits of scientific medical treatment; and it has been found that the aid thus given to the sick and suffering produces a most favourable impression, not only on their minds, but also on the minds of the community at large.

Another very interesting department of usefulness recently opened up consists in what are called zenana missions; that is, the introduction of the elements of education and religious teaching into the zenanas, or women's apartments, of the houses of native gentlemen. There are now no fewer than 1300 zenana classes carried on by Christian ladies, mostly in Bengal and the North-West Provinces; and the work is extending, though still in its infancy, in the other Presidencies.

By

ar the greater part, however, of the work of Indian
is naturally divides itself into the two departments of
onal and congregational work:

missionary schools in India,' says the Indian Government,
iefly of two kinds—purely vernacular and Anglo-vernacular
The former are maintained chiefly, but not exclusively, in
districts and small towns. The education given in them is
pretty much to reading, writing, geography, arithmetic, and
ion in simple religious works. In the Anglo-vernacular
a much higher education is given, not only in those subjects
re taught in English, but in those in which the vernacular is
d: a higher knowledge even of the vernacular languages is
d in these schools than is usually given in purely native
These schools are most in demand in country towns, in the
ıcy cities, and in the districts immediately round them.
has long been celebrated for its English schools; and the
ary institutions in Calcutta still hold a conspicuous place in
em and means of education generally available to the young
of that city. All the principal missionary institutions teach
he standard of the entrance examination in the three Uni-
s of India, and many among them have a college department
h students can be led on through the two examinations for
en up to the M.A. degree.'

high position occupied by Christian schools of this cha-
may be judged of by means of the Statistical Returns.
year 1871, the number of pupils in these schools in
roper was 40,315; and it was ascertained that during
vious ten years 1621 pupils passed the entrance examina-
the Indian Universities, 513 passed the First Arts
ation, 153 took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, 18 the
of Master of Arts, and 6 the degree of Bachelor of Laws.
markable that 134 of the Bachelors of Arts, and all the
and B.L.'s, were from institutions in Bengal. It is also
able that, looking at the results of these examinations,
cational work of the Free Church of Scotland and of the
of Scotland appears to have been equal to that of all
ocieties put together. Some societies have done little
cation in any shape, some nothing for the higher educa-
whilst the two Scottish societies following the lead of
ff, with whom this system of missions originated, have
d the education of the youth of the higher classes on
an principles as their special, if not their sole, work.
is now taken in this work by several other missionary
s. The two Church of England societies, and the
and Wesleyan societies, prosecute both the educational
ngregational departments of work with nearly equal
vigour;

vigour; and within the last ten years the educational work of the Church of England has nearly doubled. It cannot be doubted that the endeavour to diffuse Christianity amongst the higher classes of the natives is one of very great importance, for the institution of caste gives the higher classes greater influence in India than in any other country; but it was found that they could not be reached, at all events they were not reached, by any of the agencies formerly at work, and up to the present time it is only by means of an English education of so high an order as to prove an attraction to them that those classes have in any degree been brought within the range of Christian influences. The number of persons actually converted to Christianity from year to year by means of these schools has never been considerable, and seems smaller of late years than ever. On the other hand, the converts of this system, though few in number, belong to an influential class; and it is an interesting circumstance, that through their influence and example Christianity has spread in some degree amongst persons belonging to the same class who have never been at mission schools at all, or who have attended schools from which Christianity was carefully excluded. The good effected by these schools cannot safely be estimated by the number of conversions that have taken place in connexion with them. It is universally admitted that they have done much indirect good. Many Hindus, who still adhere to their ancestral faith, value these schools highly, on account of the high moral tone by which they are pervaded, and the influence on the hearts and minds of the pupils of the character and example of their European Christian teachers. It is chiefly owing to the influence of these schools that we now see amongst the Hindus such a spirit of enquiry, and the germs, at least, of so many moral and social reforms. It is to this influence, wholly or chiefly, that India is indebted for the Brahma Samâj.

The other department of the work of Indian missions, which we have called congregational, and which includes pastoral and evangelistic work of every kind, does not exclude education. On the contrary, it expends much money and effort on the education of the children of converts, on the education in the vernacular of children of the poorer classes generally, and especially on the training up of Christian teachers, male and female; but it seems proper to regard it as a distinct department of work, because it professes to have in view the benefit, not of the young only, or of the higher classes only, but of the people at large, and because the schools it establishes, like parochial schools at home, are connected with, or subordinated to, congregations. The aim of missions

missions of this class may be said to be identical with that of the Christian Church itself. The first endeavour of the missionaries is to diffuse amongst the entire community a knowledge of the Christian religion, chiefly by means of vernacular preaching. When any persons have been induced to accept the new teaching, they form such persons into Christian congregations, with the view of bringing to bear upon their minds and lives all those influences for good recognized by the church system which they follow. Their final aim is to teach the congregations so formed to stand alone as soon as possible without foreign help, and to become centres of Christian light in the region around. This system of missions has been much richer in present visible results, tested by the number of converts it reckons, than the purely educational system. Indeed the entire body of native Christians in India may be claimed as the fruit of this system, with the exception of a few hundreds at most in the large towns.

The number of converts in connexion with the various Protestant missions in India, as ascertained by the statistical returns to which we have referred, is much greater than it was expected to be. When the results of this religious census were made known, it is hard to say whether the friends of missions or their enemies were most surprised. The total number of native Protestant Christians in 1871 was found to be 318,363; of whom 78,494 were communicants; the number of native ordained ministers was 381; and the amount of money contributed by native Christians alone for religious and charitable purposes was 15,912*l*. What is still more remarkable is the rapidity and steadiness of the ratio of increase. During the ten years previous to 1861, the rate of increase was 53 per cent. During the ten years previous to 1871, the rate of increase rose to 61 per cent. During this last period of ten years, the increase in the number of converts amounted to no fewer than 85,430 souls in India proper alone. The compilers of the Statistical Returns say:

'Considering the several provinces, we find that the increase in Bengal has been more than 100 per cent., while the communicants have increased nearly 200 per cent. In the North-Western Provinces, the Christian community has nearly doubled: in Oudh it has increased at the rate of 175 per cent.; in the Punjab, at the rate of 64 per cent.; in Central India, nearly 400 per cent.; and in Bombay, 64 per cent. The greatest aggregate increase in all India has been in the Madras Presidency, where there are now 160,955 Christians, in contrast with 110,078 ten years ago. In the two provinces of Tinnevelly and South Travancore, the Christian community has increased from 72,652 to 90,963 persons.'

Some items of increase are particularly satisfactory and encouraging.

encouraging. The number of communicants has increa during the last ten years at the rate of more than 100 per c The number of native ordained ministers has also increa more than 100 per cent., viz., from 185 to 381. Twenty y ago the number was only twenty-nine. The increase which taken place in another particular must be regarded by every who knows India as a peculiarly healthy sign of progress. far as can be ascertained from the imperfect returns previo prepared, the amount of money contributed by native Christi in India during the year 1871 alone, was nearly equal to amount contributed by them during the ten years ending in 1 Looking at the experience of the past twenty years, the ra increase in the number of native Christians in India ma expected to augment, rather than to diminish. On the supp tion, however, that the rate remained constant from year to and from decade to decade, the compilers of the Statistics calculated the results that would accrue. In A.D. 1901, th a little less than thirty years hence, the number of native C tians would amount to nearly a million. Fifty years lat would be upwards of 11 millions, and fifty years later, is, in A.D. 2001, it would amount to 138 millions. ' needless,' they say, ' to state that such calculations h come within the bounds of sobriety. Unforeseen obst might intervene, on the one hand; while, on the other, a s and general movement of the people towards Christianity m at any time take place. The history of the Church tells us this has happened before in other countries, not once or t but many times; and before our own eyes it has happene our own days in the large island of Madagascar. Moreove promise is that nations shall be born in a day.'

We cannot better fill in the details of the history of the gress of Indian missions, than by quoting here a portion o Indian Government's interesting survey:

' The missionaries in the course of their efforts have found the lations of the great cities much more tenacious in their opinion firm in their social relations than those of country districts. O other hand, they are more intelligent; they are good listeners; a ciate arguments and illustrations; and their children flock t mission schools. The rural population have been much more op their instructions; the peasantry of large districts have bee bound by caste ties; and the aboriginal tribes and classes in the munity, both in the hills and in the plains, have embraced Christi in large numbers.

' The religious movements which took place forty years ago a the peasantry to the south of Calcutta, among the indigo ry Krishnaghar, and in the thickly-peopled swamps of Barisál, g

of Bengal three large Christian communities, which now
ly 16,000 persons. They have been steadily cared for
ructed, and have been consolidated into prosperous well-
mmunities. Within the last twenty years the German
ıg the Cole tribes in the hills of Chota Nágpur, now
two branches, has greatly affected these simple yet manly
notwithstanding considerable social persecution, has led
,000 persons among them to profess themselves Christians.
y the Santál tribes, in the same line of hills, have followed
ı. In the year following the Mutiny, a new mission was
ɔy an American society in the provinces of Oudh and
and the Christian congregations already include 2000
he largest congregations in the North-Western Provinces
Benares, Allahabad, Fategarh, Agra, and Meerut, and
the boarding-school establishments in the great famines of
861. An important religious movement has recently
the dominions of the Nizam, under the conduct of native
; and 1100 persons have become Christians. A similar
s taken place among the Telugu people of Ongole, under
ı mission, which has resulted in 6000 converts. More
e now included in the two missions at Cuddapah; and the
ions in Guntoor, in the Masulipatam district, and on the
ve increased during the last few years from 1500 native
more than 6000.

in the southern portion of the Madras Presidency that
has most largely affected the rural populations. The
Tanjore, first instructed by the Danish missionaries,
n by the respected missionary Schwartz, has long pos-
ge number of Christian congregations. These continue
re of the Lutheran and the English Episcopal missions,
rted to be in a prosperous condition. The Christians now
00 persons in the Tanjore and Trichinapalli districts. In
ıring district of Madura, the Americans have a flourishing
ı 7000 converts and a normal school. The Tinnevelly
ɔore missions are well known, and are reported to be in
a higher position and exerting greater influence now than

These two provinces contain a very large aboriginal
which has been but little affected by the Hinduism of
ıdia. The Shanar tribe and their kindred, from the
ıd marked peculiarities of their social religious life, have
ɔst interesting study to the missionaries who have lived
. They have been under instruction from the commence-
present century. Good schools have flourished among
hich girls have benefited as well as boys. Training
supplied well-taught schoolmasters; theological schools
nt years provided a full supply of native ministers and
le the congregations have steadily multiplied, and the
the whole people has been raised. Three missions have
on amongst them, by the Church Missionary Society, the
Society

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the London Society, and a large and influential English staff has co affairs of these missions. At the present time (1871), 90, of all ages are professing Christians in these missions; are dotted over with flourishing villages and Christian chu are hundreds of native teachers employed among them, of seven are ordained, and are supported to a great extent b gregations. Order and peace rule these simple commun give the Government little trouble, whether in the Madras or under his Highness the Maharajah of Travancore; tracts of country have been brought under cultivatic peasantry generally enjoy a larger share of material com days gone by.'

The following statement exhibits the relative posit of the two districts, Tinnevelly and South Travanc were lumped together in the foregoing survey), as asc the Statistical Returns in 1871:

TINNEVELLY: The two missionary societies of the England—Congregations, 580; native converts, 58, municants, 9151; ordained native ministers, 46; co of native converts, 2733*l.*

SOUTH TRAVANCORE: The London Missionary Soc gregations, 251; native converts, 32,122; communic ordained native ministers, 11; contributions of nati 1094*l.*

'Much the same,' the statement of the Indian Governm to say, 'may be said of the Church mission among the Upper Travancore and Cochin. The congregations amon include some 14,000 people, and the Syrian Christians a been greatly stimulated and improved through the eff English missionaries carried on in their midst. Only one o needs special mention here, the American mission in Bu mission has drawn its converts chiefly from the Karen aborigines of Burma and the Shan States, who have so l comed the English rule. Information respecting thei scanty of late; but it is certain that 60,000 of them a converts, and that the mission is largely supported by themselves.' We add a few particulars regarding the mi Basel German Missionary Society on the Malabar Coast s of the adjoining districts of South-Western India. The mission is carried on with great vigour by forty-five o fourteen lay missionaries. The native converts now nu showing an increase of 53 per cent. in ten years. 'T together, these rural and aboriginal populations of India, received a large share of the attention of the missionary s contain among them *a quarter of a million* native Christi The principles they profess, the standard of morals at whi

the education and training which they receive, make them no unimportant element in the Empire which the Government of India has under its control. These populations must greatly influence the communities of which they form a part; they are thoroughly loyal to the British Crown; and the experience through which many have passed, has proved that they are governed by solid principles in the conduct they pursue. Dr. Hunter has recently set before the Government the importance of the hill races and other aborigines of India, reckoned at 70,000,000 in number; and both because of the simplicity of their habits, their general love of order, their teachableness, as well as their great numbers, has urged that new and large efforts shall be made for their enlightenment. In the same way many able missionaries advocate that the Christian efforts among them shall be increased. There is reason to believe that these estimable races will occupy a more prominent position in the Empire in the future than they have done hitherto.'

We add some particulars which it seems necessary to mention in order to make this remarkable survey of missionary work and progress complete. The missionaries have zealously and successfully laboured, not only to win converts, but to improve the intellectual condition of the converts and their children. In addition to 40,315 pupils, as already mentioned, in Anglo-vernacular schools and colleges, the number of boys taught in purely vernacular schools, attended chiefly by Christian children of the poorer classes, is 66,239; and notwithstanding the peculiar difficulties that stand in the way of female education in India—difficulties which operate even amongst the poorer classes, and which have not yet ceased to be felt even amongst the native Christians themselves—the number of girls in the various mission schools, chiefly children of converts, is no less than 29,016. There are 2154 boys and 2905 girls in the various mission orphanages. Provision is also made in various missions, by means of boarding-schools of a high order, for imparting a really good education to the more promising Christian children, both boys and girls; and ample provision is made everywhere, by means of training-schools and institutions for the training up, not only of schoolmasters, schoolmistresses, and lay teachers of various grades, but also, ultimately, for the training up of an ordained native ministry, an object of vital importance in every attempt that is made to naturalise the Christian Church in a new soil. Institutions with these objects in view for male teachers are eighty-five in number, containing 1618 students, whilst there are twenty-eight institutions for female teachers, containing 567 students.

In consequence of the progressive development of the Indian missions, in several portions of the field it has been found necessary

necessary to carry into effect a further division of the congregational department of mission work into pastoral and evangelistic. The former, pastoral work, or the care of the Christian congregations and the schools connected with them, is now being left in the hands of the native ministers who have been trained up and ordained in such numbers, under the general supervision, for the present, of European missionaries; whilst the European missionaries are now confining themselves as much as possible to evangelistic work, properly so called, that is, itinerating in new fields, gathering in new converts, and forming new congregations. In connection with this rearrangement of work, systematic efforts are now being made everywhere, especially in the older missions, to make the congregations self-supporting, and the first steps have been taken towards teaching the native Christian community self-government. In connection with several missions Church councils have been established, consisting of native pastors and representative members of native congregations, which assemble from time to time, generally under the presidency of European missionaries, for the purpose of consulting on measures required for the support, organisation, and extension of the native Church. The establishment of these councils has proved a great encouragement to the native Christian community, and helped to prepare it for whatever difficulties or successes may be in store for it in the future. It has also gone far to teach native converts several lessons which, both as natives and as converts, it was very necessary they should learn. They are now learning to regard the support of their own pastors and their own religious institutions and schools not merely as a charitable work to which they may contribute or not, as they feel inclined, but as a duty, as an obligation from which they cannot escape. They are also learning to regard the diffusion of Christianity, the extension of the boundaries of the Christian Church, and the moral and religious improvement of the native Christian community, not merely as the duty of the foreign missionaries, but also, and chiefly, as their own duty. And they are learning both these excellent lessons so generally and so steadily, that it seems now impossible for any one to predict with any appearance of probability, as it used to be predicted, that, if from any cause the English were obliged to abandon India, the Christianity introduced by English missionaries would, within a few years afterwards, disappear.

Indian missionaries, like missionaries in other parts of the world, have sometimes been supposed to content themselves with preaching the doctrines and administering the ordinances of the Christian Church, without caring much either for the mental

ntal improvement of their converts or for the improvement of ir temporal condition. The educational statistics of the sions furnish a sufficient reply to so much of the accusation relates to the neglect of mental culture; and, as a rule, Indian sionaries have shown themselves almost equally zealous for improvement of the temporal condition of their people as their intellectual improvement, though this is a department things with which statistical tables cannot deal. Where the ple who have become Christians were already educated and lised, the missionary has set himself to supply the things that e lacking by promoting amongst them moral, social, and estic reforms, giving them a higher idea of their capabilities duties, even with respect to the present life, endeavouring nock off the fetters by which their intellects were bound, and opening before them an unlimited prospect of improvement progress. In particular he has set himself to improve the lition of the female portion of the new Christian community; though the condition of the women in India, especially ngst the better classes, is far from being so degraded as it ommonly supposed to be, it is still discreditably low, cially in regard to the total absence of mental culture. The t majority of the converts belong, as has been seen, to lower castes and classes or to rude aboriginal tribes, and istianity finds them either in an uncivilised state or but ially civilised. In this condition of things the missionary mes the centre of innumerable civilising influences. He taught his converts new industrial arts and higher ideas of estic comfort. He has improved their houses and rebuilt r villages. He has taught them cleanliness, decency, and r. Where he has found them in slavery, he has obtained them, or enabled them to regain, their freedom. Where were oppressed and degraded he has taught them to rise to regard themselves as men. He has taught them self- ect and some degree of self-reliance. He has endeavoured ake them more industrious, more energetic, and more enter- ing; and thus he has not only introduced them into a new ld of religious and moral ideas, but has also given them a e in a new world of social order and progress. Hence it generally been remarked that the temporal condition of verts to Christianity, belonging to the lower classes and rior races, after they have been Christians for some years, as to be greatly improved. They seem more comfortable, er off, more affluent, than their non-Christian neighbours. ny person has had the opportunity of visiting any of the sion stations in the rural districts, especially where the

people were formerly in a low social condition; if he has had the opportunity of seeing villages where all, or nearly all, the people have become Christians, and where it has been possible, in consequence, for Christian ideas of things to acquire a public manifestation; if he has compared the Christian villages with villages in the neighbourhood inhabited by people of the same castes and classes who have not become Christians, he cannot but have been struck with the fact that the Christian village is greatly superior to the non-Christian village in cleanliness and order, in signs of comfort and marks of progress. He cannot fail, in consequence, to have concluded that the adoption of the Christian religion by any class of people in India, especially by any class of people in a low intellectual and social condition, is not to be regarded as a mere change of religion, in the sense in which changes of religion are commonly supposed to take place; that is, that it is not to be regarded as the substitution of one set of opinions for another, or of one set of observances for another; but that, on the contrary, it is to be regarded as the adoption of better principles of action and a higher aim in life; that it is a change from a lower to a higher civilisation, from ignorance to knowledge, from neglect to culture, from apathy to progress; that, in short, it is 'life from the dead.'

This being the case, the advantages which native Christians, especially those belonging to the lower classes, derive from the missionary's labours amongst them being so great, the wonder is, not that some persons become Christians in the hope of sharing in those advantages, but that a much larger number of the people do not do so, that the mass of the people, that the mass of the poorer classes at least, do not follow the example set them by a few. The wonder is, that any of the lower castes and the aboriginal tribes, seeing what Christianity, as taught by European Protestant missionaries, has done for those of their own class who have embraced it, should be content to remain idolaters and demonolaters, when they might, by becoming Christians, take their promotion to a higher style of man. Their not taking this course must be owing, we suppose, to the circumstance that people who are in a low condition of morals and culture are often found to be perfectly satisfied with that condition. The worst result of their degradation is that they do not feel themselves degraded. Whatever the cause may be, the fact is certain that there are multitudes of people in India, especially in the remoter, ruder districts, and amongst the poorer classes, who would be greatly benefited in a temporal point of view, and ultimately benefited in every respect, by becoming Christians, but who do not see it in this light, and remai

main uninfluenced by this or any other consideration. There another circumstance which it is important to remember. hatever be the motives by which any of those who have placed emselves under Christian instruction have been induced in the st instance to listen and learn, and how unpromising soever e condition of some of them may be supposed to be, their ildren, at all events, are in the schools connected with the ission from the very first, and are brought up from the first right principles of action. As the parents, moreover, are der Christian oversight, no less than the children, there is ason for hoping that the lessons of truth which are taught in the hoolroom during the day will not be obliterated at night when e children return home, as is too often the case when the parents ve not become Christians. The condition of the parents, also, ough often very unsatisfactory at first, is capable of improving, d is generally found to improve. Of the people who have braced Christianity from mixed motives, partly religious, rtly secular, the majority are found to adhere to it after all citement from without has passed away, and learn to value ristianity for higher reasons. From time to time also the issionaries discover amongst them a few simple-minded truth-ring persons, whom Providence had been preparing, even in e times of their ignorance, for the reception of the truth and r bringing forth the fruits of righteousness. The congrega-n, consisting perhaps of the inhabitants of an entire village, d been brought in, as it were, by the tide; and yet after a time ongst the sand and sea-weed a few pearls of great price are covered, fitted to shine hereafter in a kingly crown.

Now that the possibility of the conversion of the Hindus to ristianity has been proved by the actual conversion of a con-rable number of them of all classes, the line adopted by sons who are unfriendly to missions in general and Indian sions in particular has been changed, and it is usually rted that the conversions that have taken place are valueless. is is the line most commonly adopted by persons of this class o have been in India, and their opinion is often echoed by sons who cannot be regarded as intentionally unfriendly. It often been remarked with surprise that English people who e been in India and returned to this country (with the portant exception of those persons whose opinion is of the best value) generally bring with them an unfavourable ort of the results of Indian missions, particularly in regard to character of the native converts. The prevalence of this avourable opinion seems at the present time the chief ection to Indian missions with which we are called upon to

deal. Is the opinion so generally expressed to be accepted as correct? or are there valid reasons for regarding it as incorrect and unfair?

We are not disposed to consider the existence of defects in the character of the Indian converts to Christianity as in any way *à priori* an improbable thing. On the contrary, we should be prepared to find in Indian converts many serious defects. We should be prepared to find in them not only such defects as are common to human nature everywhere, but also certain special defects peculiar to the country and race to which they belong, and the style of character formed or fostered by the religion in which they were brought up. When Hindus have become Christians, they have not at the same time become English people, and that means a great deal. It means that they have not ceased to be timid, and that they have not become self-reliant, high-spirited, and manly. They have inherited the fatal legacy of a hundred generations of heathenism, and it will probably take a considerable time, perhaps many generations, before they unlearn the evil habits and tendencies, the evil conversation, received by tradition from their forefathers. It may take a still longer time before they acquire the style of character which Christian Europe approves. Christian Europe itself has not universally learnt to practise what it approves. The religion of many people in this old Christian country is still too much an affair of doctrines, views, sentiments, observances; too little an endeavour to live a Christ-like life. We need not wonder, therefore, that the character of the new Christian community in India has not all at once been renovated, though it has been considerably modified, by its Christianity.

After making all due allowance, however, for the defects, of whatever nature they may be, with which the native converts are really chargeable, whether as individuals or as a community, we are decidedly of opinion that they neither justify nor account for the sweeping assertions some Anglo-Indians are accustomed to make. Doubtless those persons are in error, if any such persons there be, who look at the bright side of the picture alone and ignore the dark side; but they are equally, and far less amiably, in error who endeavour to induce people to believe that the picture has no bright side at all. Much of the prejudice with which native Christians are regarded is owing, we are convinced, to ignorance. It is sometimes taken for granted that all English people who have been in India have sufficient acquaintance with Indian missions and Indian Christianity to be able to speak about them with authority; but this is undoubtedly an error. The great majority of the English in

in India know no more of mission stations, of native congregations, of the social life of native Christians, or of the real condition of the native Christian community, than if they had never been out of England. Some of them have never had an opportunity of seeing a mission station, such stations being few in number and scattered over a wide area: a larger number have not cared to avail themselves of the opportunities they have enjoyed. As a rule, indeed, whatever they may know of other matters, they are content to remain profoundly ignorant of what missionaries are doing. The only native Christians most English people have ever seen are a few persons belonging to the class of domestic servants, whose character is generally unfavourably affected by their position, or perhaps a few waifs and strays, disowned by their own community, who endeavour to make a living by their wits in military stations and seaport towns. The great mass of the native Christians live quiet, unobtrusive lives in remote rural districts, and the only Europeans they ever come in contact with are missionaries, and those few persons who, though not missionaries, are sufficiently interested in missions to be willing to go and see for themselves what a native Christian community is. A considerable portion of the prejudice with which native Christians are often regarded is owing, we believe, to pride of race. If caste pride prevails largely amongst natives, pride of race prevails quite as largely amongst Europeans. Many of the English in India, especially at the outset of their career, regard all natives with indiscriminate aversion. After a time their ideas become enlarged; their prejudices are mollified; they learn to tolerate the natives; not unfrequently they learn even to like them; but it often happens that they make amends for their adoption of more charitable sentiments towards the natives generally by disliking native Christians worse than ever. They learn to speak of them with unreasonable contempt, and, if they happen to come in contact with them, to treat them with unjustifiable contumely. Pride of race has not disappeared; in reality it has only taken a new shape. Instead of flowing in many channels, it now flows only in one, and consequently the current which flows in that one channel has become peculiarly deep and strong.

Unfortunately, Anglo-Indians are encouraged in this feeling by the very people who at first suffered most from their intolerance. The Hindus and Muhammedans, by whom they are surrounded, and who have their own reasons for disliking converts from their own creeds to any other, and for endeavouring to prevent them from gaining influence, do their utmost to create a prejudice against them, or to foster any prejudice which already

already exists. English society in India is thoroughly pervaded with the notion that it is an ungentlemanly thing for a man to change his religion, and this is a notion which high-caste Hindus in particular take care to encourage. Their religion makes no proselytes and their caste accepts none. Consequently they are apt to regard such of their fellow-countrymen as have adopted a foreign religion, particularly if they have been guilty of the additional crime of being of lower caste than themselves, as 'the filth of the world and the offscouring of all things.' And hence English people, who occupy official positions in India, who are surrounded by high-caste subordinates, and breathe every day of their lives an atmosphere of high-caste blandishments, are too often led to mistake the prejudices instilled into their minds by Brahmans for results of their own observation. It is a significant fact that when Englishmen of this class come to take an interest in religion on their own account, when they become Christians themselves in a truer and deeper sense, they make the discovery that there is a reality in missionary work and results and a sincerity amongst native Christians, notwithstanding their defects, which they had not expected to find. The most direct testimony to the reality in the main of the Christianity of the native converts is that which is borne by the missionaries to whose congregations they belong; and though it is true that their testimony may be said to be open to exception, in consequence of the interest they may naturally be supposed to take in their own converts, yet it is to be remembered on the other hand that the Indian missionaries are not the credulous, ill-informed class of people they have sometimes been supposed to be. The proceedings of the Allahabad Missionary Conference show that they are capable of forming a careful, sober, impartial estimate of the results of the different modes of work they have been led to adopt. Irrespective, however, of the testimony of the missionaries, it may be regarded as certain from the very nature of the case, that the character of the native Christians, as a body, must be superior to that of the non-Christians around belonging to the same classes and conditions. A mission congregation may be regarded as a school of conduct, in which young and old are taught not only the best religious doctrines, but the best moral precepts. They are taught the highest morality, to be good and to do good; and they are taught the highest motive for practising this morality, divine love. They have the benefit also of pastoral oversight, guidance, and discipline. The native Christian community must necessarily, therefore, by its superiority in moral qualities to the non-Christian community, bear witness to the moral efficacy of the truth. Probably it will

even bear to be compared, if the comparison be conducted perfect fairness, with an equal proportion of the popula- in any of the old Christian countries in Europe. To assert, fore, that the native Christians are no better, still more to t that they are worse, than heathens, may reasonably be uded to be a calumny. We are not left, however, to the nce of those who are supposed to be interested parties, or obable inference from facts. The hostile testimony of one on of English people who have been in India is rebutted by vourable testimony of another and better informed portion. y English gentlemen in India, some of them holding high al positions, civil or military, help forward the cause of ons, not merely by their contributions, but far more mate- by their co-operation, especially by taking an active part e management of the affairs of the missions as members of onary committees. In doing this, they bear their testimony, estimony not of words merely, but of actions that speak r than words, both to the reality of the work the onaries are doing and to the reality of its results. Some ns, also, of the very highest position, such as Lord ence, Governor-General of India, Sir Bartle Frere, Governor mbay, and Lord Napier and Ettrick, Governor of Madras, e names carry weight wherever they are known, have distinct, emphatic testimony, in this country itself, to the y of the work they saw done in India, and the reality, in ain, of the Christianity of the native converts. It may be indeed, that the higher the position occupied by any ishman in India, and the wider his experience, the more edly favourable has been the testimony he has borne.

fair estimate of the results of Indian missions cannot be if our attention be restricted to direct results alone, such e number of conversions that have taken place and the l and spiritual value of those conversions. It is certain indirect results also of great importance have been brought t. There was a time when indirect results were much less for than they are now. It was then the sole object of onaries, as was right and natural, to make converts to stianity. To that object they devoted all their energies. that object they preached, made translations of Scripture, ed and circulated books and tracts, established schools, gave cine to the sick, helped the down-trodden to rise. The t they aimed at has only partially been accomplished, very ally only as yet; but the means they used for the accom- ment of that object have brought into existence, generally out their knowledge, a whole class of agencies of a more

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or less distinctively Christian character, by which results of the greatest possible importance, and on the largest possible scale, have been produced. Had it not been for the efforts that have been made by Christian missionaries for the conversion of the natives to Christianity, directly by Christian teaching and preaching, indirectly by means of the influences that have been brought to bear on public education, probably neither the mental and moral enlightenment we now see spreading in India, nor any of the fruits of that enlightenment, would have had any existence. The indirect results of Indian missions have never been more highly estimated than by the Indian Government itself. The Blue-book, after treating of the number of converts, says:

'But the missionaries in India hold the opinion that the winning of these converts, whether in the cities or in the open country, is but a small portion of the beneficial results which have sprung from their labours. No statistics can give a fair view of all that they have done. They consider that their distinctive teaching, now applied to the country for many years, has powerfully affected the entire population. The moral tone of their preaching is recognised and highly approved by multitudes who do not follow them as converts. The various lessons which they inculcate have given to the people at large new ideas, not only on purely religious questions, but on the nature of evil, the obligations of law, and the motives by which human conduct should be regulated. Insensibly a higher standard of moral conduct is becoming familiar to the people, especially to the young, which has been set before them, not merely by public teaching, but by the millions of printed books and tracts which are scattered widely through the country. On this account, they express no wonder that the ancient systems are no longer defended as they once were; many doubts are felt about the rules of caste; the great festivals are not attended by the vast crowds of former years; and several Theistic schools have been growing up among the more educated classes, especially in the presidency cities, who profess to have no faith in the idol-gods of their fathers. They consider that the influences of their religious teaching are assisted and increased by the example of the better portions of the English community; by the spread of English literature and English education; by the freedom given to the press; by the high standard, tone, and purpose of Indian legislation; and by the spirit of freedom, benevolence, and justice which pervades the English rule. And they augur well of the future moral progress of the native population of India, from the signs of solid advance already exhibited on every hand, and gained within the brief period of two generations. This view of the general influence of their teaching, and of the greatness of the revolution which it is silently producing, is not taken by missionaries only. It has been accepted by many distinguished residents in India, and experienced officers of the Government; and has been emphatically endorsed by the high authority of Sir Bartle Frere

Frere. Without pronouncing an opinion upon the matter, the Government of India cannot but acknowledge the great obligation under which it is laid by the benevolent exertions of these 600 missionaries, whose blameless example and self-denying labours are infusing new vigour into the stereotyped life of the great populations placed under English rule, and are preparing them to be in every way better men and better citizens of the great Empire in which they dwell.'

This testimony of the Indian Government to the importance and value of the indirect results of Indian missions is one of the most remarkable facts that can claim to have a place in missionary history. Those results, as the Dean of Westminister observes, in the sermon published as an introduction to Professor Max Müller's lecture, consist 'not merely in the adoption of this or that outward form of Christianity by this or that section of the Indian community. It is something which is in appearance less, but in reality far greater than this. Individual conversions may relapse, may be accounted for by special motives; but long-sustained, wide-reaching changes of the whole tenour and bent of a man or of a nation are beyond suspicion. . . . [The verdict of the Indian Government] is a verdict on which we can rest with the assurance that it is not likely to be reversed.'

Looking at the results achieved by Indian missions, it is evident that they suggest reasons both for disappointment and for encouragement; but we are of opinion that the reasons for encouragement decidedly preponderate. The friends of missions may naturally feel at times disappointed, may still more naturally feel at times dissatisfied, when they compare what has been done with what still remains to be done. But there is no reason why they should give way to despondency, much less to despair. On the contrary, there is every reason why they should be thankful that so good a work has been begun on so large a scale, and resolve to take courage and go forward. A little dissatisfaction with results already accomplished will be found to act in the main as a wholesome stimulus to further exertion. Every person who sets himself to accomplish any religious or benevolent work on a large scale in this world, however he may seem to others to have succeeded, will seem to himself to have failed, or at least to have had so little success that he will naturally feel dissatisfied; but this impression will only have the effect of urging him forward, both to extend the range of his work, and to endeavour to bring it to greater perfection in details. We regard with special interest, but also with special anxiety, the progress which the native Church that has been planted in some districts in India is making towards maturity. It is already distinguished for docility

docility and liberality, but we should wish to see it, on the one hand, freer from inherited faults and failings, and on the other more self-reliant, more progressive, more comprehensive, extending itself with equal zeal and rapidity amongst the higher and the lower classes. At present too large a proportion of the native converts belong to the lower classes and the aboriginal tribes. We trust that ere long this defect will be remedied, and that the blessings which flow from the religion of the Lord All will not much longer be restricted, as hitherto has too much been the case, to the poorer classes, and to the members of a few castes out of many, but may become the common property and the uniting bond of all classes and castes, bringing all hearts into subjection to the beneficent dominion of Christ, purifying every portion of society, and infusing new vigour into every variety of life. What a grand future India, with her teeming population and her high intellectual gifts, might expect to see if she would only give up her dreams, her caste exclusiveness and the moral cowardice which so often keeps her from acting up to her convictions, and were to submit herself unreservedly to the dominion of the Truth! Such a result would prove a source of blessings of incalculable value, not only to India, but to Asia and the world.

ART. III.—*Life of William Earl of Shelburne, afterwards first Marquess of Lansdowne, with Extracts from his Papers and Correspondence.*

'WHATEVER,' says Walpole, in reference to his 'Memoirs of the Reign of George II.,' 'leads to a knowledge of the characters of remarkable persons, of the manners of the age and of its political intrigues, comes properly within my plan.' Lord E. Fitzmaurice's plan is equally extensive, and embraces nearly the same class of topics. His Life of his distinguished ancestor trenches too often on the domain of history to be adequately described as a biography; and its main value consists in the abundance of fresh light it throws on the various and remarkable characters and events with which the founder of Bowood and Lansdowne House was intimately acquainted or mixed up. Individually considered, however, and from the purely personal point of view, his life and career are eminently calculated to fix and reward attention. He attained the highest object of ambition to which a subject can aspire: he was Prime Minister of England during a brief but most important interval: and one of his successors in that proud position, the author of 'Conyngsby,' and

and 'Sybil,' has termed him 'the ablest and most accomplished minister of the eighteenth century: the first great minister who comprehended the rising importance of the middle class.' Bentham always said that he was 'the only minister he ever heard of who did not fear the people.'

Lord Shelburne was a patron of all intellectual pursuits, as well as a statesman: he eagerly courted the society of men of letters and philosophers: and he stated shortly before his death that he 'knew Junius and knew all about the writing and production of those letters.'* He served with distinction as a soldier: he was unceasingly engaged in party combinations or intrigues: he was almost invariably behind the scenes when the plot of the political drama had attained the highest point of interest: he was on the most familiar footing with the principal performers; he was thoroughly conversant with their views, springs of action, distinctive qualities and capacity; and we hold it, therefore, fortunate in the extreme that we are enabled to compare his recorded impressions with the contemporary Memoirs, Diaries, and Reminiscences on which historians like Mr. Adolphus, Lord Stanhope, and Mr. Massey have hitherto had no alternative but to rely.

'The present volume (as described in the Preface) includes the period between 1737 and 1766, and ends with the acceptance by Lord Shelburne of the post of Secretary of State in the Ministry of Lord Chatham.' But exact chronological arrangement of the materials has been disregarded: it probably proved impracticable; and based on observations matured and corrected (if not taken) long afterwards, will be found sketches, more or less finished, of Sir Robert Walpole, Sunderland, Carteret, Lord Chatham, Henry Fox (the first Lord Holland), Pulteney, the Pelhams, Lord Bute, Mansfield, Hardwicke, Lord George Sackville, Barré, Wolfe, and many others. These sketches are comprised in 'A Chapter of Autobiography' and various Memoranda written by Lord Shelburne between 1800 and his death in 1805. The fragmentary character of the Remains imposed a task of considerable difficulty and delicacy

* The conversation with Sir Richard Phillips about Junius, which Lord E. Fitzmaurice reprints in his Preface, was published in Wade's (commonly called Bohn's) 'Junius' in 1850; so that there is small cause for the apprehension of the leading journal that 'these few words (Lord S.'s) may rekindle the whole Junius controversy in all its vehemence.' But there is one of Lord Shelburne's statements which has recently acquired additional significance: namely, that 'none of the parties ever guessed at as Junius was the true Junius. Nobody has ever suspected him.' This was said in April, 1805, when it was at one time supposed no one had guessed at or suspected Francis. But it is now clear that the identity of Francis with Junius was discussed by Pitt in conversation with both Lord Eldon and Lord Aberdeen. (See 'Notes and Queries' for August 2, 1873.)

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on Lord E. Fitzmaurice, which he has executed with judgment and skill. Although occasional exception may be taken to his style, the narrative and connecting portions of the work contributed by him are marked by a complete mastery of the subject, an excellent spirit and tone, with boldness and liberality of opinion, and firmness and comprehensiveness of view.

To appreciate a man's estimates of character we must carefully analyse his own, trace it up through each stage of its growth or formation, and mark the peculiarities of mind, temper and disposition, as well as the accidents of early training and association, by which his future judgments may have been warped. It is laid down as an undoubted fact by James Mill that 'the early sequences to which we are accustomed form the primary habits, and that the primary habits are the fundamental character of the man. The consequence is most important, for it follows that as soon as the infant, or rather the embryo, begins to feel, the character begins to be formed.'* Assuming this theory to be sound, Lord Shelburne is fully justified in dwelling on his earliest infancy as influencing his mental and moral development:—

'I was born,' he begins, 'in Dublin (20th of May, 1737). I spent the four first years of my life in the remotest part of the south of Ireland, under the government of an old grandfather, who reigned, rather tyrannised, equally over his own family and the neighbouring country as if it was his family, in the same manner as I suppose his ancestors, Lords of Kerry, had done for generations since the time of Henry II., who granted to our family 100,000 acres in those remote parts in consideration of their services against the Irish, with the title of Barons of Kerry. I have seen the original grant in the possession of my father, and it must be now in my brother's. It is a curiosity on account of its simplicity and brevity compared with grants of a later date, not being longer than a common writ subpœna or a summons to Parliament.'

This grandfather, 21st Baron Kerry, was made Earl of Ker

* 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' article Education. We gladly avail ourselves this opportunity to direct the attention of our readers to the new (ninth) edition of this great work, of which the first volume has recently appeared under the editorship of Professor Baynes, of St. Andrews. A great part of it has been re-written; and so far as we have been able to examine the articles, we congratulate the Editor upon the success of his undertaking. He has secured the co-operation of many of the ablest writers in all departments of Literature, History, Philosophy and Science; and most of the subjects have been brought up to the present state of knowledge. If completed in the same manner in which it is commenced, it will be the most valuable Encyclopædia in our language. We would only suggest to the Editor that he should, in the forthcoming volumes, omit, even more rigorously than he has hitherto done, some of the old materials. We have, in a few cases, noticed some articles left from the former edition that should have been re-written.—Editor.

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in 1722. He married in 1792 Anne, the daughter of Sir William Petty, whose son was the first Earl of Shelburne. This title, having become extinct by his death without issue in 1751, was conferred on John Fitzmaurice, the fifth son of the Earl of Kerry by Anne Petty, to whom the whole of the Petty estates had been devised by his maternal uncle, on condition of his adopting the name and arms of Petty. He had already been created Viscount Fitzmaurice, the title by which *his* son, the first Marquess of Lansdowne, was known till 1761. To avoid confusion, we allude to the subject of this work throughout as Lord Shelburne.

His grandfather, he states, was the most severe character that can be imagined, obstinate and inflexible. 'He was a handsome man, and, luckily for me and mine, married a very ugly woman (Anne Petty), who brought into his family whatever degree of sense may have appeared in it, or whatever wealth is likely to remain in it.' This lady, whom he describes as a perfect model of sense, prudence, and spirit, educating her children well, furnishing several houses, supporting a style of living superior to any family whatever in Ireland, and with all this improving the fortune of their house, died within a few months of his birth; so that he lost the benefit of her personal superintendence, and was left entirely to the uncontrolled tutelage of the grandfather.

'He kept that barbarous country in strict subordination. He protected strangers and their property, and took care that the laws should be executed, and all violences repressed. He governed his own family as he did the country. In consequence his children did not love him, but dreaded him; his servants the same.'

This statement is confirmed by tradition. The Baron of Lixnaw lived in feudal state, and held a court in which he distributed rude justice and hospitality; a curious example of the paternal or patriarchal rule, without which neither life nor property would have been safe in the district he ruled over; nor was his the only territory in which the same state of things had existed for centuries. Indeed, traces of it survived till within living memory. Not fifty years since a territorial magnate of herculean proportions, when presiding at petty sessions, instead of imposing fines or periods of imprisonment for offences, was wont to quit the judgment-seat, and inflict an appropriate number of lashes with a hunting whip, which (like the Roman fasces) lay on the table before him, the instrument of punishment and the emblem of authority.

Referring a little farther on to the grandfather's love of honour, justice and truth, as a counterpoise to excess of severity, he

he adds, 'that so far as he can learn both were the characteristics of the House of Lixnaw for many generations, and are distinguishable to this day in the small remains of it, although he hopes he has introduced a degree of softness into it.' His father was forty-five when the grandfather died; and with formed habits, cramped notions and broken spirit, fell under the control of his mother; a woman of restless activity, irritable temper, fond of power, and still fonder of money. There are plausible grounds for supposing that all the faults of the son's character were owing to her.*

'Under the circumstances I have described, I had no great chance of a very liberal education: no great example before me, no information in my way, except what I might be able to acquire by my own observation or by chance; good-breeding within my own family which made part of the feudal system, but out of it nothing but the uncultivated, undisciplined manners, and that vulgarity which make all Irish society so justly odious all over Europe.'

This is a strange statement. Whatever the home-bred Irish may have been, surely the travelled Irish were even more remarkable for ease and pliancy of manner, ready adaptation to foreign habits, and facility in acquiring languages, than the English or the Scotch; and Irish society, as represented by the expatriated or exiled nobility and gentry, stood on the best possible footing at almost every European capital.

'I must, however, make one illustrious exception to all that has been said within and without my family, in the person of Lady Arabella Denny, to whose virtues, talents, temper, taste, true religion, and goodness of every kind, it is impossible for me to do sufficient justice, any more than to the unspeakable gratitude I owe her. If it was not for her I should have scarce known how to read, write, or articulate, to being able to do which I am indebted, perhaps, for the greatest part of the little reputation I have lived to gain in the House of Lords. It was to her alone I owed any alleviation of the domestic brutality and ill-usage I daily experienced at home. She was the only example I had before me of the two qualities of mind which most adorn and dignify life—amiability and independence.'

The husband of this incomparable woman was a good sort of man, uninformed and ignorant; her brother-in-law, Sir — Denny, a coward, a savage, and a fool, who set himself to make her life unhappy. Her mode of counteracting him, original and ingenious, was by playing off one of his bad qualities against the others, by using his cowardice to subdue and neutralise his brutality. She practised pistol-shooting till she had

* So stated in a letter from Lord Kildare to Lord Holland.

become

come a capital shot, and then, after a display of her dexterity, told him that she had made up her mind to give him the nefit of it unless he mended his ways, his ill-usage having de her regardless of life. The brute was so effectually cowed t he took care never to exasperate her again.

From four to fourteen Lord Shelburne's education was irregular l desultory. He was first sent to an ordinary school, and then ced under a private tutor, an incapable, narrow-minded man. on after fifteen he came to London, where he was suffered to about and pick up what acquaintance offered, or amuse him- f as he thought fit, with no restraint except in the article of ney, of which, he says, he should never have had enough to swer the commonest purposes if it had not been for cousins l old aunts.

I have dwelt on the manner in which I passed my early years, ause it cost me more to unlearn the habits, manners, and principles ich I then imbibed than would have served to qualify me for any e whatever through life. I am conscious of the force of several of m to this hour, which I have not been able to root properly out.'

At all events he had the advantage of a University education, ing sent to Christ Church, where again he unluckily fell der a narrow-minded tutor, and remarks that by one or other cident it has been his fate through life to fall in with clever t unpopular connections.

'I should mention that my father, before I left London, used to ry me when he made visits, and introduced me to several old people, ling me that they might be dead when I left Oxford, and I might reafter be glad to have it to say that I had seen them. I saw by is means Lord Chesterfield and Lord Granville, and was wonderfully uck with the difference of their manner. . . . He likewise carried to the House of Commons, and I shall never forget the scolding gave me for not staying to hear Lord North speak a second time, ving heard him once, and disliking his manner. My father inferred m it to me that I never could be anybody. Lord North was then ing into reputation as a speaker.'

He appears to have done his best to make up for lost time at ford. He read with his tutor a good deal of natural law and law of nations, some history, and part of Livy. He also nslated some of the Orations of Demosthenes. He attended ackstone's Lectures, and profited considerably by them; but mplains rather unreasonably that he got little or no knowledge the world, which is not exactly what a young man is expected get at a University. The Dean, however (Dr. Gregory), ve him notions of people and things which were afterwards useful

useful to him, and he 'fell into habits' with Dr. King, President of St. Mary Hall, of political and Jacobite celebrity.

'I was likewise much connected during all the time I was at college with Mr. Hamilton Boyle, afterward Earl of Cork. As to the rest, the college was very low; a proof of it is, that no one who was there in my time has made much figure either as publick man, or man of letters. The Duke of Portland is the only one I recollect to have his name come before the publick.'

Pausing at 1756, the year when he quitted Oxford, he suspends his personal narrative, and proceeds thus:—

'Previous however to my giving any further account of myself or of such things as may have come within my knowledge, I shall give some account of the condition of politics about the time I entered public life.

'It is common to attribute the happiness and comfort which this country enjoyed from the period of the Revolution till the commencement of the present reign, to the excellence of our constitution, to the Whigs, and to a variety of other causes, whereas I conceive the true cause to have been the existence of a Pretender with a very just right to the Throne upon all Tory and monarchical principles and all old prejudices, but without sufficient capacity to disturb the reigning family, or to accommodate himself to the new principles which have been making a slow but certain progress ever since the discovery of the press. Cardinal Wolsey, upon the first discovery of printing, told the clergy to be on their guard, for if they did not destroy the press the press would destroy them. The consequence was that, during the period alluded to, there was a King and no King. Instead of all that fine theory which Montesquieu and all the admirers of the English constitution suppose, and all the theory of action and reaction, the Hanover family never imagined they would continue, and as their only chance threw themselves into the arms of the old Whigs, abjuring the rights and the manners of Royalty, in other words, telling the people, "We are your slaves and blackamoors."'

In this and another passage to the same effect his Lordship assigns to the Pretender the part which the Lord (in the Prologue of *Faust*) assigns to Mephistopheles: 'Man's activity is all too prone to slumber: he soon gets fond of unconditional repose: I am therefore glad to give him a companion, who stirs and works, and must as devil be doing.' Certainly the Pretender kept both the Court and the nation on the *qui vive*, but we fail to see how this added to the happiness and comfort of the country. These were surely owing to the development of commerce and industry under an equal administration of the laws, and in no slight degree to the peaceful policy of Walpole. The national prosperity must have been checked and impaired instead

ıd of being advanced or promoted by a divided allegiance, equent threat of invasion or insurrection, and the actual nce of civil war in the heart of the kingdom. To contend he rising of 1715-1716, or the rebellion of 1745, was a some stimulant to a sluggish people would be much the as saying that the improved cultivation of the wine, corn, ool-producing provinces of Spain is owing to the Carlists ıe revolutionary proceedings at Madrid.

to the Hanover family throwing themselves into the arms Old Whigs, abjuring the rights and manners of Royalty, ordship has simply anticipated Mr. Disraeli's theory of the h Constitution when describing it as essentially Venetian the two first Sovereigns of the dynasty.* But it may be ı from this very Autobiography, as well as from all other ntic sources of information, that they were more like rn Satraps than Venetian Doges; that, except at rare als, no compulsion was put upon them; and that place ower were sought by intrigue and flattery, through male nale favourites, because notoriously dependent on royal ıation and caprice.

e prolonged tenure of power by Walpole, who started as a ry gentleman of moderate estate, goes far to refute the ; and as regards the alleged dictation, we need only refer to took place on the accession of George II., when Walpole d on the new King to be informed who was to draw up eech to the Council, in other words, who was to have the conduct of affairs. He was referred to Sir Spencer ton, who was clearly intended for the post, had he ssed the smallest amount of qualification. He broke down outset, being unable to prepare the required form without ole's aid, and his inefficiency becoming known, things ally fell into the old train. Still, Walpole was never enough to dispense with female or backstairs influence; ıis power, which resisted all attacks, open or underhand,

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ing, Lords and Commons, the Venetian Constitution,' exclaimed Sir . 'But they were phrases,' said Coningsby, 'not facts. The King was a the Cabinet the Council of Ten. Your Parliament, that you call Lords ommons, was nothing more than the Great Council of Nobles.' 'The lance was complete,' said Millbank, 'and no wonder, for it was not acci- : the Venetian Constitution was intentionally copied.'—*Coningsby.* 'When itement of this great event (the Revolution of 1688) had a little subsided, he rights and liberties of the nation had been secured by its Parliament, ders of the Whigs, including many of the most powerful and ancient families kingdom, commenced a favourite scheme of that party, which was to the King of England to the situation of a Venetian Doge.'—'Vindication English Constitution in a Letter to a Noble Lord.' By Disraeli the er, p. 168.

whilst Queen Caroline lived, was perceptibly weakened by her death. This is stated in so many words by Lord Shelburne; and we shall see as we proceed how utterly powerless the Whig aristocracy, split into petty factions, really were, and how at the most critical period of our annals there was more danger to be apprehended from an absolute monarchy than from a Venetian oligarchy.

Next to Walpole, the man who exercised most personal influence was the 'Great Commoner.' He, backed by the people, in times of public excitement and alarm, did dictate to both King and nobles; and the most powerful of the Whig magnificoes (as Mr. Disraeli calls them), the Duke of Newcastle, was content to act under him. But this is no more than has happened repeatedly, and might happen again, if in any threatening conjuncture of affairs any popular statesman should be imperatively summoned to the helm.

Turning to the Continent, his Lordship remarks that in the seventeenth century France was on the whole systematically and wisely governed:

'Louis XIV. was a King in every sense of the word. He identified himself as few Kings do with the public, with whom he was one and the same. Monsieur de Montyon sent me several original letters which passed between Louis and Colbert and his other Ministers, which evidently prove his great economy and that he never let go his authority—a great point. He had great qualities if not great talents. Over-devotion and religious prejudice are to be excused in an old man, and are to be attributed more to the monarchy than to the man, at least more to the combination of both than to the man alone.'

When we remember to what the over-devotion and religious prejudice of Louis XIV. led, it will be difficult to find even plausible excuses for them, and the condition to which his ambition, vanity, bigotry and extravagance, reduced France is the best answer to all that ever was urged in praise of his system of government or economy.

'England, on the other hand, was left in great measure to nature, for the feebleness, the prejudices, and the total incapacity of the Stewarts, did not deserve to be called an administration, and only served to give the popular party time to form itself. Cromwell has never had justice done him. . . . England was never so much respected abroad, while at home, though Cromwell could not settle the Government, talents of every kind began to show themselves, which were immediately crushed or put to sleep at the restoration.'

Since this was written, Cromwell has had ample justice done him. He elevated the English name; he planned many useful reforms; and he encouraged literature so far as was consistent with

a the prevalent spirit of fanaticism, from which he himself not exempt. He took Marvel and Milton into his service; pensioned Usher, although a bishop; and he favoured his tive Waller, who repaid him in genuine poetic coin.* But are utterly at a loss to know what talents had begun to show nselves which were immediately crushed or put to sleep at Restoration. Creative genius was not crushed, for 'Paradise t' was published in 1668. Science was not put to sleep, for Royal Society was founded in 1663. If Dryden, Butler, wley, Congreve, Locke, Newton, were not encouraged, at all nts they were not persecuted, oppressed, or kept under in any y.

Lord Shelburne's estimate of the 'great and good' King lliam is diametrically opposed to that of Lord Macaulay; leed, it is enough to make the brilliant historian turn in his ve.

Nothing can be more false and absurd than the enthusiasm entered for his character, on account of his supposed love of liberty. saw too much of it in Holland, where, by his plans for undering it and by his ambition, he sowed the seeds of a great deal of confusion and corruption which put an end to the Government hat ill-used country. When Parliament sent away his Dutch ards, he said, if he had had children or any posterity, he would not e suffered it. I cannot trace a single act of inferior regulation t we owe to him, which did not immediately gratify his ambition.'

By way of comparison, a story (too long to quote) is told the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, which confirms the rst suspicions ever entertained of his Grace's double dealing l meanness. The following is a trait worth preserving:

Lord Bolingbroke said, when he waited on the Duke of Marlough sometimes before he was up, he used to be found sitting in window in a thin linen gown put on carelessly and, without ming to attend, would hit off a point which had taken them a long ie to discuss; but the worst of it was they never heard of anything e the whole day after. The French have always denied the Duke Marlborough's military talents, though he always beat them.'

If Lord Shelburne had lived three or four years longer, he uld have seen cause to modify his statement that the French ve always denied the military talents of the Duke. Napoon was one of the Duke's most ardent admirers, and the best

* Perhaps the happiest repartee on record is Waller's, when Charles II. narked that the poet's verses on the Restoration were not so good as those dressed to Cromwell: 'We poets, sire, succeed better in fiction than in truth.'

account of his campaigns was written and published under the imperial auspices in 1808.*

The position assigned by Lord Shelburne to Lord Sunderland, at the accession of George the First, is higher and more important than has been commonly assigned to that nobleman:—

'I have heard old people of good authority say that Lord Sunderland, who was the most intriguing man that ever existed after his father—whether he was as corrupt or quite so bad a man as his father, I cannot tell—first got the Court after the accession, and formed the leading party, consisting of the Craggs, Lord Carteret, the Stanhopes, Lord Macclesfield, and others.

Lord Sunderland was not only the most intriguing but the most passionate man of his time. In making up one of his administrations, it was recommended to him to nominate Sir James Lowther one of his Treasury, on account of his great property. He appointed him one morning to come to Marlborough House; the morning was bad; nobody came into Lord Sunderland, who at last rung his bell to know whether Sir James Lowther had been there. The servants answered that nobody had called; upon his repeating the inquiry the servants said that there was an old man, somewhat wet, sitting by the fire-side in the hall, who they supposed had some petition to deliver to his Lordship. When he went out, it proved to be Sir James Lowther. Lord Sunderland desired him to be sent about his business, saying that no such mean fellow should sit at his Treasury. Henry, Lord Holland, speaking of those times, said he asked Sir Robert Walpole why he never came to an understanding with Lord Sunderland. He answered, "You little know Lord Sunderland. If I had so much as hinted at it, his temper was so violent, that he would have done his best to throw me out of the window."'

In a subsequent passage he states that Lord Sunderland 'always had the Court and the Germans with him.' Lord Stanhope, on the contrary, conveys the impression that his ancestor, General (the first Earl) Stanhope, Walpole, and Lord Townshend, stood highest in the confidence of the Court, and were principally entrusted with the conduct of affairs at the commencement of the reign. That Walpole speedily gained the ascendancy is beyond a doubt; and Horace Walpole says that this was owing to his father's abilities in the House of Commons and his knowledge of finance, 'of which Lord Sunderland and Craggs had betrayed their ignorance in countenancing the South Sea scheme, and who, though more agreeable to the King, had been forced to give way to Walpole

* 'Histoire de Jean Churchill, Duc de Marlborough, Prince du Saint Empire, &c., &c., &c. A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Impériale, 1808. In three volumes.

as

:he only man capable of repairing that mischief.'* After nouncing a deliberate opinion that Sir Robert Walpole was, of sight, the ablest man of his time, Lord Shelburne pro- ls—

[ought to be partial to one of his rivals, if not his principal l—the House of Commons apart—Lord Carteret, whose daughter terwards married. He was a fine person, of commanding beauty, best Greek scholar of the age, overflowing with wit, not so much a ur *de bons-mots*, like Lord Chesterfield, as a man of true compre- sive ready wit, which at once saw to the bottom, and whose imagi- ion never failed him, and was joined to great natural elegance. had a species of oratory more calculated for the Senate than the ple. He was a *bon-vivant* and kept a large, plain, hospitable table. said that such a man was a stupid man, but an admirable hearer. said his house was the neutral port of the Finchs, who carried on conversation by each of them addressing him and never each other. said, when all his other stories failed him, Ireland was a constant ource. During his stay there as Lord Lieutenant, there was no l of the ridicule with which it supplied him.'

Lord Carteret (afterwards Earl Granville) was past middle life l suffering from the gout when he married Lady Sophia rmor, a celebrated beauty in her third or fourth season, upon ich this epigram appeared:—

'Her beauty like the Scripture feast
To which the invited never came;
Deprived of the expected guest,
Was given to the old and lame.'

rd Shelburne married Lady Sophia Carteret, a daughter of s couple, in 1765. Lord Carteret's memory, as Lord Lieu- ant of Ireland, is honourably associated with that of Swift. :quent and sharp as were the encounters of their wits, the noble rd was never taken at a disadvantage. Thus, when Harding, printer of the 'Drapier's Letters,' was thrown into prison, Dean went to the levée, burst through the circle, and in a n voice demanded of the Lord Lieutenant the meaning of se severities against a poor industrious tradesman, who had blished two or three papers designed for the good of his ntry. Lord Carteret, with admirable tact, evaded the re- nstrance by the apt quotation from Virgil:

'Res dura, et regni novitas, me talia cogunt
Moliri.'

On another occasion, when Lord Carteret had parried, with usual dexterity, some complaint or request of Swift, the Dean exclaimed:

* 'Reminiscences of the Courts of George the First and Second.'

exclaimed: 'What, in God's name, do you do here? Get back to your own country, and send us our boobies again.'*

After stating that the administration of these realms for upwards of half a century was monopolised by the Whig aristocracy, Mr. Disraeli remarks: 'George II., indeed, struggled for a time against these Venetian magnificoes; but when he found himself forced to resign his favourite minister, the brilliant Carteret, to the demands of the Pelhams and their well-organised connections, the King gave up the effort in despair.' Lord Shelburne does not confirm this statement. Speaking of the same period he says:—

'The King put himself into the hands of Lord Granville, who had full powers for a moment, but the Whigs, at the instigation of the Pelhams, signed a round-robin against him, and the King did not choose to try the experiments which his Grandson is about, nor was that time by any means ripe, I believe, for them, though Lord Granville thought otherwise.'

A round-robin is not a dignified proceeding, nor one likely to be adopted by Venetian magnificoes who treated their King or Doge like a puppet. It is true that the Sovereign, during the proscription of the Tories, was so far in the power of the Whigs, that he could not form a Ministry without them. They were like Curran's fleas, who (he said) would have pulled him out of bed, had they pulled together. But they never did pull together: neither did the Whigs. George I. and George II. had rarely the slightest difficulty in playing one faction against the other, nor, consequently, in carrying out their own personal policy or gratifying their own private inclinations. According to Lord Stanhope, it was because the Pelhams had the House of Commons at their back, and the German subsidies were in danger, that the King gave up Lord Carteret. Two of Lord Carteret's principal supporters are then described:

'The Craggs, father and son, were remarkable men. Old Mr. Craggs used to say it was as rare to meet with men perfectly wicked as to meet with men perfectly honest or perfectly able, but that he was one. Once when he was entrusted with Lord Sunderland's interests while the latter attended the King to Hanover, Walpole and his party got hold of some story very much against Lord Sunderland, which it was impossible to counteract by any common means. Old Craggs sent to Sir Robert Walpole to see him, and acknowledged the fact, but told him if the least use was attempted to be made of it, he would that moment go before the Lord Mayor and swear that he, Walpole, had a conversation with the Pretender. Walpole said it

* Scott's 'Memoirs of Swift,' sect. 6.

was

a gross falsehood. Craggs said that might be, but he would it, and accompany it with such circumstances as would make it ed, and that Walpole knew he was able and capable of it.'

d Craggs had been footman to Lady Mary Mordaunt. As ur Moore, who had also worn a livery, was getting into a age, Craggs turned to him and said: 'Why, Arthur, I am ys going to get up behind. Are not you?' Craggs was sup- l to have poisoned himself under the pressure of pecuniary arrassments brought on by the South Sea scheme.

rd Shelburne's estimate of Pulteney agrees with the received raditional one: 'He was by all accounts the greatest House mmons orator that had ever appeared.' But, alas! for House mmons oratory, if it can effect no more than was effected is master of the art:

amine his long opposition, and it will be seen he never did any nor attempted any. His great occupation was to raise the mob ler to turn out Sir Robert Walpole. He not only did no good, e did a great deal of mischief by dint of clamour and abuse. was faction carried such lengths.'

e state of things when his object was obtained, when Sir rt was actually and definitively turned out, speaks volumes hig organisation or disorganisation, and shows how far any ular combination of them was from being able to dictate Crown: as well as how low in motive, object, and charac- ie vast majority of public men had sunk. Smollett tells a of a troop of monkeys that, under the management of an trainer, had been taught to go through a succession of ary movements with surprising precision, till one evening, e midst of their evolutions, a spectator threw a handful of mongst them, and in an instant they were scattered about age, chattering, screaming, biting, scratching, in hot con- n for the spoil. Something of the same sort took place the whole patronage of the Crown, the places, pensions, rs, and emoluments, were suddenly (on the fall of Walpole 42) flung down before the (no longer) compact oppo- :—

e town was taken. All was anarchy and confusion. Places ensions, as always happens, lay at the bottom of all that passed, istribution of which requires no extraordinary capacity, and uently lets in everybody into consultations, where the greatest as as much to say as the wisest man of the party and often There was little or no principle anywhere, and very little rievance to be complained of except Hanover and the German ice, which nobody, however bold in the height of opposition, to touch, when every man thought himself upon the eve of having

having something, and consequently did not care to make himself personally odious at Court. I asked Lord Bath once, why more was not done for the public, upon which he flew into a degree of passion, and said there was no comprehending or describing the confusion that prevailed; that he lost his head, and was obliged to go out of town for three or four days to keep his senses, which I, well remembering, was upon my guard when I found myself in somewhat of a similar situation in 1782.'

'The Diary of Lord Melcombe,' he adds, 'gives not only a very just idea of the manner of carrying on the Government of England during his own time—1749–1761—but of the English Government for a long time to come, in short, till some public event alters the ordinary course of things.' Now, from one end of Lord Melcombe's Diary to another, there is not the smallest reference to a public interest, a national policy, a principle, a loyal or honourable obligation of any kind. Places and pensions were the universal objects of pursuit; and that the means justified the end was the recognised creed regarding them. The editor of the Diary has most appropriately printed by way of mottos on the title-page a sentence from the Diary: '*All for Quarter Day*,' and a sentence from Rabelais: '*Et tout pour le trippe*.'

Speaking of the national enthusiasm on the junction of Lord Granville and Pitt in 1756, Glover says: 'The *only* discontented were the King and *both* Houses of Parliament: the first grossly retaining his ancient prejudices, the two last dreading a change, which might lessen the price of corruption.'*

Unluckily only a passing notice is taken by Lord Shelburne of contemporary customs and modes of life:

'As to the manners of that time, an old servant at Whetham, near Bowood, told me that when her master went up to Parliament, her mistress used to go up to a small farm-house within a quarter of a mile, to stay till Mr. Earnley, her master, came back, and the great house was meanwhile shut up, though no very large one now, notwithstanding that it is considerably enlarged since that time, the beginning of the reign of George II.

'Lady Shrewsbury was the first who, in Queen Anne's time, began card parties in a small house, which belonged afterwards to General Conway, and now to the Prince.

'In my time, at Devizes, when families visited each other, the men were shown upstairs to the men, the women to the women. The men immediately sat down to wine or beer, and when they had done sent to tell the women. Several of the best gentlemen, members for the county, drank nothing but beer.'

* 'Memoirs of a Celebrated Literary and Political Character,' &c. p. 98.

Nearly the same modes of life continued down to the end of e century. 'No man' (says Miss Berry) 'intending to stand · his county, or desirous of being popular in it, would have rmitted his table at his country-house to be served with three-onged forks, or his ale to be presented but in a tankard to ich every mouth was successively to be applied. Sofas con-yed ideas of impropriety, and baths, and every extra attention cleanliness and purity of person, were habits by no means pposed to refer to superior purity of mind or manners.'* At a untry dinner-party, the gentlemen did not rejoin the ladies ll the carriages were ready to take them home, and were rarely a condition for rejoining them. Billy Butler, the sporting ear of Frampton, who died past eighty some forty years since, sed to say that he had known three generations of Dorset clergy: e first dined at one, and drank beer; the second at three, and rank port; the third at seven, and drank claret.

The manner in which the troubled sea of politics temporarily almed down is clearly and succinctly told:

'Sir Robert Walpole having been everything for so many years, r. Pulteney being nothing and Lord Granville being got rid of, a p was left which Mr. Pelham very naturally filled for some years, ng enough to tempt such talents and ambition as existed among the unger part of both houses, to look forward. He lived just long ough for the purpose, and died (in 1754) just in time to save him-lf the misery of fighting battles to which he was unequal, and the grace of retiring wounded and marked.

'Immediately upon his death three parties made their appearance, d there happened to be just as many courts.'

The three parties were the Duke of Newcastle's, and those of itt and Fox, *i.e.* those of which Pitt and Fox were the animating irits respectively. The Courts were St. James's, the Duke of umberland's, and Leicester House, the residence of the Princess owager, the mother of George III.; the Prince (Frederic) aving died in 1751. This speedily became the main centre of trigue, and on it hung not only the hopes and fears of a time-erving generation of courtiers, but the future of the British onarchy and the fate of the free constitution of these realms. o the earnest student of history, who wishes to ascertain the recise scope and tendency of the policy formed and developed t Leicester House, Lord Shelburne's revelations will be replete with interest; but as the train was laid whilst he was in his nonage, he was obliged to rely on hearsay, and has fallen into an occasional inaccuracy. Thus, in his description of the Princess:

* 'Comparative View of the Social Condition of England and France,' &c.

'It

'It may be judged by a single authentick anecdote what an adept she was in these tricks. When he (Prince Frederick) was ill the Queen, his mother, upbraided her son in such terms that very high words were known to pass, and that they parted upon the worst terms. This did not, however, prevent her attending Her Majesty to her coach. When in full view of an immense mob she knelt in the kennel to ask Her Majesty's blessing before the coach drove away. It is said to have enraged the Queen beyond all measure.'

Walpole relates that on the notable occasion when the Prince removed the Princess from Hampton Court to St. James's Palace on the eve of her confinement and at the risk of her life, the Queen paid her daughter-in-law a visit at seven in the morning. 'The gracious Prince, so far from attempting an apology, spoke not a word to his mother; but on her retreat gave her his hand, led her into the street to her coach—still dumb! but a crowd being assembled at the gate, *he* kneeled down in the dirt, and humbly kissed Her Majesty's hand. Her indignation must have shrunk into contempt.' According to Lord Hervey, it was on a subsequent occasion that the Prince enacted this scene.*

There are few points on which so much difference of opinion exists as the nature of the connection between the Princess and Lord Bute.† Lord Chesterfield, Lord Stanhope and Mr. Massey take the charitable side; Walpole, the uncharitable; and Lord Shelburne improves upon Walpole: 'If fame says true, the Princess did not want for society, and it is supposed had more admirers than one.' She is generally allowed to have played her part before the public with admirable prudence and dexterity. So, prior to the death of George II., did Lord Bute; and considering the turn they gave to the young Prince's character, and the ascendancy they acquired over him, Lord Shelburne was fully warranted in exclaiming:

'Thus was laid the foundation of a building, which has withstood every attack which the constitution and people of England could devise for thirty years, of so hard a composition as to resist the effects of the greatest misfortunes and the grossest misconduct known in any country except Spain, and not qualified, as when a breach has been made and the assailants entered, it has been but for a moment till they have been expelled again, the Earl of Bute having contrived such a lock to it as a succession of the ablest men have not been able to pick, nor has he ever let the key be so much as seen by which he has held it.'

* 'Memoirs,' vol. ii. 403.

† We are informed that the Bute Papers, in the possession of the Earl of Harrowby, lead to the conclusion that the connection was one of pure friendship and regard.

In

reference to the conduct of the Princess in 1755, however, Stanhope says: 'Surrendering herself to the guidance of and Doddington, her former caution and prudence ared to forsake her. She affected to treat with contempt King's principal ministers, while Pitt, and Pitt's followers, most graciously received: nor did she scruple to connect elf—and, as far as she could prevail, connect her son—with sition cabals.' This is confirmed by Lord Shelburne, who that she met Pitt privately at Mr. George Grenville's.

he ensuing sketch of Pitt presents little absolutely new, pt a few traits or touches based on personal communication the illustrious statesman or his family. He told Lord burne that, before turning him out of the army, Walpole ed him the troop in the Blues which was afterwards given eneral Conway; and that, during the time he was Cornet orse, there was not a military book which he did not read gh.

t is remarkable that neither he nor Lord Granville could write a non letter well. Of his imagination he used to say himself that s so strong that most things returned to him with stronger force econd time than the first. He was so attentive to forming his taste, that he would not look at a bad print if he could avoid it, ing not to hazard his eye for a moment.'

ilkes termed Pitt 'the best orator and the worst letter- r of our age.' With the same attention, probably, to the ation of his style, he confined his reading to a small number oks. His sister, Mistress Anne, said of him, that the only he knew perfectly was Spenser's 'Faëry Queen.'

was the fashion to say that Mr. Pitt was violent, impetuous, ntick, a despiser of money, intrigue, and patronage, ignorant of haracters of men, and one who disregarded consequences. Nothing be less just than the whole of this, which may be judged by the ng features of his life, without relying on any private testimony.'

here was nothing, it must be admitted, sentimental about narriage, nor in the circumstances of his retirement in 1762. ould control his temper when he thought fit, and could turn pposed violence to account, as he draped his flannels with w to effect and converted his crutch into an oratorical figure. n the Duke of Newcastle was questioned by Lord Halifax ing a promised place in the arrangements of 1757, 'he d he had not spoken to Pitt about it, and that his reason Pitt looked so much out of humour, that he durst not.*'

* Lord Melcombe's Diary, April 6, 1757.

Apropos

Apropos of a dispute with Sir Fletcher Norton in the House of Commons, he told Lord Shelburne with some warmth that a particular expression which he had used could not be excepted against, for he had tried it on paper three times before he determined to use it. His retired habits of life were calculated, like everything else about him—

> 'For well had Conrad learn'd to curb the crowd,
> By arts that veil, and oft preserve, the proud.'

He told Lord Shelburne that, independently of the consideration of his health and circumstances, he should, for reasons of policy, have always lived as he did a few miles out of town.

'I never found him when I have gone to him, which was always by appointment, with so much as a book before him, but always sitting alone in a drawing-room waiting the hour of appointment, and in the country with his hat and stick in his hand.'

What adds weight to Lord Shelburne's comments on character is that they are frequently based on some acute observation of mankind: *e. g.*:—

'He (Pitt) likewise mixed into his conduct strict honour in details, which I have often observed deceived many men in great affairs, as the multitude have no great compass, and provided a man does not play false in the common intercourse of life, and is punctual in common dealing, if he be a cunning, dexterous man with loose views, he will escape detection in large views by sacrificing lesser. The Duke of Newcastle was at bottom an honester man, but he lost the reputation of one by good nature and want of resolution in conducting the common patronage of the Treasury.'

We do not understand how the Duke of Newcastle can be called an honester man, as there was no sort of meanness or duplicity to which his Grace would not resort upon occasions, and Lord Shelburne invariably mentions him in the most depreciating terms:

'Thus the war produced a strong Council and a strong Government. The Cabinet Council' (June 1757) 'was composed of the Duke of Newcastle, Mr. Pitt Secretary of State, Lord Keeper Henley, Lord Hardwicke, Lord Mansfield, Lord Granville, Lord Holdernesse, Lord Anson, and Lord Ligonier. There were no party politics and consequently no difference of opinion. I have heard Lord Chatham say they were the most agreeable conversations he ever experienced. The Duke of Newcastle, a very good-humoured man, was abundantly content with the whole patronage being left to him, in consequence of which he enjoyed full levées, promised and broke his word, cajoled and flattered all mankind, and, like the fly upon the chariot-wheel, imagined that he carried on the Government.'

As

s this Administration, commonly regarded as the most ous in our annals, is that with which the fame of Pitt is rishably associated, it is instructive to mark what imme-ly after its formation was thought of the prospects of the try under it by those best qualified to judge. 'Of all ical observers then in England,' says Lord Stanhope, 'there certainly none shrewder than Horace Walpole and Lord terfield.' Turning to their letters, we find Lord Chester-writing to Mr. Dayrolles, July 4th, 1757: 'Whoever is in, hoever is out, I am sure we are undone, both at home and ad: at home by our increasing debt and expenses; abroad ur ill-luck and incapacity. . . . We are no longer a nation. ver yet saw so dreadful a prospect.' In a letter to Mann, . 3rd, 1757, Horace Walpole writes:—'It is time for land to slip her cables, and float away into some unknown n.'

he personal composition of the Cabinet of 1757 is a fertile ect for the caustic pen of the Autobiographer. His father-w, Lord Granville, took the lead in those conversations, ch Lord Chatham found so agreeable:

n one of the short lived administrations at the commencement of war, Lord Granville, who had generally dined, turned round to "I am thinking that all over Europe they are waiting our deter-ution and canvassing our characters. The Duke of Newcastle, 'll say, is a man of great fortune, who has spent a great deal of it upport of the present family; Fox, they'll say, is an impudent w who has fought his way here through the House of Commons; r me they know me throughout Europe, they know my talents and character, but I am thinking they will all be asking, *Qui est ce —— Chancelier?* How came he there?"'

e —— de Chancelier was Lord Hardwicke. Of Lord Mans-l, besides much that is popularly known, we learn that, en he came out of Scotland, he spoke such broad Scotch that tands entered in the University books at Oxford as born at h, the Vice-Chancellor mistaking Perth for Bath.' Both national and personal imputation in the following passage l be indignantly, and with reason, repelled by our fellow-ntrymen of the North:

Like the generality of Scotch, Lord Mansfield had no regard to h whatever. Sir Thomas Clerk, Master of the Rolls, said to Sir dley Wilmot, "You and I have lived long in the world, and of rse have met with a great many liars, but did you ever know such ar as Will Murray, whom we have seen capable of lying before lve people, every one of whom he knows knows also that he lies." the worst part of his character as a judge was what Mr. Pitt called

called inventing law, and no fond parent could be more attached his offspring than he was to such inventions. He had a most indece habit of attending the appeals against his own decrees in the House Lords.'

We never heard before that Lord Mansfield was especial wanting in veracity. The charge of inventing law, so pe severingly repeated by Junius, was based upon the greatest his judicial merits—upon the fact that the commercial juri prudence of England was substantially his work. As to attendi appeals against his own decrees in the House of Lords—Lo Eldon frequently sat, the sole judicial member of the appella jurisdiction, to hear appeals against himself.

Lord Holdernesse, we are told, 'supported himself, as many man has done before him and since, by his insignificanc Lord Ligonier was 'an old woman, supported by the routine office, and having no opinion of his own.' Lord Anson t same. He had married Lord Hardwicke's daughter, and Lc Hardwicke, 'with great deliberation and sanctity,' sacrific Admiral Byng, to stem the public clamour and save his so in-law:

'Such was the Cabinet which had to carry through the war, unc the direction of Mr. Pitt, who did it by the following means: first, leaving the Duke of Newcastle the undisturbed enjoyment of t whole patronage of the Crown, the only idea he had of power; second by indulging Mr. Fox's love of money, which took full possession him as soon as Mr. Pitt had shut the door on his ambition; an thirdly (having, by this time, secured the public confidence, and g rid of his rivals by one means or another), by applying himself gain the Court through the surest channel, Lady Yarmouth, a determining to go every length to please the King in his ruling passi and that of the Hanover family, viz., German measures and perso avarice. He unsaid everything with which he had made the House Commons and the public echo in order to get into power. The Ki told him that confidence was a plant of slow growth in an ag bosom,* yet, by perseverance, the success of his measures, and assiduous cultivation of Lady Yarmouth, he made his ground so goo that, if George the Second had lived longer, he would have becom sole Minister, and have had the sole power.'

The great statesman, in fact, was, like Gulliver, tied down by multiplicity of threads, and was only able to obtain the requir

* This phrase was remembered, adopted, and applied with admirable effect b Lord Chatham. 'These (the Ministry) would do me the justice to own I advise them to engage, but notwithstanding—I love to be explicit—I cannot give the my confidence. Pardon me, gentlemen (bowing to the Treasury bench), co fidence is a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom: youth is the season credulity.'—(Speech on January 14, 1766.)

freedon

freedom of action by compromises. Nor is he the solitary example of greatness under similar difficulties. The hero of Blenheim, hampered by Dutch commissioners and petty German princes, owed his victories, at all events the means of winning them, quite as much to his temper, tact, and conciliating manners, as to his strategy. The heaven-born orator, who was supposed to bear down everybody and everything by the thunder of his eloquence, had apparently no alternative but to sacrifice the policy which involved his own and his country's glory, or to humour, bribe, and flatter, a king, a mistress, and a ridiculous old boroughmonger whom he despised.

At the same time we are disposed to regard Lord Shelburne's studied depreciation as simply one proof amongst a hundred that the real greatness of Pitt was rather felt than understood by his contemporaries. His was a character that required to be viewed as a whole, and viewed from a distance which should bring out its true proportions, instead of giving undue prominence to its inequalities. To quote the splendid eulogy of Grattan: 'The Secretary stood alone. Modern degeneracy had not reached him. No State chicanery, no narrow systems of vicious politics, no idle contest for ministerial victories, sank him to the low level of the great; but overbearing, persuasive, and impracticable, his object was England—his ambition was fame. Without dividing, he destroyed party: without corrupting, he made a venal age unanimous.' This unanimity was shortlived: the corruption went on in his despite: party revived and degenerated into faction; but from June, 1757, to the accession of George III., all that Grattan says was literally true of Pitt. It was no idle boast when he said: 'I know that I can save the country, and I know that no other man can.' It was no mere pretence or affectation of principle when he declared: 'I will not go to Court, if I may not bring the Constitution with me.'

At the formation of the Pitt and Newcastle Ministry, Lord Shelburne (still Lord Fitzmaurice) was in his twenty-first year:

'It became necessary for me to take some resolution for myself (1757); home detestable; no prospect of a decent allowance to go abroad, neither happiness nor quiet. The war broke out; I determined upon going into the army; luckily, my father, by the advice of Mr. Fox, placed me in the 20th Regiment, where I came under General Wolfe. The brilliancy of his conduct as an officer, his figure, his address, the circumstances of the times, his being taken up by Mr. Pitt, his victory at Quebec, his death, will give him a considerable place in history. He was handsome in his person, thin, tall, well-made, with blue

blue eyes, which rather marked life than penetration. He asked me what allowance my father gave me, and, upon finding it did not exceed £600 a year, *he told me I must borrow, and not touch my pay, but give it among distressed officers as occasion offered.*'

Lord Shelburne could not obtain permission to accompany Wolfe on the Canadian expedition, and what he states in reference to it was probably told him by Barré:—

'Colonel Barré wrote his letter from Quebec, where he was worn down by the factions and want of discipline among our own troops, promoted by General Murray and Lord Townshend, upon no plan but madness in the last and mischief and malignity in the first.'

This was the memorable letter dated 'On board The Sutherland, at anchor off Cape Rouge, September 9, 1759,' which concludes: 'I am so far recovered as to do business, but my constitution is entirely ruined, without the consolation of having done any considerable service to the State, *or without any prospect of it.*' The battle was fought on the 13th. Thus, four days before the grand event, he had neither hope, plan, nor prospect; and if the brilliant exploit on which his high reputation almost exclusively rests is to be regarded as a conception of military genius, it can hardly be justified except as the last effort of despair. No amount of courage or gallantry could have overcome the physical difficulties without a concurrence of happy accidents which it would have been the extreme of rashness to count upon. But the essence of heroism is to defy all ordinary calculations of chances; and there are times when discretion is *not* the best part of valour. Lord Stanhope relates, on the authority of Mr. T. Grenville, that, at a dinner with Pitt and Lord Temple, Wolfe behaved so extravagantly as to elicit, on his leaving them, the exclamation from Pitt: 'Good God! that I should have entrusted the fate of the country *and of the Administration* to such hands.' We agree with Mr. Wright, the biographer of Wolfe, that this sounds apocryphal or exaggerated at best; but, in reference to some story of the sort, the Duke of Newcastle ran to tell George II. that Wolfe was mad. 'Is he?' said the brave old King, 'then I hope he will bite some of my generals.'

Lord Shelburne served in the expedition to Rochefort in 1757; he was present at the battle of Minden in 1759; and was engaged as a volunteer in the affair of Kloster Kampen in 1760, where he was so conspicuous by his courage that, on his return to England, he was rewarded by the rank of colonel, and made *aide de camp* to the King. Nor can it be doubted that his promotion was fairly earned, although Walpole says that it disgusted

d the army, and Lord Melcombe sets down that it gave displeasure to the Newcastle Whigs, 'already indignant e measure of bringing country Lords and considerable gen- n about the King.' Probably the ill-feeling shown by on this occasion had something to do with the line he in politics, which it is otherwise difficult to reconcile with patriotism, his military spirit, or his principles. These, ould have thought, would have led him to sympathise with to the extent, at all events, of continuing the war till its rm series of successes had culminated in an honourable . Strange to say, he places his most humble services at isposal of Lord Bute, and makes it his principal business e outset of his career to bring about a junction between the favourite and Fox: the political adventurer (for he well s the name), who was perfectly content to fill a subordinate under his haughty rival, so long as the secure enjoyment large emoluments, legal and illegal, was secured to him.

rd Bute had lost no time in claiming or assuming the prin- voice in the loyal Councils. On the next morning but fter the accession of George III. he was sworn of the Privy cil, and speedily (to use Lord Shelburne's phrase) got rid of Mr. Pitt, who resigned on the 5th of October, 1761. day after Lord Shelburne writes to Lord Bute:

> can see nothing for my life in Mr. Pitt's character, which can lled a *sine quâ non*, but am astonished to find other people upon is pretences of that opinion; no one person feared but him, and e is out of place, everyone playing a little game for themselves, rizing and still thinking they can come about. So that if this stopped, or the least given into, I conceive it may have the est consequences, and may make a thing of no consequence material.'
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> * * * * * * *
>
> our Lordship must be Minister, and he (Legge) explain the ures: Fox, Oswald, &c., support him in the House with as much r as possible. Mr. Fox by this measure brings no odium.'

is arrangement, it will appear, did not fall in with Fox's : he was not disposed to quit his retirement, except more definite position and a stipulated reward. The iation was complicated by the personal pretensions of Shelburne, who in the preceding April had applied for the trollership of the Household, which the King refused on round of some expressions used in the application. He eded to the peerage by the death of his father in May; exed by the refusal, or under the influence of his newly- red independence, he began to talk of retiring from public

life, and devoting himself to country pursuits. Whether seriously entertained or not, this scheme of retirement was dropped; and besides resuming the negotiations for strengthening the Bute party, he brought in Colonel Barré as his successor for Wycombe, after a contest surreptitiously promoted by Lord Melcombe, whose interference he vehemently resented, vowing never to speak to him again. They met at the Coronation and paired off together.

'As we were to walk two and two I thought it stupid to pass so many hours together without speaking. I broke my resolution, and as he was more than ready on his part we conversed very freely during the whole day. In the warmth and openness of my temper I could not help asking him what could possibly tempt him to try and raise an opposition against me at Wycombe. He made the same answer as he did to Lord Bute, "that he conceived I was too young to trouble my head about such things." I told him that "it was that which provoked me the most of anything, for he knew the contrary most intimately well." "*Well*," *said he*, "*when did you ever know anybody get out of a great scrape but by a great lye.*" After this it was impossible to "formaliser avec lui," and I lived afterwards upon very familiar terms with him to the time of his death. He desired Mansfield and me to introduce him into the House of Lords, telling every one as he went up the House that he asked one to get him into every scrape, the other to get him out. His *bons mots* were numberless if they had been collected; I should not be surprised if he had collected them himself, for he was a perpetual writer and collector of political anecdote.'

We do not remember a solitary *bon mot* of Lord Melcombe's in his Diary, and the value of the anecdotes does not consist in their humour or wit. Walpole describes Barré as the bravo selected by Shelburne to run down Pitt. The bravo produced an extraordinary effect at starting. The attack is graphically described by Walpole, and a correspondent of Mr. Mitchell (quoted by Lord Stanhope) writes: 'I shall give you a specimen of his philippics. Talking of the manner of Mr. Pitt's speaking, he said: "There he would stand, turning up his eyes to Heaven that witnessed his perjuries, placing his hand in a solemn manner upon the table, that sacrilegious hand that had been employed in tearing out the bowels of his mother country." Would you think that Mr. Pitt would hear this and be silent, or would you think that the House would suffer a respectable member to be so treated? Yet so it was.'

The explanation is, that both Pitt and the House were taken by surprise, and such rant hardly called for a reply. Moreover Barré's known motive must have cast a shade over his *début*. He had served with distinction under Wolfe, and was at his side

who

hen he fell. Finding himself passed over in promotion, he rote directly to Pitt: 'The trophies I can boast only indicate ow much I suffered; my zealous and sole advocate killed, my eft eye rendered useless, and the ball still in my head.' The pplication was refused; and Barré, professing to be 'bound in he highest gratitude,' returned to England, animated by feelings which no extent of self-delusion could have made him mistake for public spirit.

As Lord Shelburne's opinion of Lord Bute and Fox was far from favourable, it is difficult to understand the zeal with which he pushed on the negotiation between them. 'Do not' (he writes to Lord Bute, October 12, 1761) 'make me fail in being the means of uniting two persons whom I have long since endeavoured for both their interests (and am persuaded every day will show it more and more) to cement and make connected.' The correspondence proceeds throughout on the assumption that Lord Bute (who did not formally assume the premiership till May 26, 1762) is paramount in the Royal Councils, and may move the members of the Cabinet like so many pieces on a chessboard. But he could not get on without an organ or representative capable of defending his measures in the House of Commons. A large majority of the Members would have agreed with Ferguson of Pitfour, who said he had heard many speeches that altered his opinion, never one that had the least effect upon his vote. At the same time, for form's sake, and with a view to public opinion low and weak as it was, they required that a plausible case should be made out for a course of policy before they were required to vote for it. This was more than ever indispensable in the case of the contemplated peace, towards which Lord Bute had been quietly feeling his way since the accession. 'The style this was carried on, till such time as Lord Bute opened it to the Council, must do Lord Bute the greatest honour as a Minister.' If this, written many years afterwards, was Lord Shelburne's opinion at the time, it would go far to explain, if not quite to justify, his eagerness to engage Fox; and it should be remembered that he himself was favourable to the termination of hostilities, or to reducing the scale on which they were carried on. He spoke in this sense on February 5, 1761, and voted in a minority of 16 to 105. This, his second parliamentary effort, was pre-arranged with Fox, who writes:

'As to the mode of debating, follow your own; it never happen'd that three or four speakers ever kept to the same. And if they agreed to do so, two or three of them would speak the worse for it. You'll speak very well, and I am glad it will not be against this Ministry, and I'll come and hear you.'

Not a scrap of any of his speeches during the period covered by this volume has been preserved; and we must turn to other sources to obtain some notion of his oratory. Lord Camden (quoted by Lord Stanhope) 'considered Lord Shelburne, as a debater in the House of Lords, second to none, with the single exception of Lord Chatham.' This is obviously too high an estimate. Lord Holland (Henry Richard), in the course of a carefully drawn character in 'Memoirs of the Whig Party,' says 'In his (Lord S.'s) public speeches he wanted method and perspicuity, and was deficient in justness of reasoning, in judgment and in taste; but he had some imagination, some wit, great animation, and both in sarcasm and invective frequently rose to eloquence.' The impression of Bentham, who was warmly attached to Lord Shelburne, is still less favourable: 'His manner was very imposing, very dignified, and he talked his vague generalities in the House of Lords in a very emphatic way, as if something grand were at the bottom, when in fact there was nothing at all.' We suspect that the gracefully rounded periods of Murray and the splendid declamation of Pitt would have been similarly described as vague generalities with nothing at the bottom by the philosopher.

The speech of February 5th, although carefully meditated, was in one sense a mistake, as it displeased Lord Bute, whom neither Fox nor Lord Shelburne meant to weaken or counteract. 'Lord Bute' (writes Fox, February 14) 'says that Friday se'nnight gave delight and strength to his enemies at Court. I do not see why it should, but it is the real opinion of many very impartial people.' On the same day Jenkinson (the first Earl of Liverpool) writes to Lord Bute: 'Lord Shelburne is a mad politician.' The matter was speedily set right by Lord Shelburne not merely refraining from pushing his views on military expenditure in the House of Lords, but employing his influence to prevent a threatened motion in the same spirit in the House of Commons. In a memorandum on these events, after stating that Lord Bute was all the time in favour of a diminution of expenditure, he remarks:

'Lord Bute alleged it to those who were of opinion against the German war as a proof of the sincerity of his intention in that respect; but as men mostly are not without two motives, and more so his character especially, one which they tell the world and at last persuade themselves is the true one, the other, which they never venture to own to their own minds, I should imagine one of the latter kind operated on this occasion, which weighed somewhat in the resolution of turning out the Duke, viz., that he panted for the Treasury.'

'ox had suspected this keen analysis of motive and familiarity the more recondite springs of action in his noble friend, it be doubted whether he would not have been a little more his guard; unless, indeed, be had become utterly casened, utterly insensible to delicacy or shame. On Der 29, 1761, he writes:

thought and indeed understood from you that you would see Lord Bute), or you would have heard this before. Pray do see s soon as may be. *Delay between two honest men does not help iliation.*

* * * * * * *

have no desire to read any treatise upon honesty. It is native, aught, honesty that I admire, of which, indeed, my dear Lord, is more than you at present seem to me to think there is. A vho follows his own interest, if he makes no undue sacrifices, private or public, to the worship of it, is not dishonest or even I wish your Lordship, whom I love and admire, would not be e of thinking or calling them such. Whoever goes on with I have left off—ambition—must wish for such supporters, and it be an additional curse on that cursed trade to have a constant pinion of one's most useful friends and most assiduous lants.'

anslate this into plain language and to what does it nt? 1. That delay between two men who have a common st does not promote an understanding for their common it. 2. That those who make their own interest their ary object are the most desirable supporters for an amis man, and that to say what you think of them is to e the bad opinion you express. And then the unconscious ess of the assumption that he had left off ambition! meanwe presume, that he had left off all that makes ambition e; for he writes in the thick of an intrigue to obtain high and a peerage. Lord Shelburne having expressed a wish n employment in which he could act and feel as a trustee ie public, Fox treats the bare notion with scorn:—

ou'll never get it from that Trusteeship that you speak of; nor y truth should you get it till you have got rid of such, to say no of them, puerile notions. I am not wiser than you, my Lord, am older. Don't think you have taken my advice if you get the ise without the place. It is in place that I long to see you; and *he place-man, not the independent Lord, that can do his country*

ox and Lord Bute were brought together at last, but not out an infinity of coquetting, and an interchange of proons, which between 'honest men,' as defined by Fox, seemed superfluous,

superfluous, if not ridiculous. Thus Fox thinks fitting to put on a show of diffidence. 'Can I do any good? May I not do a great deal of harm? And if the experiment fails, the King is lost; and what a King!' This was on October 10th, 1762. Two days afterwards (the 12th) he writes to Lord Shelburne:

'I will be at twelve in Audley Street (Lord Bute's), and wherever I am desired to be from this day forward. The part is taken, you shall hear no more of fears; I shall not deceive you, but nobody else shall see that I am not fond of my situation. I am quite sure I shall please my superiors; it is a chance as to others (particularly Tories) but the dye is thrown and I will stand the hazard as if I had thrown it myself.'

The day before Fox was definitively fixed (October 11th), he had an interview with the Duke of Cumberland, who proposed that Lord Bute, after receiving the highest honours at the disposal of the Crown, should retire from the Treasury in favour of Fox, who, to the lasting displeasure of his Royal patron, refused. It was to this proposal that Lord Bute alludes in the letter to Lord Shelburne, closing with Fox: treating the proposal as one rather kindly meant to save him from responsibility:

'No, my dear Lord, if the storm thickens and danger menaces, let me stand foremost in the ranks, I claim the post of honour, and will now for the first time fling away the scabbard. Next to my little experience of business my unwillingness to punish has been no little drawback to me as Minister; I know it; I know the constructions put upon my conduct; few, very few, indeed judge of me as I am, and even my noble Friend may sometimes have imputed actions to my timidity which spring from motives of a more generous nature: but now the King's situation, the perilous condition of the country, the insolence of faction, demand a rougher rein and I have taken my part. The more I reflect on Mr. Fox's conduct at this crisis, the more I admire the noble and generous manner in which he quits retirement and security to stand with me the brunt of popular clamour, in supporting the best of Princes against the most ungenerous, the most ungrateful set of men this country ever produced.'

To appreciate this chivalrous spirit of self-sacrifice in retaining the Premiership at so critical an emergency, it will be remembered that the clamour to be confronted was entirely owing to the Princess Dowager and the favourite: that the best of Princes had only to shake them off to become the most popular; and that 'the most ungrateful set of men this country ever produced' were the men (Pitt especially) who, after raising the country to the highest pitch of glory, had been driven into opposition by Lord Bute. All this time nothing could be less flattering or more unfavourable than Lord Shelburne's estimate of the men

whose

e union he was labouring so hard to bring about, for, appa-
y, no personal object beyond the importance to be acquired
the obligations conferred by such services. One imputation
st on Fox in the 'Autobiography,' which, though resting on
authority, we deem utterly incompatible with the esteem in
h Fox was held by his friends, and his admitted frankness
enerosity:

; was a long time before I could learn from Mr. Pitt his opinion
:. Fox's private character. He then told me that he thought him
blackest man that ever lived; that he was a great dealer in
rmous letters to set people at variance with each other, and
st to each such opinions as he thought convenient; that he
d it so far that, to his latter end, whenever he went about pur-
ng an estate, he had recourse to such methods of under-valuing
d deterring others from bidding for it; that he dealt much also
wspaper abuse, though he was continually complaining and crying
it.'

conformity with the best available information when he
, Lord Stanhope thus describes the arrangement:—'Under
circumstances, Lord Bute pitched upon a statesman still in
, yet already well-nigh forgotten, and the survivor of his
brilliant reputation. It was decided that Mr. Fox, while
ning his post of Paymaster, and only adding to it a sinecure
fe,* should be admitted into the Cabinet, and be considered
esponsible Minister of the Crown in the Lower House. His
alth appears to have been the main obstacle to his accept-
of the Seals.'

will presently appear that the sole obstacle to his acceptance
e Seals (of Secretary of State) was his reluctance to abandon
ore profitable post of Paymaster; and there is no allusion
e sinecure in the correspondence. The King's assent to the
gement was expressed in terms which speak more for his
sty's sagacity than for his desire to promote public virtue
tegrity. 'We must call in bad men to govern bad men,'
is recorded words to George Grenville.† Fox put the case
ll as it well could be put both for himself and the King
he wrote: 'His Majesty was in great concern lest a good
, in a good (*i. e.* manageable) House of Commons, should

Writer of the Tallies, and Clerk of the Pells in Ireland.' From the Commons
ls, November 25, 1762 (to which Lord Stanhope refers), it appears that, at
ening of the Session on that day, a new writ was moved for Fox's borough,
ich; he having accepted the sinecure in question. But the reversion of it
en granted to him in 1757, and he came into possession on the death of the
holder (Lord Melcombe) in July. It could have formed no part of the
n with Lord Bute.—(Walpole to Mann, April 7, 1757.)
Grenville Papers,' vol. i. p. 452.

be

be lost, and his authority disgraced for want of a proper person to support his honest measures and keep his closet from that force with which it was so threatened. *I was that person who could do it.*' He was that person; because it could only be done by a person, however able, who was utterly unscrupulous as to means.

A man whose fondness for paradox has often caused his real sagacity and fine humour to be overlooked, the late Mr. Henry Drummond, used to say that there were only two effective modes of governing mankind; by grapeshot or French cookery, by corruption or force. Fox fully believed, openly professed, and consistently acted on this theory. He left no art untried, no stone unturned, no weapon unemployed, to secure the needed majority in both Houses. There was no time to be lost, for Parliament was to meet within six weeks, the 25th of November, and the gathering cloud must be dissipated, the hourly swelling and closing ranks of the Opposition must be broken before that day. The King did more than approve or second the policy, he anticipated or outran the wishes, of his Ministers. The Duke of Devonshire, the 'Prince of the Whigs,' as he was termed by the Princess Dowager, suspected of adverse tendencies on the strength of his having been seen in a coach with the Duke of Newcastle, was summarily dismissed from his post of Lord Chamberlain, and the following entry figured in the Council Book:—

'At St. James, 3 November, 1762. This day His Majesty in Council called for the Council Book, and with his own hand struck the name of William, Duke of Devonshire, out of the list of Privy Councillors.'

It has hitherto been taken for granted that this marked indignity was inflicted with the concurrence, if not at the instigation, of Lord Bute, at whom the Duke was reported to have levelled a pointed sarcasm. 'The mob,' writes Lady to Lord Temple, 'have a good story of the Duke of Devonshire—that he went first to light the King, and the King followed, leaning upon Lord Bute's shoulder, upon which the Duke turned about and desired to know *which he was waiting upon.*' * But on November 3, the day of the occurrence at the Council, Lord Bute wrote to Lord Shelburne:

'My dear Lord,—In a few hours after I saw you I received a note from the King, telling me had executed his intentions concerning the Privy Councillors, and this he explain'd in a manner that shows me no man alive could have prevented it, nor would I for the world hint to

* 'Grenville Papers,' vol. ii. p. 22.

Him

Mr. Fox's opinion, not only as the thing is over, but as He on this whole affair as a personal insult to Himself. . . . The is insulted on every side. I own I feel for Him, I know you do; h all who serve Him did the same; and then we should not hear lamentations, these timid half-measures.'

ıe lamentations were loud and palpable enough; but it is ult to understand what is meant by half measures; for if an al, a courtier, a member of either House, or any one who ıt influence a vote, could not be reached in his own proper ın, he was made to feel or tremble through his dependents ıs friends. 'Far from being satisfied (says Jesse) with dis- ing Lord Lieutenants of Counties, and removing Tellers of Exchequer and Lords of the Admiralty, Fox and his inqui- ı extended their searching scrutinies and their inhumanity to the humblest departments of the State. It was only ısary to ascertain that a clerk in a Government office owed ituation to being related to an Opposition Member of Par- ent, or that a Whig Opposition Peer had obtained a mes- er's place for his wife's footman, or an exciseman's situation ıe son of his gamekeeper, and these unfortunate underlings frequently sent about their business in order to provide ıs for the friends and relatives of the advocates of peace.' Macaulay concludes a declamatory paragraph on the same by stating that 'the proscription extended to tidewaiters, ıugers, to doorkeepers.' But both Mr. Jesse and Lord ıulay are a little too broad in their generalisations, although ıdividual case of each class of alleged oppression might be ıced, and although quite enough was done to give plausi- r to the witty remark that 'Bute had turned out every one n Whig influence had brought into office, with the exception e King.'*

ır was this course pursued with a sole view to terrorism or ıge. It formed part of the system of corruption on which ministerial manager mainly reckoned; and not much to his t we find Lord Shelburne writing to Lord Bute, after a ıish on the Preliminaries (December 1), in which the Oppo- n divided 74 to 213: 'Before another question comes on ıe 213 taste some of the plunder of the 74. Without you do what of that kind, you'll find your cause want a necessary ation, and your friends want encouragement.'

ıe negotiation between Fox and the Duke of Newcastle for ıanagement of the House of Commons in 1754, had fallen e ground, because the Duke insisted not only on reserving

. leading member of the Reform Administration proposed and urged on the et a similar course of proceeding in 1831.

the

the distribution of the secret service, but on keeping Fox completely in the dark concerning it. Widely different was the position of Fox in 1762, when, if he is not belied, it bore a striking resemblance to that of the Lord Breadalbane, in 1692, who was entrusted with 20,000*l.* to be distributed amongst the Highland Chiefs; and on being required by the English Minister to account for the money, made answer: 'My Lord, the money is spent—the Highlands are quiet—and this is the only way of accounting among friends.'* 'Leaving the grandees to their ill-humour (says Walpole) Fox directly attacked the separate members of the House of Commons; and with so little decorum on the part of either buyer or seller, that a shop was publicly opened at the Pay-office, whither the Members flocked and received the wages of their venality in bank-bills, even to so low a sum as two hundred pounds for their votes on the treaty. Twenty-five thousand pounds (as Martin, Secretary of the Treasury, afterwards owned) were issued in one morning, and in a single fortnight a vast majority was purchased to approve the Peace.'†

The Preliminaries were submitted to both Houses on the 9th December, and approved in both; in the Lords without a division, in the Commons by 319 to 65. Lord Shelburne moved the approving Address in the Lords in a speech of which not a sentence has been preserved. The great event in the Commons was the reappearance of Pitt, who, in the middle of the debate, and when he was least expected, was carried by his servants to the bar, from whence, leaning on his crutch, and supported by friends, he crawled and hobbled to his seat. He was dressed in black velvet, with his legs swathed in flannel. He spoke for three hours and a half, languidly and feebly during most of the time, but at intervals with much of his original force and fire, and the sustained nature of the effort was accepted as a substantive merit by the mob, who shouted, as he passed through them, 'Three hours and a half! three hours and a half!' Fox replied with spirit and ability; but the really convincing arguments were those already delivered at the Pay Office.

That the majority was bought, and bought for this particular purpose, is clear from the disposition of the House on other questions involving the influence of the leader or the credit of

* Scott's 'Prose Works,' Art. 'Culloden Papers.' Lord Macaulay gives a different account of the transaction, which he connects with the Massacre of Glencoe. 'Hist.' ch. xviii.

† Lord Stanhope doubts this statement, but admits that there was no other solution of the ensuing majority in a House so adverse to Fox. Mr. Massey states that the same means were put in force to procure addresses from Municipal Corporations in favour of the peace. 'Five hundred pounds were stated to be the lowest price for an address.'—'Hist.' vol. i. p. 132.

the

administration.' 'On the Committee of Accounts' (says pole) 'Elliot and Lord North had been so personal to him :) that he lost his temper; and Beckford desiring him to save :arances, he replied he never minded appearances but—he going to say—realities, when a loud burst of laughter from whole House interrupted him. His rage was so great, that, ng down, he said to Onslow (son of the late Speaker) gh an enemy, "Did you ever see a man so treated in my ıtion? but, by G—, I will have an explanation and ample aission, or I will never set my foot in this House again."'

is bargain with Lord Bute through Lord Shelburne was he should be at liberty to retire at the completion of his and so soon as the crisis was over, there was no wish in quarter to retain him. He was an object of marked aversion he Princess, who suspected him of having favoured the g's passion for his beautiful sister-in-law, Lady Sarah.

'he majority,' writes Shelburne 'on the side of the government be fairly said to have turned Mr. Fox's head. He thought he had rmed everything he promised, and that he could not be suffily rewarded. He therefore, being still determined to retire at end of the year, that is to go to the House of Lords, no longer any trouble about the individuals or the business of the House of mons.'

ord Bute was no less eager to retire from the exposed and perously responsible position which he occupied; preferring er to drop into the background and manage the wires. It ld seem from a letter of Calcraft to Lord Shelburne (March , 1763) that Lord Bute offered the First Lordship of the asury to Fox * by way of reply to a series of suggestions for onstruction of the Ministry; amongst which we find:—

'he persons I would put into great places now, and give access to Majesty that he might observe and know them, are Lord Gower, . Shelburne, and, I think, Lord Waldegrave. Your Lordship will to these such as occur to you. These are men of honour and ity.'

* * * * * * * *

* Referring to a letter from Lord Bute to the Duke of Bedford, dated April 2, Lord Stanhope thinks, 'it appears certain, as other circumstances always ed to me to prove,' that neither Pitt nor Fox was at this period offered the of affairs before it devolved upon George Grenville. Lord Bute writes to Duke: 'I have often talked with His Majesty on the subject of a new Adtration, and he is come to the final resolution of putting the Treasury into Grenville's hands, as the only person in the House of Commons in whom he confide so great a trust: Mr. Fox having taken the King's word when he entered in the management of his affairs that, the peace made, he might be itted to go to the House of Lords.' ('Bedford Correspondence.') This not appear to us to negative the alleged offer to Fox.

'The

'The second, Lord Shelburne, has uncommon abilities, great activity, and loves you sincerely. I need say no more to you of him than that he cannot with decency or ability remain as he now is; if he has an employment it must be a very high one, and he will fill it well.'

Fox's stipulated reward was a peerage for himself, in addition to the one already conferred on his wife. So far, all were agreed. But Lord Bute was under an impression, confirmed by Lord Shelburne, that Fox, on receiving the peerage, would resign the Pay Office, and this he positively refused, declaring that such a sacrifice formed no part of the understanding, express or implied. Hence the curious episode entitled, 'The Pious Fraud,' to which Lord E. Fitzmaurice has devoted a chapter; rightly judging that his ancestor's reputation for candour and straightforwardness is most materially involved in it. The current versions of the story (to which we recently drew attention*) are conflicting. Lord Russell's, adopted by the Princess Marie Liechtenstein, runs thus: 'He (Fox) stipulated for a peerage, with the rank of Earl as the reward of his success. A barony was given him, but the earldom was withheld. When Lord Bute, being reproached by Mr. Fox with this breach of faith, said, "It was only a pious fraud," Lord Holland quickly replied, "I perceive the fraud, my Lord, but not the piety." Lord Shelburne is not mentioned; and Lord Bute is made to apply the term 'pious fraud' to his own admitted evasion of a pledge.

Walpole's version is more plausible: 'Shelburne had told the Earl that Fox would quit the Pay Office for a peerage: but Fox had only stipulated to give his support for that reward. He now broke out against his scholar, reproached him for concealing Lord Bute's intention of retiring, and spoke of Shelburne to every one as *a perfidious and infamous liar*! These were his usual words. The probability was that Shelburne intended to slip into the Pay Office himself.' . . . . 'The favourite, who would have declared Fox his successor, excused Lord Shelburne to him, and in his pedantic style, called the secrecy he had observed a pious fraud; Fox, he said, he knew would not have engaged in the management of the Parliament, had he been apprised that he (Bute) intended to retire.'

Lord Bute's positive intention to retire (suddenly announced, April 7th) was as much a surprise to Lord Shelburne as to Fox; and Fox has placed the real ground of complaint beyond a doubt. On that very 7th of April he writes to Calcraft:

'As every mortification I meet with, and they are many, is the

* 'Quarterly Review' for Oct. 1873. Art. 'Holland House.'

consequence

quence of Lord Shelburne's conduct, I believe it were better we d have no conversation together on the matter. I do not mean he intended what has happened, it may be quite the contrary, othing disagreeable could have happened had I been trusted with wn affair. He ought to know what I take ill. That he should onths together know that the Minister and the King imagined I ded to resign and never tell me that they thought so, was not and has been fatal, unless to a man determined to leave the l it may be some advantage to be quite sick of it.'

ord Stanhope, after correctly stating the point of difference een Lord Bute and Fox, proceeds, 'Both parties now ap- ed to Lord Shelburne, who, much embarrassed, was obliged vn that he had in some degree extenuated or exaggerated erms to each, from his anxiety to secure at all events the ort of Fox, which he thought at that period essential to Jovernment. These misrepresentations Lord Bute, now ving, called a pious fraud.'* We are not aware on what ority Lord Stanhope describes Lord Shelburne as 'much arrassed,' or owning that he had extenuated or exaggerated erms; but it is clear from the correspondence in this 'Life' he had no cause for embarrassment, having been a faithful accurate interpreter of Fox's precise intentions at the time. October 18th, 1762, Fox writes to his friend Nicholl, held a subordinate situation in the Pay Office, to think of arrangements that would be required in the contemplated of his leaving it; and in a subsequent letter to the same leman, his subsequent change of purpose is placed beyond ate. Calcraft confirmed Lord Shelburne; who, March 22, , writes to Lord Bute:

alcraft is as much vexed as I am, and thinks it depends a great on your representing to him (Fox) with firmness, how unreasonable for him to expect to go to the House of Lords, and to go abroad a great place, and 10,000*l.* a year for himself, his brother, and Digby, and that that will not fail to change matters, whatever arance they make at present.'

his passage has been cited as referring to the Irish sinecure, h was only 1600*l.* a year, Irish currency.† This was not a t place; and had it been so considered, Fox, retaining the Office, would have been accused of expecting to go to the se of Lords and to go abroad with two great places.

nother of Fox's intimates was equally strong against him.

Hist.' ch. 41. Lord Stanhope, after referring to Walpole in a note, adds ome clearer and fuller details (including Fox's exclamation) were given in ration by Fox's grandson, the late (the third) Lord Holland.

Thom's 'Tracts and Treatises,' vol. ii. 241.

Stopping

Stopping Rigby's carriage in St. James's Street, and leaning on the door, Fox was proceeding to expatiate on his grievance, when Rigby pushed him aside, and told the coachman to drive on, saying, 'You tell *your* story of Shelburne; *he* has a damned one to tell of you: I do not trouble myself which is the truth.'

Fox persisted, and carried his point. He was made a peer, and allowed to retain the Pay Office till the Grenville ministry turned him out in 1765. But he never forgave Lord Shelburne, and never left off complaining that he had been betrayed.

The question is ably treated in all its bearings by Lord E. Fitzmaurice, and his refutation of Fox's charge of dissimulation or duplicity is satisfactory on the whole; but it has come too late if, as he suggests, the traditional impression of his ancestor's Jesuitry originated with and mainly rests upon that charge. No imputation sticks like one associated with a popular anecdote, and there are two popular anecdotes embodying the general belief in Lord Shelburne's insincerity. The one is Goldsmith's naive remark: 'Do you know, my Lord, I never could conceive the reason why they call you Malagrida, *for* Malagrida was a good sort of man.' Lord Shelburne had been nicknamed Malagrida, after a Portuguese Jesuit. The other is the story of Gainsborough flinging down his pencil in despair, after a second failure to hit off a likeness of his Lordship, and exclaiming: 'D— it, I never could see through varnish, and there's an end.' In the 'Rolliad,' again, when he is supposed to speak in character:—

> 'A noble Duke affirms, I like his plan,
> I never did my Lords! I never can!
> Plain words, thank Heaven, are always understood,
> I *could* support, I said, but not I *would*.'

Lord Stanhope suggests that one cause (perhaps the only one) of this general imputation on his sincerity was the over-strained politeness of his address; the complimentary style having never proved successful in this country, where we are apt to pride ourselves, right or wrong, on our honesty of purpose and plainness of speech. The Duke of Marlborough, who was said to gain hearts as readily as towns, writes to the Duchess: 'You know I am not good at compliments;' and the courtly Chesterfield would fain have made his son a proficient in the less obvious kind of flattery:—

> 'That flattery which attracts the proud,
> Rather by deference than compliment,
> And wins even by a delicate dissent.'

In

ne of Madame du Deffand's letters, written when she was and eighty-two, she says: 'Lord Shelburne has flattered tremely: he assures me that he shall come again next year, and solely for the pleasure of seeing me.'

ording to Lord E. Fitzmaurice, the quarrel between Lord rne and Lord Holland was destined to have more im- t ulterior consequences than either of them could have n. Charles Fox was taught to believe that the man who etrayed his father was never to be trusted again; and this g of repulsion largely contributed to bring about the on of Lord Shelburne and the younger Pitt in 1782. But ird Lord Holland says in his Memoirs of the Whig party: s diverted at observing that Lord Lansdowne throughout ated the backwardness of the Whigs (to advances made by n 1792) to Mr. Fox's jealousy of him, whereas Mr. Fox f the whole party, with the exception of Mr. Grey, the least lined to him, and the others had not only a distrust, but warrantable hatred of his very name.' The quarrel was y the cause of his immediately drawing closer to Lord am.

at Lord Bute's confidence in his young coadjutor was con- l, instead of being shaken, is shown by his continuing ploy Lord Shelburne as a negotiator in the formation of w Government, and proposing him for Secretary of State Premier elect, George Grenville, who objects his youth, experience, and the envy and jealousy of the old Peers:

ere Lord Shelburne (writes Grenville) the dearest friend I had world, I do protest I would advise him for his own sake to e for the present the high office of Secretary of State, and to om the public by degrees to see him acting in business in office lower than what is now proposed. In such a situation he ripen for the seals, so as to take them whenever His Majesty be disposed to give them, without that offence which such a a and unprecedented elevation I think must occasion.'

es not, he adds, pretend to put a negative on those whom ing should approve, nor presume to suggest who is the most r for the office:—

your Lordship had allowed me to consult with some of those must bear the greatest share in it, I should then have either d my opinions or, from being convinced, should have changed *But since I am not at liberty to do this*, I must entreat you, in eantime, to inform yourself how this will be received by the ipal persons you mean to confide in, and to ask the cool opinion utral and indifferent people.'

Lord

Lord Bute, omnipotent as he must have been when his nominee writes to him in this fashion, did not press the point; and Lord Shelburne, after twice refusing the Presidency of the Board of Trade, ended by accepting it, and (April 7th) writes to his noble patron: 'As to myself, be assured there will not be a more good-humoured and less complaining member of the Cabinet, and very decided.' In less than three months he had managed to come to more than one decided difference with the Secretaries of State, and, towards the end of June, 1763, he was with difficulty dissuaded from resigning by Lord Bute. In the summer and autumn of that year he is again busy as a negotiator, with the view of reforming or strengthening the Ministry, which had become contemptible to the country as well as distasteful to the King. Grenville, formal and long-winded, bored his Royal master to extinction; and Lord Chesterfield writes: 'there is not a man of the Court side in the House of Commons who has either abilities or words enough to call a coach.' But the negotiations proved abortive; neither the Duke of Bedford nor Pitt could be brought to terms, and the nation was left to what Pitt termed a 'rash and odious Ministry' at a moment when a prudent and popular one might have prevented the dismemberment of the empire, and saved the constitution from a strain which shook it to and fro like a rocking stone. It was the Grenville Ministry that passed the Stamp Act; and one of its earliest measures was the issue (April 24, 1763) of the general warrant against Wilkes:—

'By November (1763) (writes Lord E. Fitzmaurice) the Court had finally resolved to plunge into that obstinate career of unconstitutional and illegal persecution, which ended by shaking the throne itself and immortalising a worthless man. The House of Commons was full of converted Jacobites and soldiers, whilst the House of Lords, undoubtedly the most liberal assembly of the two during the first half of the century, was rapidly losing that character.'

All historians are agreed that a scheme for making the Royal authority predominant and supreme, had been formed at the accession. The uniform tone of the King, the Princess Dowager, and the favourite, leave no doubt upon the point. When the parliamentary approval of the Peace, carried, as we have seen, by bribery and intimidation, was announced at St. James's: 'Now,' exclaimed the Princess, 'my son *is* King of England.' He was very near becoming so in her sense of the word. Blackstone has called attention to the prophecy of Montesquieu, 'that, as Rome, Sparta, and Carthage have lost their liberty and perished, so the constitution of England will in time lose its liberty,

rty, will perish; it will perish whenever the legislative er shall become more corrupt than the executive.' If this be it must have been tottering to its fall when the most arbi- y proceedings of the executive were not only approved by a branches of the Legislature, but exceeded or outrun by the esentative branch, notoriously under corrupt influences. 'To er a man's house,' exclaimed Lord Camden, 'by virtue of a eless warrant, in order to procure evidence, is worse than Spanish Inquisition; a law under which no Englishman ld wish to live an hour.' No less incompatible with free itutions was the power arrogated by the House of Com- ns to condemn without trial, and create disqualifications a vote.

Wilkes' services in 'the cause for which Hampden died on the d and Sydney on the scaffold,' have been unduly depreciated the score of his private life and character, especially by those o would fain secure a monopoly of public virtue to the Whigs. rl Russell does not scruple to designate him as 'a profligate ndthrift, without opinions or principles, religious or political; ose impudence far exceeded his talents, and who always meant nce when he cried liberty.' But he had personal, civil and ral or (if Earl Russell prefers it) immoral courage of the hest order; and we have heard a statesman of equal eminence intain that he did quite as much as Hampden for that cause. rsue the parallel, and this ceases to sound paradoxical. If mpden had quailed or failed, there were others prepared to e his place: Wilkes stood alone. The national spirit was roughly alive when Hampden refused to pay shipmoney: that rit was crushed out, sleeping, or dead when Wilkes began his ost desperate struggle for what we are pleased to call our lienable rights. Above all, the evil councillors of Charles I. re compelled to shake off the controlling presence of Parlia- nt by way of preparation for their work; the evil councillors George III. found in both Houses the readiest and most ective instruments of high-handed oppression and arbitrary wer. 'The triplet union of Crown, Lords, and Commons ainst England displays itself with a violence and a candour ich statesmen in other conspiracies seldom have adopted.' . . . What was an Englishman now to hope for? He must turn m King, Lords, and Commons, and look up to God and nself if he means to be free.' *

Lord

* Junius. Wilkes, although a profligate, had warm sympathies, high spirit, sical knowledge and taste, polished pleasantry, and wit. This may be col-

Lord Shelburne had just (April 20th) become a member of the Cabinet when Lord Halifax issued the famous warrant; but the heads of departments then acted independently of one another, and it was the mode of executing the warrant, combined with Wilkes' spirited resistance, that roused the people from their lethargy, and taught scheming politicians that something more than a place or pension was at stake. On the 18th of November, 1763, Pitt requested an interview with Lord Shelburne, which lasted three hours. The result speedily appeared. On the 24th, when the House of Commons resolved that the privilege of Parliament does not extend to seditious libels, Lord Shelburne's three Members voted in the minority against the Government; and when the same resolution was discussed in the House of Lords, he voted against it. Although no longer in office, he was still one of the royal aides-de-camp; and on Grenville reminding the King of the fact, and asking if he was to be continued, the King paused a moment and then said: 'No, I will remove him; he has acted like a

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lected from his private letters, one of which, hitherto unpublished, may be taken as a specimen. It is addressed to M. Suard of literary note. The autograph is in the possession of Lord Carlingford:

'Calais, Monday, October 27, 1766.

'I have just finished, my dear friend, a short prayer to Eolus for a propitious passage to my native island, and am now going to embark with a very favourable wind. The Prince of the powers of the air you see is not suffered to prevail against such piety as mine, and the very winds seem Whiggish, and of our faction. I may say too, et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti.

'Should I own it? I dare to you,—I have no joy in the near prospect of being in my capital. My friends there are ten times more impatient to have me, than I am to return to such a scene, when I have known so much better. My die, however, is cast, and I am to stand the hazard of it. If I find that I command my fates, instead of being led by them, I shall quit the politics of the day, and return the first week in November to Paris, to you, to pleasure. I am already growing grave. I scent the English coast. I have the spleen. I am every hour going farther from my daughter, and drawing nearer to my wife. I cannot bear the thought. It makes me more sick than the rolling of the packet-boat can do. The captain of it tells me that my acquaintance, Ayscough of our Guards, offered him ten guineas to put back to Calais when he had about a league from hence—the sea ran so high—yet he was under orders to return immediately. If ever I am Minister in England, Ayscough shall never command a single regiment against you. Pray remember this. I remember Byng would not take a country house near Finchley, because he must sometimes traverse a common, where now and then robberies were committed. An English admiral afraid of being robbed! I declared he was a coward, and from this circumstance, before he was sent into the Mediterranean. I am more convinced of it from this, than the folio trial: so artful in his defence, so perplexed to a landsman. I am a very Plutarch.

'If my dear Monsieur Suard does not tell me everything which can give him pleasure from England, I shall never forgive him. You do not yet know me enough, or you would not refuse me that satisfaction.

'I beg my best respects to Madame Suard, I desire she would do one thing more for you, that she would make you pulchrâ prole parentem.'

worthless

hless man, and has broke his word with me.' This impu-
n, repeated by the King and echoed by the King's friends,
ough utterly groundless, may have helped to give currency
ıe charge of insincerity originating with Fox.

or more than a year after these events, Lord Shelburne lived
omparative retirement. 'Whilst his enemies at Court were
kening his character, he was buying MSS., entertaining his
ıds, making a lake at Bowood, and restoring order on his
tes.' During occasional visits to London, he cultivated the
ety of men of letters, became the centre of what Walpole
s 'the little knot of young orators,' and made the acquaintance
Johnson, Goldsmith, and Reynolds. 'By a curious coinci-
ce (remarks Lord E. Fitzmaurice) the Stamp Act was passing
ugh Parliament at the time that the statesman, whose whole
er was to be influenced by it, was being married.' The mar-
e, which took place in February, 1765, did not detain him
from the political stage, nor prevent him from taking a
minent share in the opposition to the Stamp Act. He divided
ı four Peers (Camden, Cornwallis, Paulet, and Torrington)
inst the Declaratory Resolutions. 'With these five,' says
ıcroft, the American historian, 'stood the invisible genius of
ular reform.' Lord Shelburne steadily refused to join the
kingham Ministry, partly (it is suggested) out of a rooted
ike to act with Lord George Sackville, but mainly (we
eve) from a determination to throw in his fortunes with
, through whom (July, 1766) he received the long coveted
ointment of Secretary of State, notwithstanding the strongly
ressed dislike of the King.

The Duc de Choiseul, writing from Compiègne to Guerchy in
ıdon, after expressing his surprise at Pitt's acceptance of a
rage and suggesting some changes in the arrangements,
ceeds: 'Then the English Ministry will have a certain con-
ence; otherwise, what with the opposition of Lord Temple,
ineptitude of General Conway, the youth and possibly the
diness (*étourderie*) of Lord Shelburne although governed by
t, it will not be much stronger than the preceding one.
d Chatham has undertaken too heavy a charge in being
Governor of all the world and the Protector of every-
ly.'

Here, for the present, we leave Lord Shelburne, under the
ef of his predilection and in the office of his choice:

I hope (says Lord E. Fitzmaurice) in another volume to give
account of the political life of Lord Shelburne in office and in
position, to explain how it was that Mr. Pitt in 1783 did not have

Lord Shelburne for his colleague, to give some new details as to the condition of the Whig party during the French Revolution, to draw a picture of the society of which Bowood was the centre during the latter part of the century, and to describe the connection of Priestley, Price, and Bentham, with Lord Shelburne.'

This is a tempting programme; and entertaining no doubt of its being faithfully and ably carried out, we anticipate, in the completed work, a most valuable and interesting contribution to our political, literary and social annals. But we hardly think that the noble and accomplished author will succeed in obtaining for his ancestor a much higher place in the temple of Fame than he has traditionally occupied, or will realise that beau ideal of the farseeing philosophic statesman with which the glowing fancy of 'Young England' was impressed.

ART. IV.—1. *The Reports of the Commissioner of Education*, Washington. Government Printing Office. For the Years 1868–1873. 6 vols.

2. *The American Journal of Education.* Published Quarterly. Edited by Henry Barnard, LL.D. 1856–1872. 21 vols. Hartford, Connecticut.

3. *History of the Common-School System of the State of New York. From its Origin in* 1795. By S. S. Randall, Superintendent of Public Schools in New York. New York and Chicago. 1871.

4. *Public Education in the City of New York: its History, Condition, and Statistics. An Official Report to the Board of Education.* By Thomas Boese, Clerk of the Board. New York, 1869.

5. *Thirty-First Annual Report of the Board of Public Instruction of the City and County of New York for* 1872. New York, 1873.

6. *Manual of Discipline and Instruction for Primary and Grammar Schools of the City of New York.* New York, 1873.

7. *Nineteenth Annual Report of the State Commissioner of Common Schools to the General Assembly of the State of Ohio.* For the year 1872 (ending August 31). Columbus, Ohio.

8. *Annual Report (Forty-first) and Handbook of the Common Schools of Cincinnati.* For 1870–71. Cincinnati.

9. *Annual*

. *Annual Report* (*Forty-fourth*), *&c.*, *of Cincinnati.* For 1873–74. Cincinnati.
. *Seventh Annual Report of Public Schools of the State of Missouri.* Jefferson City, 1873.
. *Rules of the School Committee and Regulations of the Public Schools of the City of Boston.* 1872. Boston, 1872.
. *Twelfth Annual Report of the Vermont Board of Education. With the Report of the Secretary.* Made September, 1868. Burlington, 1868.
. *Thirteenth Report of the Vermont Board, &c.* 1869.
. *Report of the New Haven City School District Board of Education.* Made September, 1872. Newhaven, 1872.
. *The Charities of New York, Brooklyn, and Staten Island.* By Henry J. Camman and Hugh N. Camp. New York, 1868.

MERICAN and English people have, in good part, com- munity of race; there is also a strong resemblance, aking generally, in their temper and characteristics as tions; and they may be fairly said to have a common litera- e. But in some other respects, and in respects not less portant, the conditions under which the two nations respec- ely have come to be what they are, have been and are so ongly in contrast as to invalidate all inferences which proceed the assumption of a general analogy, in regard to social or ucational questions, between the United States and our own ntry. Ignorance or forgetfulness of this has led to very le-spread misunderstanding in both countries in regard both matters of fact and to points of theory.

The material prosperity of the people in the United States oses great difficulties in the way of the systematic or thorough ication of the people. There is no class in the States, except coloured people and the Chinese, that takes naturally or con- ially to service. Certain classes of the Irish of recent importa- n act as servants in the Eastern cities. But in the second eration this is at an end. In the middle and Western regions, on the farms generally, domestic servants are almost unknown, hired 'helps' are very few and very far to seek. Hence it ults that the whole family, from a very early age, have to work the farm. The labour of the lads on the land, of the girls in house—often, indeed, also on the land, or in the farmyard— oo precious during the greater part of the year to be spared. respects vast territories, this is the case of the whole popula- n. Under such circumstances school-attendance is [illegible] ssible for most of the elder children, except when farm-work is suspended.

suspended. That is to say, they can only go to school—espec the boys—in winter. The school-term is often but four mont the year; or, if there are two terms, the summer school is fo younger children, under a summer mistress, and the winter is for the elder children, under a superior female teach under a master; the two schools being quite distinct. Of co under such circumstances the school cannot enjoy the servic a trained teacher. The teacher, throughout the States, excep few of the largest cities, is paid by the month, and engage the term. A female teacher is paid on an average about t dollars a month, a male teacher about forty-five dollars. could never remunerate trained teachers in a country v wages are so high, and where living is so dear as in the Sta As a matter of fact, we have it on the authority of the Fe Commissioner of Education that only three per cent. of public school teachers in the States are trained.† The co teacher is, commonly enough, a farmer's daughter of the n bourhood, considered to be a smart scholar, who takes the s during the term. If the teacher is a man, not seldom still—as in the young days of Daniel Webster, who was hi such a school-teacher—a college-student, who supports hi at college during one or two terms by what he is enabled to from his teacher's stipend during the rest of the year; may be a minister who has not yet found a charge. It is the custom in many parts of the Union—in some parts ev New England—for the school-teacher to board, month by m about, with the farmers of the neighbourhood.

It is difficult to ascertain with accuracy how many Nc Colleges, correctly so called, there are in the States, and in

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* In frugal and agricultural Maine, a State in which economy in mat public education appears to be carried, not seldom, to the length of a publi the average payment of the female teacher is, or was, according to th returns that have reached this country, $14·4. In Rhode Island, partly a facturing State, the average is $39·72; in Massachusetts, it rises no highe $32·39; in Connecticut, it is nearly the same—$32·69; in Maryland, it is $ in golden California, it rises to $60·69; in Iowa, it is $29·32; in Mic $26·75; in Minnesota, $24·57; in pleasant and careful New Hampshire, the old New England States, it is only $24·33; in central and prosperous it is $29; in North Carolina, it is $20. The average payment of a male t in the same States is as follows:—Maine, $33·17; Rhode Island, $39·72, th as for female teachers; Massachusetts, $85·09; Connecticut, $66·56; Mar $45·83, the same as for female teachers; California, $74·58; Iowa, $ Michigan, $49·25; Minnesota, $37·39; New Hampshire, $37·56; Ohio, North Carolina, $25 ('Commissioner's Report, 1872,' pp. 608–9). The av are not given for New York. The exchange value of the American do about 3*s.* 8*d.*; but its purchasing power can hardly be more than 3*s.* in En and is probably not so much, except in the remoter parts of the country.

† 'Commissioner's Report' (1872), p. xxix.

e to arrive at any estimate as to the number of teachers in ning in such colleges. Normal Colleges in cities are com- ly, as in New York, High Female Schools, with a Teacher- ining Department, but a small proportion of the students erally have any thought of becoming teachers. Besides ch, many of the college-students in training as teachers in erent parts of the Union only remain at the Normal College ten or twelve weeks—one short term—while comparatively are under training for more than six months.

We know, in general, that in proportion to the number of ools and teachers, the Normal College provision in the States training teachers is but a minute fraction of what is provided his country. In all but ten of the thirty-three States, how- r, there is at least one Normal College, and in most of the ling cities of the Union there is a City Normal College— as has just been described. In these institutions the lents are not lodged or boarded; or, if some of them are, it t their own expense.*

n default of regular training, the teachers of the States monly form themselves into Teachers' Institutes, which vide for frequent periodical branch meetings and for aggre- e meetings once in the school term, in order that the chers may compare notes, discuss methods, and hear lectures. ese Institutes are, no doubt, very useful aids to earnest chers.

The following quotation will illustrate the statements which ve just been made. It is taken from the 'Nineteenth Annual port of the State Commissioner of Common Schools, to General Assembly of Ohio, for the School-year ending gust 31st, 1872.' It will be noted that these passages gest an apology, perhaps it should be said they furnish the sons, for the very scanty provision of Normal Colleges in United States, and, in particular, for the backwardness of great State of Ohio, where, as yet, there is no Normal llege:—

Nearly one-third of our teachers leave the profession each year to age in other employments. Of the many thousands required supply our schools, a few hundreds only intend to become profes- nal teachers. The expediency of establishing special Training ools of high grade with complete exhaustive courses of study, for large non-professional class, may be questioned. It will be icult to convince the tax-paying population of any State, that a

* The names of the ten defaulting States are Ohio, Delaware, Kentucky gon, Iowa, Virginia, South Carolina, Arkansas, Alabama, and Louisiana.

scheme

scheme providing for the thorough professional training of even one-fourth of this class, is either practicable or advisable. It will be equally difficult to demonstrate to them that the value of the product is greater than the cost of the production. They demand less expensive agencies than these; and it is the duty of statesmen to ascertain if possible, what they are, and whether they cannot be successfully employed.

'The class of professional teachers in our country will long be comparatively small. The substantial prizes to be won are few. Teaching, therefore, in the near future, as in the past, will in most cases be a temporary calling engaged in by young men while "getting under way;" and by young ladies unable to find some other more attractive or more remunerative employment.'

A striking illustration of the actual state of things in the United States, as respects school-terms and school-attendance, has been afforded by the legislation of New York State during the past year. The first legislative attempt in the State of New York to carry out 'compulsory education' was passed into law on the 11th of last May. The provisions of the Act are remarkable, and to an English reader very instructive and suggestive. They may be commended to the particular attention of Mr. John Morley and others, who have set up the United States as an example to England in the matter of public elementary education. The following is the first section of the Act:—

'The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows: Section 1. All parents, and those who have the care of children, shall instruct them, or cause them to be instructed, in spelling, reading, writing, English grammar, geography, and arithmetic. And every parent, guardian, or other person having control or charge of any child between the ages of eight and fourteen years, shall cause such child to attend *some public or private day-school, at least fourteen weeks in each year, eight weeks at least of which attendance shall be consecutive, or to be instructed regularly at home at least fourteen weeks in each year*, in spelling, reading, &c., unless the physical or mental condition of such child is such as to render such instruction inexpedient or impracticable.'

The second section proceeds to enact that no child under fourteen shall be employed in labour or business during the school-hours of any school-day of any public school in the school-district, or the city where such child is, unless the child shall be certified by the school-teacher, or by a public school trustee, to have attended, during the fifty-two weeks preceding, a public or private school, or to have been regularly instructed at home, for at least fourteen weeks.

The

ext of the Act is given in the 'New York Christian
' for last May 28th. Such a measure as this would be
ue in this country. But it is the only sort of enact-
t could have any suitableness or force in the State of
k. Even so much could not be secured in the great
of States. In some of the New England States, where
uring towns are frequent, and where population is com-
y dense, compulsory laws have been enacted, and to some
it in force.* But New York State has set the example
s the larger States of the Union; and by educationists
tate, feeble and inadequate as the law may appear to us,
it enactment is boasted of as an important step in

been referred to here, however, as an apt illustration of
al difference between English and American social con-
hich makes it impossible for the great majority of the
the United States, even though they may be well-to-do
and many of them independent freeholders, to spare
ldren from work to go to school regularly through the

is one provision which we have quoted from the Act
ld not be overlooked; it is that which requires that at
it of the fourteen weeks of instruction must have been
ve. This points to the probability that in certain cases
t or employer would prefer to send the child to school
ferent seasons—two months, perhaps, in the winter, and
during the summer term, where there are two school
the year.

the best is made of the matter, however, the flaws and
ness of this Act are very evident. Who is to guarantee
arity or the quality of the home instruction? and what
total education must that be for any child which is

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assachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. But direct compulsion
d States assumes a totally different form from what is found in any
ry, and such as would by no means agree, either with the ideas or the
s country. The truant officer is a kind of educational policeman, and
lcer of the School Board, but of the State. He is appointed to deal
h the boy as an offender against the State law, being neither at school
. The offender is sent, on the sentence of a magistrate, to a penal
times called a truant school, sometimes a house of industry, or a place
, sometimes a reformatory school. The parent is not proceeded
l no account is taken of mere irregularity of school attendance as
boy is found idle—neither at school nor at work—that is his offence.
ry young boys are not thus dealt with; but very young boys in the
not as yet thought to be of much importance to send to school.
ers are hardly known anywhere out of the New England States, and
e found here and there in New England.

given

given by an untrained, by an amateur teacher (such must generally be the case), in snatches of three or four months once a-year, or of six or eight weeks, twice in the year? Such compulsory education as that of New York State would be counted almost worthless in this country.

And yet there can be no doubt that the great American people, as a whole, are an intelligent and reading people. The Americans are a middle-class nation, who have for the most part had little school-teaching, but whose intelligence has to the very utmost been stimulated and developed by circumstances. They are born into a world of active, eager, restless enterprise, and of universally diffused individual responsibility — commercial, social, political;—where the ready change of general information is in continual circulation; where knowledge and quick faculty pay a thousandfold, and pay at once; where there is every incentive to enterprise, every opportunity for talent; where the cheap newspaper has for some generations been in every man's hand; where the best literature of England is the cheapest book-reading to buy, and the easiest to get; where no dead-weight of hereditary pauperism has for ages dragged down the general standard of intelligence, and held back the development of the national energies and resources. The rising population of such a country, if they have but learned reading, writing, a little commercial arithmetic, and the lowest rudiments of geography, during their school-years, can hardly fail outside of school, and after school-days are over, however short they may have been, to learn enough besides to carry them forward in life, as their opportunities open before them, and to enable them in some fair proportion to cultivate their general intelligence. The Americans are accordingly an intelligent and well-informed people, although this is by no means the result of anything like a widely-diffused or superior system of school-education. One of their great wants is such a system. Intelligence and ambition, without thorough culture or educational discipline, stamp the character of very much of the conversation, the oratory, the newspaper-writing, of the States. There would be less of 'highfalutin,' and less of slang, if there were better means of national school-education.

One of the most striking features of the schools in the United States is the extensive employment of female teachers. In New York, of about 2400 public school-teachers employed, no fewer than 2100 are female teachers. Young women may commonly be seen teaching scholars of the other sex little younger than themselves.

themselves. This has sometimes been lauded as one of the admirable points in what is spoken of as the American school system. In simple truth, however, it is the result, not of theory or of choice, but of necessity. Men do not give themselves to teaching, because it does not pay to do so. The remuneration of school-teachers in the States is, as a rule, very low, $45 a month being, as we have seen, about the average pay for men. Even in the immense organised school-system of the city and county of New York, $1000 per annum is considered high pay for a public school-teacher, being, in purchasing power, not equal to more than 150*l.* English. $3000 is the highest salary for any male principal of a Grammar School, 1600 is the lowest. These amounts are much less in proportion than experienced masters of our large public schools in this country of the corresponding classes are paid, whether masters of Board Schools, or voluntary schools, or public endowed, or Grammar Schools;* whereas wages and salaries in general rule much higher in New York than in England.† On the other hand, the large excess of females over males throughout all the Eastern States of the Union having for some generations past driven women into every avenue of employment which seemed at all possible, they have come in crowds to seek for situations as teachers at salaries which could never have been offered to men in the hope of retaining their services permanently.

Here, too, opens forth a special view of the condition of society, and especially of women, in the Eastern States, which has seldom been understood in this country, but which is fruitful in the explanation of anomalies otherwise unintelligible. While in the States in the Far-West, especially the gold and mining regions, women are but in numbers a fraction as compared with the men; in the Eastern States so large a proportion of the men, especially the most manly and energetic among them, have, for several generations past, been continually drawn away to the exuberant and boundless West, that the women have found themselves everywhere crowding each other very inconveniently, and constituting a surplus quantity which above all things needed to be absorbed or provided for in some way of honest employment. Even 40 years ago this fact had produced one striking result which appears to have been misunderstood by many

* According to the last returns (1872) the average annual salary for each teacher in New York State was, for the cities, $645·37; for the rural districts, $273·38; for the State generally, $372·86.

† House-rent in New York is at least double in proportion what it is in London. New York gentlemen consider that not less than one-third of their annual expenditure should be calculated for rent. A gentleman's dress-suit costs 20*l.*, and all other articles of apparel are in proportion.

English

English authorities. The reputable and energetic daughters of New England freehold farmers, finding at that time few other probabilities of fairly remunerative employment, came in from the country to the factories, then but recently established, as at Lowells, for example, and became factory-workers. They lived together in respectable boarding-establishments, suitably organised by themselves. These factory-workers and their boarding-establishments were, 30 or 40 years ago, the admiration of British travellers, who, after visiting them, lamented the terribly inferior condition of English factory-workers, and moralised as to what superior education and republican institutions had done even for factory-operatives in model Massachusetts. It seems never to have occurred to them that if the daughters of decent Scotch farmers, or thrifty and self-respecting Westmoreland 'statesmen,' had agreed to migrate in hundreds to obtain work in Lanarkshire or Lancashire cotton-factories—supposing such factories to have been suitably organised and managed—they would have formed as intelligent and everyway superior a body of factory-workers as were ever gathered at Lowells. The glory of Lowells seems now to have greatly waned. As female education in New England improved and developed, the young women found school-teaching to offer better and more congenial attractions to them than the mills; they found also other ways of employment in every respect more suitable. At the same time the influx of Irish labour to the manufacturing centres, especially as the trade developed, supplanted the New England girls, and lowered the whole tone and style of the factory community.

But the movement of female population had begun, and it was not likely to cease or to be intermitted. It came on with the power of an invasion. The women must and would find and have work. Whatever they could do to get themselves a creditable living, that would they not be barred from doing. They invaded the stores; not only behind the counter, but in the cashier's desk they took their place. They manned, not seldom, the merchant's offices; they poured into Government departments, whether in the different States, or at the national Capital. Alike at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, the departments of public service, the post offices, the bureaux, have long been chiefly occupied by women. In the Bureau of Education, for instance, at Washington may be seen, in room after room, young women at work, reading, writing, preparing documents, answering letters, making abstracts, or writing *précis* for the use or under the direction of the few gentlemen—commissioners or secretaries—employed in the Bureau. So also in the Post Office

in

the same city, ladies are employed in many departments of rvice, notably in the foreign translation and correspondence partment. Of the ladies thus employed, there can be no estion that many are from New England; although, no doubt, Washington, Philadelphia contributes its due proportion. It ed hardly be said that the telegraphs throughout the country e very largely worked by female operators.

The passion for literary distinction, and the demand for edical education and diplomas which have been so character-ic of American women, are traceable to the same origin. oth these forms of female energy appear to have originated in ew England. There literary distinction had become to women means of livelihood, because the teaching profession was rtually almost in their hands; and there the universal necessity r remunerative female employment led women to press into e medical profession. Why should they not have the oppor-nity and the right to minister medically at least to their fellow-omen? If nurses must be women, and if nurses, being women, ust receive a quasi-medical training, why might not women rsue the same direction somewhat farther?

Hence, again, the special passion for abstract and somewhat asculine studies which took hold first of New England girls, d then of American women generally. If these girls were to teachers—teachers, if they could win their way, in high schools, d teachers not only of girls but of boys, they would need to have eir faculties braced and disciplined by severe study, and indeed ould have immediate need to be instructed in specially mas-line subjects of study, including in particular mathematics and act science. That all this has been often carried much too far ere can be no doubt. No writers have said and shown this ith so much emphasis as American writers. The American stem, at least the New England system of educating women, one-sided, and has been overstrained. This is no doubt one ong various causes which have contributed to that physical terioration of the race, and especially that imperfect physical de-lopment of the women, which is now one of the troubles of New gland, and full of sinister omen for the future of the population, ether in respect of its increase or its quality. But the point w under our attention is the condition of things which has led turally to the sort of education for women that has been so evalent during the last thirty years in the Eastern States of Union.

All this brings us back, however, to the point from which this gression arose, viz., that the prevalent employment of female her than male teachers in the States is the mere result of natural

natural causes, and not any point of theoretic calculation, or of practical excellence. It would, beyond question, be better on all accounts if the young women were in much larger proportion destined to be given in marriage, and to devote themselves to family cares and child-training at home, and if public school-teaching were far more largely in the hands of trained and able masters. But whilst the remuneration is so low, and there are so many women in the Eastern States for whom, apart from family life, employment must be found, this feature of American schools is not likely to change.

There never has been any such thing as a national system of public school education in the United States. The responsibility of providing and regulating public education rests mainly and directly with the school district, or the town or township, or the city or municipality, or the county, as the case may be. The State has no power to enforce any method or law of education either on school-district or on town or township, on city or on county. The country is covered with many thousands of independent, or all but independent, educational republics. There never has been any national law of education; nor was there, until the year 1868, even any national department or bureau of education. The reports of this department, since 1868, are before us as we write. All that the Bureau has power to do is to collect and diffuse information, and to intimate general views in its Annual Report. It has no *authority* whatever, not even to insist on information, from the parties to whom it makes application. The Reports, however, issued by the Bureau, not only give very valuable information, but cannot fail to have great moral force and great directive value. They embrace national education in the widest sense, primary, secondary (to use the English phrase), and Collegiate or University; and also technical education in its different branches.

There is more illiteracy in the States than has been generally supposed in England. There were altogether in the United States, according to the Census of 1870, of the population ten years old and upwards:—unable to read, 4,528,084; unable to write, 5,658,144; of whom 4,880,271 were native-born Americans. Of the 5,658,144 unable to write, 4,648,439 were over fifteen years of age. It is not surprising to find that in the Southern States illiteracy greatly prevails; that in Alabama, for instance, more than half the population over ten years are unable to write. But it will surprise many to learn that so large a proportion of the population of the Northern and Central States, 'enlightened free States,' are illiterate. In Massachusetts, 8·42 per cent. are unable to write; in Vermont, 6·84; in New York

ork State, 7·08 per cent., being a total of 239,271 illiterates er ten years old; in Ohio, 8·86 per cent., being a total of 3,172 illiterates; in Indiana, 10·61 per cent., being a total of 7,124; in Illinois, 7·38 per cent., or 133,584; in Pennsylnia, where, however, there is a considerable sprinkling of loured people—where, also, are the chief seats of heavy manucturing labour—the percentage is 8·56, and the total number, 2,356; in Rhode Island we find the high average of 12·62 r cent., or 21,921 illiterates. In these States, speaking genelly, the vast majority of the illiterates must belong to the hite population. It is remarkable that in the two States of ew England, where school-teachers are the worst paid, and here parsimony in school provision the most frequently passes to niggardliness, the percentage of illiteracy is lower than ewhere; in New Hampshire the percentage is 3·81; in aine, 3·86. This suggests that the abundance of fairly edu-ted young women, joined to the absence of manufacturing dustries in these States, has, by keeping the market for school-achers continually supplied from the families of the farm-ttlers, kept down the rate of payment for teachers.

The first Census returns of illiteracy made in the States were 1840, when the Union was rudely disturbed from its self-mplacency as to the subject of education, by learning that ithin its limits there were more than half a million of white tizens over twenty unable to write. Since that period there ve been returns at three Censuses; but yet it appears difficult come to any conclusion as to the increase or diminution of literacy in the States. In Barnard's 'American Journal of ducation' for 1869, Dr. Leigh discusses the question in an aborate paper, but seems to arrive at no settled conclusion. appears, indeed, that there are strong suspicions as to the ustworthiness of all the Census returns, and especially that of 860. Since Dr. Leigh's paper appeared the Census returns for 870 have been published.

The comparative result for the four Censuses is as follows:— 1840, the percentage of white adult illiteracy to the total lult population was 9; in 1850 it rose to 11; in 1860 it fell 9 again. In 1870, the percentage of total adult illiteracy for hite and coloured people is returned at 17 for men and 23 r women. This, however, includes, to give a round approxi-ate estimate, which is as near as we can come, two millions nd a half of adult coloured persons. The total number of ale adults is given by the last Census returns as 18,536,000. the 2,500,000 coloured adults be subtracted, there remain, in und numbers, 16,000,000 of white adults. The total number of

of illiterate adults, male and coloured, is returned as 3,715,196 — Let us now assume that of the 2,500,000 coloured adults, nearly all are still, as in the former days, illiterate, and subtract these coloured illiterates from the total amount of adult illiteracy for the nation, there will then remain, in round numbers, a million and a quarter adult white illiterates out of an adult white population of 16,000,000, showing a proportion of nearly 8 per cent. If we have materially over-estimated—as it is not unlikely we have—the present illiteracy of the coloured people throughout the States, the 8 per cent. estimate for white illiteracy must be proportionately too small.

Dr. Leigh sums up the revelations made by the three first Censuses. As to that of 1840, he says:—

'The common impression that white illiteracy is to be found especially among the "poor whites" of the cotton or plantation States, is at once seen to be an error. In the six Northern Slave States—Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri—which are rather farming than plantation States, there were much larger numbers who could not read. The very general idea, also, that the free North is free from this calamity is seen to be a mistake, there being twice as many white illiterates in the Northern tier of States—New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois,—as there were in the plantation Slave States. And we were evidently by no means indebted to our foreign-born population for any very large part of this evil, for it is seen to have existed at that time chiefly in those States into which the immigrant had then hardly begun to penetrate; and, besides, the great tide of unlettered immigrants had then hardly begun to flow toward our shores.'

As to the Census of 1850, Dr. Leigh says:—

'This map holds up before our eyes the same great painful fact—ignorance, widespread and spreading—not limited to unfavoured regions, but uniformly diffused: an evil of native growth rather than of foreign origin. Still the bookless white population, though standing by tens of thousands in the plantation States, are more multitudinous in the farming Slave States and in the Northern States. And now we see, directly and definitely, that it is mainly among the people born and bred in our own country. The great *increase* of this calamity is conspicuous here. All over the country we find our American-born citizens growing up untaught.'

During the decade, 1850—1860, the number of illiterates largely increased, but the proportion appears to have diminished, especially among the native-born illiterate. All these statistics, however, according to Dr. Leigh and Horace Mann, require to be taken as liable to large correction in one direction.

'The numbers,' says Dr. Leigh, 'must be understated—*largely understated.*

cated. Very many who could not read were, doubtless, unwilling e so reported. Many who could read but a few words would, btless, report themselves as able to read. We may safely take ace Mann's judgment, and add 30 per cent. to the figures of the sus on this point for its undoubted under-estimates.'

Whoever has lately conversed with the candid and intelligent cials of the Bureau of Statistics at Washington, will be fully pared to believe that the Census returns of illiteracy not only e in 1860 and former years, but are still quite as far below truth as these high American authorities state.* In the nmissioner's Report, no attempt is made at comparison with ner Censuses. The Commissioner states the bare facts they are given to him, 17 per cent. male illiteracy on the ole population, white and coloured; 23 per cent. on the ale population. This condition of things is too manifestly ational evil. Foreign immigration scarcely enters into it as appreciable element. The Commissioner, for patriotic ons, tries not to make the best, but rather the worst of it. extends his estimate of illiteracy proportionately below ldren of ten to children of five years old (five to nine inclu-). He accordingly estimates as either now illiterate, or as r in such circumstances, between their fifth and tenth year, t they are sure to grow up illiterate, no less than 6,621,086 the population. After excluding children under five, his clusion is that the proportion of the entire population now fessing to be able to read and write is 68·53 per cent. t he adds: 'How many [of these] have any instruction reckoning, or know anything of the grammar of our language, the history or geography of our country, we cannot tell as .'†

To any one who will realise the actual situation of thou-

The general accuracy of the Census returns is seriously impeached by the wing authoritative statement:—'At no one of the three Censuses (1850, 1860,) taken under the Act of May 23, 1850, has the aggregate number of deaths rned by the assistant-marshals risen above two-thirds of the deaths probably rring, as that number is deduced from the experience of other countries, the experience of sections of our own country having an established system egistration, and from the ascertained law of the national increase.' So we nformed in the 'Report on the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870.' further read that 'the Census of the United States does not afford the erial for determining exactly the death-rate of States and sections, and for ucing the effect of the various conditions of life on the duration of life.' n a letter by E. B. Elliott, Esq., the able and courteous chief clerk of the eau of Statistics, which is published in the Census, it appears that the actual r in the returns is not less than 41 per cent. With this demonstrated fact in , it will appear tolerably certain that Dr. Leigh and Mr. Horace Mann are t as to the under-estimate of illiteracy in the Census.

'Commissioner's Report,' 1872, pp. vii., viii.

sands of American settlers, buried and sequestered many and many a mile away from any town or any railway, in the depths of vast regions only inhabited at very distant intervals by lonely settlers like themselves, it will be easy to understand how such settlers may become utterly ignorant and almost savage. These are not ideas which we are accustomed to associate with American citizenship. We think only of smartness and restless activity. But not the less are they true ideas. Those who have crossed the Alleghanies, between Philadelphia and Cincinnati, will not have forgotten the glimpses there obtained of the country stretching far to the South. There away, between West Virginia, Ohio, and Kentucky, and still down South, amid similar desolate mountain ranges into Eastern Tennessee, through a stretch of country which has been preserved from the contamination of slavery by its ruggedness and comparative infertility, American walking tourists found, only a year or two since, as they have described to the writer of this paper, a condition of primitive rudeness, which beforehand would have been thought impossible. In this region common schools are indeed few and far between, and whatever may have been learnt at school is very likely to be lost in after-life, for want of any accessible literature. Even the newspaper finds its way very seldom indeed into the homesteads of that region. In a map of the comparative illiteracy of the United States, in its different portions, published in the last Census Report, and reproduced in the 'Education Commissioners' Report' for 1872, the illiteracy of West Virginia generally—not a Slave State, it must be remembered—is marked in the third grade of darkness, and set down as averaging at least 21·39 per cent. of the whole population; while the black tract of ignorance, which lies in the deep interior of this district, the intermediate border-ground between the western part of Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, has a field of darkness all to itself, its minimum average of illiteracy being rated at 40·59 per cent. Nor is it necessary to go so far away into the depths of the Continent in order to find seclusion as deep as in East Tennessee. There are districts in the State of New York which are completely shut out from the life-current of the world, and which often do not hear of the most great and startling events until months after they have taken place. Instances of this are stated, on undeniable authority, in New York, which would be pronounced incredible if repeated in this country. It is largely, no doubt, to this condition of things that the illiteracy of the United States is owing.

Few of the States, indeed, appear to have made any efforts in the matter. The individual States, for the most part, have no natural

tural centre or unity; and Congress, though it is a national ssembly, has no power of direct interference or control, or it has, does not exercise it, over the individual States re-ectively, in regard to this matter of public education. The ate requires, at least most of the States require, that a school-ouse be provided; and some require, further, that school hall be kept not less than so many months. But there, for the ost part, the matter ends, except so far as good advice from he State Secretary and the State Board may go. In 1869, he State Report on the Common Schools of Vermont, thus escribes the manner in which the system works in that long-ettled and reputable New England State.

'Here (in Vermont State) are over 2000 little educational republics, practically independent of each other and all the world, a large number of them being remote from intellectual centres, and wedded to practices which were necessitated by sparseness and poverty in early times. They (the school districts) have been able to say to all projected improvements, "Keep off! we manage our schools in our own way; and, if it is a poor way, it is a cheap one, and we mean to perpetuate it."'—*Report*, 1869, pp. 5, 6.

The entire absence of central authority appears in every part of the Commissioner's Reports. Matters, indeed, are mending; the statistical returns and the information obtained are much more complete than they were at first. But still, although the Bureau was established in 1868, the Commissioner, in 1872, had to report that seven States, headed by Kentucky, made no return of the number of scholars in the State, and that sixteen did not give the 'enrolment,' during the year, nor the average attendance.*

In many of the Southern States, as might be expected, notwithstanding that ten years have elapsed since the war, the school-organisation remains in something like a chaotic condition. As we advance northwards, however, we find enlightened energy and high moral influence struggling hard on behalf of education against all difficulties. In the great State of Missouri, with St. Louis for its capital, the intelligent and vigorous State Superintendent seems to have a hard fight. There is a great and, it would seem, a growing dislike to the school-tax and to the principle of 'free schools;' moreover, it is admitted that the school-funds have, in the past, been very discreditably wasted. Besides which, the claim of the coloured children to attend the common schools creates grave difficulty. 'One at present insuperable difficulty attends all

* No statistical summary as to these points is given in the Report for 1873.

attempts to develop the coloured children of the State. About half of them are so widely scattered that it is impossible to collect them in sufficient number to warrant the expense of a school,' *i.e.* of separate coloured schools, to meet their case, the rule being, where the population is sufficient, to provide schools for both classes, but in any case to provide an adequate number of schools to meet the wants of the white population. 'The coloured people themselves are forcing a question upon us which, sooner or later, must be faced; that is, whether the two or three dark faces in any sub-district may slip into some corner of the white school.'

A sentence occurs in the course of the State Report, from which the foregoing quotations have been made, illustrating one of the points already spoken of in this paper. 'With all the heavy weight of tax under which our people groan, the average yearly term of school is but four and a-half months, just what it was sixteen years ago.'

If we turn from Missouri to the neighbouring State of Illinois, in which is included the wonderful city of Chicago, in some sort the rival of St. Louis, although much its junior, we find a great and wealthy free State, with comparatively little dead-weight of coloured population, the leading State of the mighty West. Here, again, there appears to be much dissatisfaction, though for a different class of reasons, with the existing system, and considerable opposition to be overcome. The State Superintendent of Education for Illinois thus sums up the current 'complaints against public schools':—

'It is considered,' he says, 'an undeniable fact that the confidence of the people in the public school system is in danger of being disturbed. Questionings and murmurs of discontent, direct opposition, or appeals for reconstruction, are coming from every quarter of the Union; and these not alone from theorists, abstractionists, misers, and chronic fault-finders, but from men who are actuated by none but the worthiest motives, and who have no personal or selfish ends to subserve. Among the points which a comparison of statements shows to be held in common are the following:—(1.) That the course of study in the common ungraded schools of the country needs revision, both as to the branches of study embraced therein, and as to the relative amount of time devoted to each one. (2.) That many of these schools are not doing their elementary work well; that the pupils rarely become good and sure spellers, or easy and fluent readers, and are deficient in penmanship, and especially in a knowledge of the primary rules pertaining to punctuation, the use of capitals, and the common proprieties of letter-writing and English composition. (3.) That the teaching is too bookish, narrow, and technical, being largely defective in method, dull in manner, and therefore devoid of inspiration, attractiveness, and

t. (4.) That there is too much isolation in schools and ork; too little sympathy between the world within and the ithout the school-house; too little apprehension of the fact ools are places of apprenticeship, wherein to learn the use of cessary tools and implements wherewith to fight the battle id duty in the world. (5.) Finally, that the attention paid anners and morals of the pupils is unsatisfactory.'

superintendent himself brings a very heavy charge the existing methods of instruction.

i eight to ten years,' he says, 'are devoted to spelling and in school. About one-tenth of the extreme allotted span of ife to learn to read, pronounce and spell a few hundred words of lish tongue in which he was born! Does it not seem absurd? nfidently affirmed that, with proper instruction, every child health and fair natural abilities can, and should, in four less, of six school months each, acquire such a practical know- reading and spelling in his native English, that he may there- aside and dispense with both of those studies, so far as formal etting and recitation therein is concerned, and devote his other things.'

r other passages in this Report show how deficient in knowledge and skill must be the ordinary teachers in it State of Illinois. Indeed, the writer comes to the con- 'that not more than one in three of the teachers is fit for e he occupies.' He complains also that less than one- the total number of scholars enrolled during the year n an average, in daily attendance during the school which for the State of Illinois average nearly seven . It must be remembered that the common schools of are included here, which probably average about ten , as well as of Springfield and other large cities.

ttempt had been made during the year to pass a State sory law for Illinois, but had not been successful. This of law was yet more modest than which passed the New State Legislature. The legal minimum of school in- n which it would have fixed would have been *twelve* if,' as the Bill guardedly added, 'the school should con- long;' and of this twelve weeks' minimum 'at least six were to be 'consecutive'!

udying the annual statistics of American schools it is ry to bear always in mind what has already been stated rd to winter and summer schools. The teacher is en- by the term, and the male teachers very seldom teach han one or two terms. There is, moreover, only one , as a rule, to the school. In the cities, however, of

course

course professional teachers are generally employed, and the engagements are of a much more permanent character. In the city schools, also, the rule is a teacher to a class, and not a teacher to a school.

Female teachers are most extensively employed in New England and in New York City, but they are also employed in large proportion in the Mid-Western and North-Western States. In the South, male teachers are generally found; and as we go towards the South the number of female teachers becomes smaller. In Connecticut—a model New England State—there are 1630 common schools, taught by 699 male and 2194 female teachers, and open during the year on an average 8 months 12½ days. In Rhode Island, where the schools are steadier in their work than in any other State, and where a law of compulsion has of late been enforced with some strictness, there are 727 schools, which are kept open 34 weeks 2 days, and are taught by 177 male and 579 female teachers. These two States are largely manufacturing. If we turn from them to Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, farming States, we find a marked difference. In Maine there are 4171 schools, kept open 106½ days (actual working-days), being about 21 weeks, it may be supposed, and taught by 1800 male and 4200 female teachers. In New Hampshire the return is, 2452 schools, open 4 months 4½ days, and taught by 585 male and 3241 female teachers. In Vermont there are returned 2503 schools, open 6 months, and taught by 671 male and 3544 female teachers. The return for New York State gives 11,350 schools, open on an average 35 weeks 1 day (City and State together), and taught by 6481 male and 21,773 female teachers.

Illinois, including Chicago with a population of 300,000 souls, shows 11,231 schools, open 6 months 27 days, taught by 9904 male and 11,830 female teachers. Indiana shows 9100 schools, open 5 months 16 days, taught by 7430 male and 4816 female teachers. Ohio, including Cincinnati with 250,000 inhabitants, and other smaller but thriving cities, shows 14,201 schools, open 152 days, taught by 9718 male and 12,343 female teachers. Missouri has 29,398 schools, which are open on an average 4½ months, but furnishes no return as to its teachers. The great majority of schools in this State are only winter schools, and are open four months. In St. Louis, of course, with its immense population, there is a powerful and well-worked organisation of common schools, duly graded, and open through the year, in three terms. The schools in St. Louis and some other cities bring the general average of school duration for the State up to 4½ months in the year. The schools still further South are open, on an

average,

rage, for a yet shorter time than in Missouri. Florida reports nonths 15 days.

West Virginia, the educational condition of which has already en particularly noted, returns a singularly short average of ool duration, for a State so far towards the North and East, which must be explained by reference to its special situation l circumstances, as already described: its schools are open nonths 25 days. It is evident that, except at Wheeling, its ital city, and a place or two besides, it can only have winter ools. The neighbouring State of Virginia (slave-ground and ngly pro-slavery though it was) returns six months; but many mmer schools must be included in this return; and it will be lerstood that the country is for the most part much less diffi- t and better settled than in West Virginia.

Returning to the Far-North and Mid-West, we find Wisconsin orting 5031 schools, open 7 months, and taught by 2885 male l 6283 female teachers. In that energetic State it is evident t there are many summer schools. It is probable that the ge influx of recent German immigrants into that State has ught with it a rooted regard for education. In Michigan, ng somewhat nearer to New England, we find a similar con- ion of things, but apparently rather more strongly marked. ere are returned 5365 schools, open 7½ months, and taught 3052 male and 8610 female teachers. The instincts and its of New England are largely reproduced in these two tes, which have derived both ideas and population pre- minantly from the elder Eastern States. It is a proverb in States that the 'best blood of the East has gone West.'

Where population is so sparse as in the country districts of United States—and throughout almost the whole territory it st be remembered that populous towns are very rare indeed— schools must often be very small. This is the case, not only in recently-settled States, but also in most of the older States. r example, in the Vermont State 'Report on Education for 69,' it is stated that about '1600 of the 2824 schools have an rage attendance of less than 15 pupils; 800 of these 1600 ve less than 10; and not a small number have less than 5 in rage attendance.' No wonder that such schools are left in rge of women, and that professional teachers are compara- ely so few.

The social and educational circumstances of the United tes being such as we have seen them to be, it will be anti- ated that school attendance must be very far indeed from at can be regarded as satisfactory. Not only are the schools, aking generally, open during a much shorter period than would

would ever be thought of in this country, but even during th[illegible] period they are held the attendance is very scanty. If it b[illegible] good for one term, very often there is no attendance at all durin[illegible] the rest of the year. If the cities must be excepted from th[illegible] statement, we shall presently see that, as respects some of th[illegible] largest of them, the attendance notwithstanding is very de[illegible] fective indeed. Some statistics gathered from the same Repo[illegible] of the Commissioner (1872), which has already been so ofte[illegible] laid under contribution, will illustrate the statements whic[illegible] have now been made.

In the State of New York, the population which is regarde[illegible] as of school age is returned as 1,502,684, the 'number enrolled[illegible]' as 1,028,110, the 'average attendance' as 493,648, the 'averag[illegible] absence' as 534,462. In Massachusetts the returns are a[illegible] follows:—School population, 282,485; enrolled, 276,602; ave[illegible] rage attendance, 205,252; average absence, 71,350. In Pen[illegible] sylvania the returns are:—School population, 975,753; enrolle[illegible], 834,313; average attendance, 536,221; average absence, 298,09[illegible]. In Illinois:—School population, 882,693; enrolled, 662,04[illegible]; average attendance, 329,799; average absence, 332,250. I[illegible] Indiana:—School population, 631,549; enrolled, 459,451[illegible]; average attendance, 286,301; average absence, 173,150. I[illegible] Connecticut (one of the best educated States in the Union):—School population, 128,468; enrolled, 113,588; average attend[illegible] ance, 79,511; average absence, 34,077. In Ohio:—Scho[illegible] population, 1,073,274; enrolled, 1,028,110; average attendanc[illegible] 493,648; average absence, 534,462.

These specimens may suffice. The States selected in th[illegible] statement are not backward States, such as Arkansas [illegible] Alabama; not such as Tennessee, where the 'State system' [illegible] said to be altogether in abeyance; or Delaware, where th[illegible] Report laments that 'there is no State supervision, nor as yet an[illegible] legal provision for the education of coloured people;' or th[illegible] other States, not a few, where educational matters are in a chaot[illegible] condition. These statistics show that, even during the bri[illegible] school year, which, except in cities, varies from three or fo[illegible] months to six or seven, the attendance is very unsatisfactory. [illegible] must be remembered, too, that this is the return for the scho[illegible] population of all classes.

Let us particularly examine the case of New York, as show[illegible] by the statistics of attendance, given in the Report for 1873 of the Board of Instruction for the City and County. We learn that the total number of scholars taught, during the year 1872, in the Primary Schools, the Primary Departments (of graded systems of schools), and the Grammar Departments, was 187,198; while

the

average attendance for the year was 88,407. Let us now
pare this with our experience in London. In a fair inspected
ol (we do not mean a superior school) in London, where
children have been present at all and on the rolls during
year, 200 may be taken as the average number on the
s, and 140 as the average number in daily attendance. In a
erior school, where 300 have been present at all during the
, the average number on the rolls might be set down as 210,
the average daily attendance at 160. The proportion, that
say, of average daily attendance in a good London inspected
ominational school to the number of children present at all
on the rolls during the year, ranges from 47 to 53 per cent. In
York city, where Mr. Morley's ideal system is found in its
est perfection, the proportion of average attendance to the
regate number on the rolls during the year is 88,407 : 187,198 ;
is to say, not quite 42 per cent.; and yet the New York
ols are for all classes, and include not only 'primary' but
mmar departments.'

nother point needful to be recognised in any review of the
cational condition of the States, is the age at which the
dren leave school. It is commonly supposed by English
ple that in that country it is the rule for the children
ass upward, from grade to grade, through a magnificent
es of schools, till after six or seven, or even eight or
, years of schooling, they come forth admirably educated
life. Nothing, however, can be farther from the truth.

et us turn again, for example, to the case of New York, where
common educational provision of all grades is so complete
so magnificent, and study the statistics given in the Report
he Board of Public Instruction for 1873, to which reference
already been made. We leave out of account coloured
ols, evening schools, normal schools, and corporate or charity
ols, and find the following to be the proportion of attend-
e at the primary and the grammar schools respectively, the
mmar schools being schools which are no way like our
mmar schools, but beginning at about the same grade of
ruction as the third standard in our public elementary
ols, carry the scholars upwards till, in the highest classes,
y may have obtained a good general school education. In
primary schools and primary departments, the whole number
olled and taught at any time during the year is returned as
,651, and the average attendance as 53,344 ; while in the
le and female grammar schools the whole number is returned
59,714, and the average attendance as 30,477. This would
w, if other things were equal, about twice as many attending
the

the primary as the grammar departments. But other things are not equal. The primary schools include only six grades, and involve a minimum attendance of three years; whereas the grammar schools include eight grades, and imply a minimum attendance of four years. And yet the aggregate number attending all the grammar departments is only half the number attending the primary departments.

If we pass from New York to Cincinnati, we find statistics which tell their tale more clearly and precisely than those of New York; illustrating more fully the truth that school education in the States, as in this country, is brought to an end, so far as a very large proportion of the population is concerned, at an early age—the age of transition from the primary to the 'grammar' schools, as the nomenclature goes in New York, from the primary to the 'intermediate' schools, to use the phraseology which obtains in Ohio.

In the Annual Report and Handbook for the Common Schools of Cincinnati, for 1870–71, we have a table showing the average number attending the three grades of schools, viz., district, intermediate, and high schools; and also those who have graduated, that is, successfully completed the final course in the high schools during eighteen years, that is, from 1853 to 1870 inclusive. The totals are:—District (primary), 219,122; intermediate, 15,359; high schools, 6608; graduates, 673. It is evident from these statistics that in the famous and well-organised inland city of Cincinnati, one of the most beautiful and enlightened of American cities, the great bulk of the population have never had any schooling but what was obtained in primary schools. But another table brings this point yet more distinctly into evidence. 'How rapidly pupils are withdrawn,' says the Report, 'is shown by the following table, which exhibits the number entered in three higher grades of the district (the primary) schools, A, B, and C (12, 11, and 10 years of age, respectively), and the two intermediate grades, A and B (14 and 13 years, respectively).' The table shows that, whereas the number of pupils who, during 11 years (1859–1870), had been enrolled at one time or other in the lowest (or C) grade of the district schools was 26,621, the average age being about 10, the number transferred to the B grade (age 11), fell to 20,975; and the number transferred to the A grade (age 12) to 14,144; while only 7873 passed forward to the B grade of the intermediate schools (age 13); and only 3498 to the A grade (age 14). This may be taken as a good average for the larger cities of the States. Boston, indeed, shows more favourably; but then Boston is the Edinburgh of the States, without the Irish and Gaelic

c squalor of the low old town, with its Cowgate, Canon- and the rest. In Boston we find the remarkable fact that tal number of children in the primary schools is less than mber of those in the grammar schools, although the course ch school is a three years' course, and although many of who have been scholars in the primary schools never pass he grammar schools. The explanation, no doubt, is that of the citizens of Boston prefer to have their young en taught at home, or to send them to private schools, than to send them to the common primary schools. n is a refined city, and parents in Boston have often, and ally, the same objection to their young children attending iscuous public schools that is felt among parents of a similar and character in England. These same children, however, ry often sent to the grammar schools, the children attending are already disciplined, and from which already the en of the lowest classes have been almost entirely elimi- . The average number of scholars in the Boston primary ls for 1872 was 15,232, in the grammar schools, 19,605, the high schools, 1723. Of the children in the primary ls, 20 per cent. were in the lowest (and youngest) class—the class—15 per cent. in the fifth, 16 per cent. in the fourth some children must have come in from without), 15 per in the third class, 18 per cent. in the second class (here a number of scholars must have entered the schools from ut, having previously been under private instruction, or in e schools), 16 per cent. in the first class. Of the scholars grammar schools, 26 per cent. are in the lowest class (age 10 or 11), and afterwards the numbers in the different s gradually run down, the proportions being 23 per cent., , 12, and 7, respectively. From which it is evident that in Boston many children leave school at 12, and many at 13. There can be no doubt, however, that Boston is uperior in this respect to any other American city.*

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regard to the school attendance in the United States, as well as to many atters connected with education, it would seem as if the theory of Ame- lucational *doctrinaires* had misled the world as to the facts of the case. ory is, that children should not enter school before the age of six, or till, seven, and that they should continue at school to the age of at least and in some cases (as the letter of the law in various States presumes and) to the age of eighteen or twenty-one. Infant schools do not enter into ory of American school organisation. But the fact, unfortunately, is— is in part the result of the theory—that many of the children are neither arly nor late, that they enter the school quite ignorant at eight or nine, re with a sadly inadequate modicum of education at twelve or thirteen. eless, the notion of an extended school-age still prevails in many parts, and

It will be gathered from what has now been seen respecting Boston, that private schools are still in use in the States, especially for the children of the more refined and highly educated classes. This is the case, to some extent, in large cities in all parts of the States; and such schools are naturally found in the largest proportion where the cities are largest, and where the organisation of society is the oldest and the highest. They abound in such cities as Boston, Philadelphia, and New York. Not seldom, again, high denominational schools attract scholars from the best families. The Methodist Episcopal Church, being the largest church in the States, has many such schools, or, as they are commonly called, colleges. The Protestant Episcopalians, also, in proportion to their numbers, have many such. The Presbyterians, the Baptists, and the Congregationalists, have their share. Female colleges especially are often denominational. It need hardly be said that among the Roman Catholics denominational schools and colleges of every grade are very numerous. Indeed, the Catholic primary school organisation pervades almost every part of the Union—every part where Roman Catholics are found in any numbers. The Roman Catholics are strongly supported by many of the Episcopalians in demanding that a denominational system of rate-aided schools should be established throughout the Union, as a lawful alternative where the common school does not meet the demands of all classes. In some places denominational primary schools, which are nearly always Roman Catholic, constitute a powerful opposition to the common-school organisation. The Methodists, the Baptists, the Presbyterians, and the Congregationalists, generally combine to support the common-school system, although this is not always true of the Presbyterians. Although, however, the Methodists and Presbyterians support the common-school system, they are exceedingly energetic and liberal in providing secondary and collegiate education, organised on a denominational basis. Not only Methodist 'Colleges,' Male and Female, but Methodist 'Universities,' are springing up in all directions. Ordinarily, indeed, the State College or University, however liberally conducted, is set within a denominational framework, and is regulated by a faculty, for the most part, of one denominational colour, and connected with a particular church. This

and especially in New England. The result, in some cases, is shown in the following passage from the Report of a School Superintendent in Vermont:—'Boys from ten to eighteen years of age often spend their evenings at the store, grocery, post-office, or surprise-party, when they should be busy preparing their lessons for the next day' ('Vermont State Report, 1869,' Appendix, p. 39). Surely high theory has lost itself here. Such boys of eighteen ought years before to have done with school, and to have been at business.

is

e case with Yale College, Connecticut, at the head of which e able and accomplished Dr. Porter, and which is Congre- nalist; with Princeton, New Jersey, which has Dr. McCosh s head, and is Presbyterian; with Dickinson College, of sylvania, with the Methodist, Dr. McCauley, at its head, with Methodist staff and connections; with the North- tern University, Evanstown, Illinois, with Dr. Fowler at its , which is fully Methodist. These are State Universities; all are imbued with a denominational character. In this ect they appear to resemble our own national Universities.

New York City what are called the corporate schools, and, these, the 'denominational schools,' do no inconsiderable e of the work of primary education. The Report of the d of Public Instruction for 1872 shows that the percentage *ncrease* in the average attendance at the common schools has lily diminished since 1862, having been 61 per cent. increase he period 1857 to 1862, 21 per cent. increase from 1862 to ' (inclusive), and no more than 9 per cent. from 1867 to 1872; eas during the same intervals the average attendance at corporate schools had increased successively 34 per cent., er cent., and 36 per cent. The average number now taught ie corporate schools is 23,418—these schools being founda- schools, chiefly in the nature of charities, which provide in the way of food and clothing for children who are, or lleged to be, in very needy circumstances. But, apart from corporate schools, the Report informs us that the increase of dance in the denominational or parochial schools—these ols in New York being chiefly Roman Catholic, Dutch rmed, and Episcopalian, the first class being much the most erous —has during the same period been much greater; that the increase in the corporate and parochial or denomi- nal schools, taken together, accounts for the comparatively ll attendance at the public schools.

fact, from such causes as have now been intimated, the inion of the common-school system in the States, as it has erto existed, appears to be almost everywhere more or less atened. The Roman Catholics insist that the existing ols are virtually Protestant schools, and demand that their dren should be taught in Catholic public schools. It be- es increasingly evident that things cannot remain as they are. ier the common schools must become purely and professedly lar, or else special provision must be made for the Catholics. o country, indeed, as yet has it been found possible to main- permanently a system of unsectarianly Christian common ols, against the pleas and persistence of the Roman Catho- lics.

lics. In Holland their zeal and pertinacity in insisting on their claims led, eighteen years ago, to the conversion of the former unsectarian system of Protestant common schools into a secular system. That experiment remains, at present, at best a doubtful success. In Canada the price paid for the maintenance of common schools on an unsectarian Christian basis for the rest of the population, is separate and special provision for the Roman Catholics. In Germany, in France, and in Ireland —alike—the experiment of combined literary and moral, and separate religious instruction has been thoroughly tried, and in all it has proved alike a failure. No combination, no fusion, could be effected; and in each case the combined system has worked into thorough-going denominationalism, whether so called or not. In America it would seem that similar results must follow, at least in many parts of the Union. The matter will, of course, be settled by each State for itself; in the end it will probably be decided in each city, or county, or school-district, according to the circumstances and feelings of each locality. But it is impossible to mingle anywhere with real educationists in the States without learning that they justly feel the pressure of the question, and are, in growing numbers, becoming convinced that in many parts of the country the problem must be solved in one of the two ways that have been indicated. Roman Catholics, of course, are in favour of a denominational solution, and if adequate guards against abuse could be taken, very many Protestant Episcopalians, many Presbyterians, and some Methodists, would go on the same side. On the other hand, an influential and increasing party among the Methodists, some Presbyterians, some 'liberal' Episcopalians, and probably the Congregationalists and Unitarians generally favour the secular solution. The great body, however, as yet of the Methodists, and also, probably, of the Presbyterians, still cleave fast to the principles of the 'common school,' as generally organised a generation since; and maintain that it ought to be an unsectarian Bible school, organised on the basis of regular Bible reading, and pervaded by Christian principles of moral teaching and influence.

Already, indeed, the case of the Roman Catholics is met by special concessions in some places. In New Jersey, where in some parts there are dense masses of Roman Catholics, it is not by any means an unexampled thing to find what can only be called 'Catholic common schools,' where not only is the teacher a Roman Catholic, but some Roman Catholic emblems are allowed in the school. So also, even in Connecticut, when a liberal Catholic priest hands over his Church school to the Board of Education,

ation, not only is the teacher retained, but other substantial
ssions are made, so as to retain the children and secure the
eration of the priest in keeping up the school. Any tra-
r who will make it his business to enquire, will find the
o be as we have now stated. Doubtless in many other parts
e Union similar arrangements are made in similar circum-
es. At the same time, where the Roman Catholic element
e population is very small, or perhaps does not exist at all,
ld fashioned common school will be maintained.

e have had occasion, as we have proceeded, to correct a
ber of prevalent errors respecting school education in the
ed States ; but perhaps no error is more common than the
we are now about to deal with. It is commonly supposed
the public schools of the States give an education, at any
an English education, much sounder, wider, and everyway
r than is easily to be obtained in England, and very greatly
rior to such education as is to be obtained in our English
ected, or public elementary schools. The American schools
g intended expressly and ostensibly for all classes of the
ens, and not having been organised with any special thought
neglected working-class population—having also been
red and unsparingly sustained and developed by the leading
smen of America, and never having been deliberately de-
ed and reduced by a rigid Vice-Presidential economist, we
ld naturally expect that they would be in every way superior
ie despised and depreciated—and, we must frankly add, the
rfectly developed and uneasily managed—public elementary
ols of this country. Yet the reverse is the case.

he best public schools in the States are confessedly those of
York, Cincinnati and Boston, the three school-systems of
e cities being each sharply and typically distinct. Phila-
hia has never ranked very high in its provision of public
ientary instruction, being an old-fashioned and Conservative
with prejudices of birth and position stronger than in almost
other large town in the States. We propose, accordingly,
ive a brief view of the condition of public education in New
k, Cincinnati, and Boston, dealing with each case re-
tively according to its special conditions and characteristics.
he legal school-age in New York ranges from 6 to 21 ; but
theory here, as elsewhere in the States, is that children
ld enter school late rather than early, and few enter school
oung as six years. This educational theory is natural enough
a middle-class nation which is predominantly agricultural,
ation of freehold farmers, tradesmen, and superior and inde-
lent artisans, and it is one of the points of contrast between
the

the United States and this country. In 165 cities of the States, it is even against the law to admit children younger than six to the public schools.

The New York system of free education embraces four gradations of school or college provision. First, there are the primary schools or departments, in which the ages of the children vary in general from seven to twelve, though sometimes, as we have ourselves learnt on the spot, children of thirteen are found in these primary departments. These schools include six 'grades,' and their course, for a good scholar, should include three years, although for a slow or dull scholar it may extend to four years, or even more. Next come the grammar schools, in which the ages of the scholars range, in general, from ten or eleven to seventeen, and which are organised in eight 'grades,' implying, for a good scholar, a course of four years. These grammar schools prepare, in their highest classes, for the City College or High School, in the case of boys, and for the Normal College in the case of girls; the course in these two colleges being a three years' course, and the range of age extending from sixteen or seventeen to twenty-one. The colleges confer degrees or diplomas, and include a three years' course, one year introductory, and two years properly collegiate, the former being called the freshman and the latter the senior year.

Such being the complete scheme and provision of public education in New York for all classes of its citizens, except, indeed, the very lowest, of which the children are not found in these public schools, we should naturally compare the highest classes of the grammar schools with the all but highest classes, the fourth and fifth forms, of such schools as the City of London School, or the Manchester Grammar School, and the lower classes with the middle and upper classes of the City of London Middle Class, or the Manchester Middle-Class Schools, while we should expect the primary schools to compare favourably with our inspected public elementary schools up to Standards IV. and V.

We should the more confidently expect to find such a parallelism as has now been sketched, when we learnt what is stated in the following passage from the 'Report of the New York Board of Public Instruction for the year 1872.'

'The advanced studies in the first or highest grade of the new course have not as yet been entirely introduced, inasmuch as the necessity of preparing pupils for admission into the College of the City of New York, or into the Normal College, has greatly interfered with the carrying out of this part of the course. It is provided by the bye-laws that the first grade may be so modified as to enable such pupils to pursue only the studies required for admission.'

Nor

or would our high expectations as to the scope and range of tudies pursued in the higher classes of these City Grammar ols be lessened by learning on the testimony of 'Assistant-rintendent Harrison that, in a large number of instances, he scholars of the first or highest grade,' instead of pursuing *first grade* with the necessary modifications, pursuing the *d grade*, and, in a few instances, the *third grade* with *lifications*.'—(p. 195.)

hat, then, are these 'advanced studies of the new course' of grammar schools which so few young New York people of en or seventeen years of age can attempt, even though they be destined for college? They include—we quote from Manual of Discipline and Instruction' for the use of the ers of Primary and Grammar Schools in New York 1873,—'Reading, Spelling, and Etymology, continued,' thmetic, continued, with Mensuration,' 'English Gram- continued, with Composition,' the latter, now for the first , 'to include Impromptu Exercises.' 'Practice,' also, 'is afforded in Letter-writing, with instructions as to folding, ting, &c.' The 'Outlines of Astronomy' are to be 'con-ed.' Algebra is to be carried as far as 'Simple Equations.' outlines of Ancient and Modern General History are to be ht. Bookkeeping, the Constitution of the United States, the iments of Plane Geometry (according to Legendre), and Elementary Facts and Principles of Chemistry, complete outline of the 'advanced studies of' this highest grade of the York Grammar Schools, according to the 'new course.' It be noted that no foreign language is included; indeed, the ments of English grammar and composition have scarcely mastered.

his 'grade' being so decidedly too 'advanced' for most of scholars who have taken their way right up through the lic schools of New York, it is necessary to explain what are 'second' and 'third' grades, the two lower grades, which, e have seen, constitute the real consummation, in practice, ie public school education of New York. The third grade, , to take the lower first, introduces the New York scholar fteen, sixteen, or seventeen years of age, into the heart of mercial arithmetic, takes him, or should take him, through entage, interest, and profit and loss. It introduces, for the time, written composition, 'writing short compositions er the inspection of the teacher.' It extends History from 3 to 1789, for the United States only. It introduces the lar to the simple elements of Natural Philosophy, which are familiarly explained with homely and practical illustrations.

English Grammar, which had been introduced in the grade below, that is, in the fourth grade, is continued. The se grade introduces to Square Root, and its simple applicat and brings in, for the first time, the 'outlines of Phy Geography.' Grammar and Composition are continued. History of the United States is completed. The Eleme Astronomy of the Solar System comes in as a subject; in inspected English elementary schools it is always taug children of the upper Standards (IV. to VI.) in connection Physical Geography. The simple outlines of Natural Philos are carried forward.

Such is the theoretic standard of a complete public educ for the young citizens of New York, remaining at schoc they are sixteen or seventeen years old. Let it be com with our English code for children of thirteen and under— the representative not of educational perfection but rath educational difficulties and obstructions—and especially wit list of specific subjects, now paying subjects, in the append that code (1874), which subjects may be regarded as represe not only the aspirations, but in a fair measure, also, the a achievements and performances of English teachers in sp difficulty and discouragement, and it will be seen how stra backward and inferior is education in New York as com with education in England. We should have expected York Grammar Schools to vie with the civic educational in tions of Manchester and London; as a matter of fact they a outdone by our best inspected elementary schools. We have that the children of New York well-to-do citizens, who ente grammar school or department at the age of ten or eleve not begin to learn grammar in any form till they have rea the fourth grade, that is, have been two years at the sc Let us add that the highest arithmetic aimed at during the year of their grammar school course is the four simple r Enough will then have been said in regard to the public sc of New York to show how very low throughout is the gr instruction given in these schools as compared with that gi age for age, in our English public schools, whether elemen or higher.

The school system of Cincinnati, as we have intimate famous throughout the States. That beautiful city, ind regards itself as decidedly more modern and more enlighte as respects education, than either New York or the far-fa capital of Massachusetts; and indeed Cincinnati, as we s see, is not unwarranted in claiming a high educational posi in the Union.

The district schools in Cincinnati have five grades, each grade representing not half a year, as in New York, but a year. The intermediate schools have three grades. The school-system is crowned by high schools. The average age of the children in the first or highest grade of the district school is twelve, in the second eleven, and in the third ten. The age of children entering the intermediate school is thirteen.

The course of instruction in these schools is very comprehensive. Grammar is introduced very early, in the fifth grade; drawing and music (*i.e.* singing by note) are also taught almost from the beginning, and with great success. Composition is taught from the first along with grammar; and Cincinnati being in large part a German city, German is taught always where it is desired. Object lessons, under that unpretending name, and not under the designation Elementary Science, are taught almost from the first. Geography is introduced in the third grade. The arithmetic for this grade is thus defined: 'They shall read and write numbers as high as 10,000, and the fractions $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{2}{3}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{2}{4}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{4}{4}$, $\frac{1}{5}$, $\frac{2}{5}$, $\frac{3}{5}$, $\frac{4}{5}$, $\frac{5}{5}$. They shall use numbers and figures as high as 5's as follows:—1st. Mental addition and subtraction as high as 100; 2nd. Mental multiplication and division as high as 50; 3rd. Slate exercises in the four fundamental rules to amounts not exceeding 10,000.' Drawing includes practice in vertical, horizontal, and oblique lines, and the construction of elementary geometrical figures. Grammar, besides elementary analysis, includes punctuation, and the distinct knowledge of the different parts of speech. This grade must be compared with our English Standard IV. It is manifestly inferior as to arithmetic, but otherwise compares not unfavourably. The second grade of the district-school extends geography to the great divisions of the globe, and includes some leading elements of physical geography. A special study is made of the principal physical features of North America. In arithmetic it is laid down that the scholars shall use numbers as high as 10's in mental exercises in the four fundamental rules to amounts not exceeding 100, and figures as high as 9's in 'slate exercises to amounts not exceeding 100,000.' Rectilinear drawing is gently carried forward. The grammar course is thus defined: 'They shall be taught to speak and write correctly any sentence they may be required to use. They shall review the work of F grade, adding the semicolon to the punctuation marks for that grade. They shall also be taught to distinguish the subject and predicate of simple sentences; the distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs; the object of verbs and prepositions; the kinds of nouns (common and proper);

personal pronouns; the properties of nouns and personal pronouns (person, gender, number, and case); and the distinction of present, past, and future time, in the use of the verb.'

For the first grade of the district-school the geography course is no otherwise defined than as 'selected portion of the text book.' In arithmetic the scholars are carried on to 'read and write numbers as high as 1,000,000,' and 'to complete long division' and United States money.' The following are the directions as to grammar:—

'They shall review the work of the previous grades, adding the quotation marks, the colon, and the dash, to the punctuation marks previously taught.

'They shall also be taught the comparison of adjectives, the formation and comparison of adverbs, the distinction between regular and irregular verbs, and all the tenses of the indicative mood; active voice. The following prefixes shall be used in this grade: *en*, *er*, *im*, *mis*, *out*, *pro*, *re*, *sub*, and *un*.'

On the whole, comprehensive and excellent as the general scheme of education in those schools is, we think it will not be allowed by any who know what a good English elementary school is and does, who know what Standards IV. V. and VI. mean in such schools, that these Cincinnati district schools in their three upper grades—as just described—are superior to our good English schools for corresponding ages. That a few years ago the Cincinnati theory in general was found far too high for practice we know from the fact that within the last two or three years it has been greatly reduced at various points, notably as regards geography and arithmetic, as may be seen by a comparison of the Annual Report and Handbook for 1870-1 with that for 1873-4. It is not impossible that even yet it may be found too high at points; at all events it presents a theory, an ideal standard, not a legal minimum examination standard. The arithmetic course and gradation, however, is as low as some other parts of the scheme—the composition grades in particular—appear to be high.

The Cincinnati intermediate schools have now a three years' course; till within two or three years it was only two years. Scholars are there prepared, if they desire it, for entrance at the High School. As yet Cincinnati has no University.

From Cincinnati we turn to Boston. Cincinnati dispenses very much with lesson-books and with rote-lessons, especially as respects grammar, and charges Boston with clinging to obsolete and ineffective methods, and, in particular, with relying too much on text-books as used by the teacher and learned by the scholar, instead of oral instruction. We must say that the long lists of school-books

school-books in the Boston School Committee's manual of rules and regulations for the public schools of the city, including such items as Worcester's spelling-book, seem strongly to favour this view. Nevertheless, there is a more general sense of the value of a thoroughly 'liberal,' and not a merely modern or utilitarian, education in Boston than elsewhere in the States. The scheme of public schools includes primary schools, which are of a nature between infant and juvenile schools, and which are arranged for a three years' course; grammar schools, the course in which is also three years; and for those who have passed through the grammar schools, a two-fold higher provision, either the Public Latin or the English High School. No scholar can be admitted to the Latin School who is not at least twelve years old. There is also an excellent Girls' High or Normal School, a very interesting and effective institution, though perhaps too largely scientific and mathematical in its cast of studies.

We have seen that scholars who proceed from the Grammar School to the Latin School are obliged by law to be 'at least twelve years old.' This being so, we may fairly compare the first or highest grade of the Grammar School with the English Standard VI., the third grade with Standard V., and the fifth grade with Standard IV., the removes being half-yearly in the Boston Schools. It will not be forgotten that Boston is the Edinburgh of the States, and that the public schools are for all classes of the young citizens of that city of intelligence and culture.

Ascending from below, we find that the Arithmetic of the fifth grade or class (Boston speaks of classes instead of grades) includes vulgar and decimal fractions; that Geography includes 'Reading Warren's "Primary Geography," with conversational illustrations,' drawing outline maps from memory of each of the New England States, and physical lessons from the globe; that Grammar extends to 'distinguishing the parts of speech, and sentence-making.' Letter-writing on paper is taught fortnightly as composition, with occasional abstracts of geography lessons. In Boston, as in Cincinnati, Singing, and Elementary Linear Drawing are taught. In the third class the Arithmetic includes 'percentage and its applications;' Geography includes 'the United States, with the physical features and productions of the different sections, the thirty largest cities, with all their special features and circumstances,' and also map-drawing from memory of each State; Grammar includes 'parsing, correction of errors, and sentence-making;' History is entered upon—the History of the United States. Essays on subjects of oral instruction and business-letters and papers serve as exercises in composition.

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In the first class the Arithmetic includes only cube root as new, but requires a review of what has been done before, including proportion and square root, and a thorough discussion of principles; Geography is confined to a 'few lessons of review of the Continents and the United States,' with map-drawing; History includes the 'History of England,' the United States having been done in the two previous years. The oral instruction prescribed for this class recognises, for the first time, some slight elements of science, under the heads of 'air, water, respiration,' and also gives as subjects 'Municipal and State governments, courts of justice, historical sketches of Pericles, Chatham, Jefferson, Samuel Adams, and Lincoln.' Such is the course of the highest class in the Boston Grammar School, which prepares immediately for the Public Latin or the English High School. The municipal provision for education in Boston is supposed to be restricted to the extreme limit of fifteen, and there is no city college. As a matter of fact, however, one-tenth of all the scholars in the public schools are over fifteen years of age. The Normal School for training female teachers, of course, contemplates a much higher range of age, and is exceptional in its character. From the first class of the Latin School youths who wish to continue their studies have been accustomed to pass on, usually after some private special preparation, to Harvard University, an old Congregational foundation under Unitarian influences, or perhaps to Yale College, Connecticut. Within the last few years, however, the Methodists have established Boston University in the city itself.

The education in New York may perhaps be described generally as being more commercial than at Boston or Cincinnati; at Cincinnati as more scientific and modern than in the other cities; at Boston as being more English and more thorough than elsewhere. The unit of educational government and self-development in New York is the county—as it is throughout the State—the county of New York, however, being one with the city; in Cincinnati, as belonging to Ohio, the like is the case. In Massachusetts there is no county educational organisation; the municipality in cities, the town or township, or, in country parts, the school-district is the unit. Boston, as a municipality, is itself a unit; but the city being divided into school-districts, for each of which a district school committee is appointed, some inconvenient measure of district independence and diversity is said to be in some cases the result. Throughout the country-parts of New England generally school-districts act, for the most part, as independent, and often as unenlightened, educational republics.

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One conclusion comes out very distinctly from our review of the range and gradations of public school instruction in these three great cities, which, beyond question, stand at the head of all the cities in the States so far as regards school provision and educational organisation and development. The range of education in the States, age for age, is decidedly lower in the graded public schools than in good English schools. If our English public elementary schools were and had been for many years attended by the great mass of the children of our middle classes, with a sprinkling, besides, of those of the higher professional classes, there can be no doubt that their educational results would be far superior to such as we have passed under review in the three American cities. Any one familiar with first-class English private schools for middle-class children, must know how poor and backward, in comparison, are the results shown by the Boston, or Cincinnati, or New York public schools. And, if we turn to such public schools as the Bedford Schools, the Manchester Grammar School, the City of London School, any thought of comparison is simply ridiculous. What would American schools, on their own statement of studies and results, say to the Oxford and Cambridge examinations? We know, indeed, the worthlessness of many English middle-class boarding-schools, and of the wretched private schools which so thickly stud the less conspicuous streets, often the low by-streets, of our towns. In comparison of these, doubtless, the American public schools in the large cities have been enlightened and meritorious institutions. But no private school in an English town could well be worse than many of the country schools, the district-schools, in the United States. 'A majority of teachers,' wrote the Education Secretary for the State of Vermont, only six years ago, 'are unqualified for teaching school. Many teachers can hardly write their names so as to be read, and yet we employ them in our common schools.' In the Report for the same State for 1869, there occurs the following passage, which is so pertinent to our present discussion, sums up so admirably what should at this point be said, and possesses such decisive authority as coming from the pen of a very competent American official, that we cannot but quote it:—

'We claim,' says the Report (pp. 5, 6), 'as a people, to take great interest in popular education, and in some sort we do. A man by dint of rare native gifts and great industry and perseverance, with only the advantages of a common school education, rises to a leading position among men. We shout at once, "See what the common school can do!" But this is no fair test of the efficiency of the common school. These men learned little more than to read poorly, and to

to write worse, at the common school. The true test is, What are our schools doing for the masses? Who does not know that a good reader among those who have attended our common schools is a rare exception? Who does not know that a great number of the children of Vermont have left its schools without the capacity to write a letter legibly and intelligibly? We speak of the rural districts, where the great masses of the children attend school, and where twenty-eight out of every thirty children in the United States are to be found.'

It is true that this is not the picture of American education which has been given by many English travellers in America; but it is the only one compatible with all the facts of the case, as indubitably ascertained. It is the picture painted by the light of truth falling on the facts of American life and organisation; it is the picture painted by real authorities in the country itself. It may be added that nothing is more common than for a cursory visitor to judge a school by its buildings and furniture—of which latter he may be no judge whatever—by its singing, led by a piano, and by its military precision of drill. In these matters New York especially makes a brave show.

Within the last three years free schools appear to have become the law in all parts of the Union. This has arisen naturally enough from the special circumstances of the country. Whether it is a beneficial arrangement is another question. That a good and fit 'humane' and civil education should be costly to obtain can never be a good thing; hence educational endowments, wisely husbanded and administered, ought to be a chief blessing to a country; and hence, in particular, public provision to meet in part the case of those to whom an adequate education for their children is too costly a demand on their means is wise and just. Such provision is most conveniently and equitably made out of public endowments, if such exist. But, on the other hand, a parent is as much bound to provide education for his children, according to his ability, as to provide bread; and any arrangement, which relieves the parents of a nation altogether of this personal responsibility, tends to demoralise the family institute, and introduces a strong taint of communism into the national economy.

It cannot be denied that the American free-school system has very naturally grown up as the result of circumstances. The common school was and is the necessity of young settlements or sparsely populated districts, and was as natural a provision in America as the parochial school in England or Scotland. The common lands—the land as yet unappropriated—of the State, or of the Union at large, constituted a natural endowment

›wment out of which to meet more or less the charge of common school. But the school should not have been ›lutely free. In our own country endowed free schools have ›rally done more harm than good; they have been nests ndolence and abuse. So has it also been in the States. requires a good deal of nerve,' as the Vermont secretary es, 'for a man to deny the daughter of his friend a certi- e (as teacher), especially if the parent should chance to be ›mber of his parish, or on the list of his patients, or to be ›ng at his store.'* In a free school there is no direct or ous reward for efficiency, no personal loss to the teachers ase of inefficiency. Nor does the parent feel that, if his l fails to go to school when he ought, or receives no tive instruction at school, he is losing his money's worth.

many cases, indeed, till within the last few years, the com- schools were not always or absolutely free. The money ›ed from the public funds was applied as far as it would go, then, when it was exhausted, the balance due was paid by ›s of 'rate-bills' levied on the parents. This arrange- ›, however, worked so irregularly and so unfairly, that it was source of perpetual discontent. Often the difficulty was, is still, avoided by keeping the school open for just so y months or weeks as the funds last, and then closing for ›ear. The Commissioner's Report still contains lamenta- ›, year after year, that this practice is by no means brought ›n end. Here, indeed, we see the reason of the wofully : school-term in some parts of the country. The outcome ›e whole matter is, that 'rate-bills' are now universally ›shed, and that the schools, be they open for a longer or a ›er term, are free schools. In New York the requisite funds lerived from (1) a State school-tax of one and a-quarter ons on the taxable value of real and personal property; (2)

I hope,' says Mr. John B. Thompson, Superintendent for Fagston Town- Vermont, 'the day will soon dawn when only those who are *well qualified* ›ach, and those who are afraid of manual labour must meet the foe, or seek › elsewhere than in the teacher's desk' ('State Report, 1869,' Appendix,

› relates, it must be remembered, to old-settled and highly-civilised Ver- which has been called the 'Arcadia of the States.' Mr. C. M. Bliss, intendent of Public Schools for Woodford, in the same State, thus states perience:—'I have lived in this town over fourteen years, and during that have seen no improvement in the schools. We employ teachers of a low I have given certificates' (as teachers) 'to girls who did not know so of arithmetic as a boy ten years old ought to'—in America this is very ›ndeed, as we have seen—'and who had about as much knowledge of the ›phy of their country as an Esquimaux Indian. As to grammar, they › knew what the word meant. But the question was—these or none' ›ort,' 1869, Appendix, p. 8).

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an equal amount from the city and county; (3) one-twentieth of one per cent. on the taxable property of the city and county of New York; (4) the balance derived from the municipal taxes and revenue of the city of New York, but not to exceed $10 per capita on the whole number of children taught. The total cost last year was not less than $2,800,000, the entire average number of children taught being not quite 108,000; that is to say, the cost per head for each scholar was $26.

There is nothing, assuredly, in the results of American free-school education to encourage us in this country to adopt so costly an experiment. Neither as to efficiency, nor attendance, does it promise for us any improvement; and as respects compulsion, we have seen how absolutely mythical is the idea that the United States have mastered, or even attempted to grapple with, that problem. Boston may have its truant-officers; New York City a compulsory law, which from the first has been absolutely a dead letter; Rhode Island and Connecticut may be in the infancy of an attempt to carry out a degree and extent of compulsion, which would be futile and ridiculous in this country; New York State may have lately passed the remarkable law to which we have directed attention; but over the great breadth of the States no attempt whatever has been made, even on paper, and no practical attempt has been made in any great city, except Boston; and even there waifs and strays still defy the law and the truant-officers.

Meantime we cannot fail to connect the principle of free education with that weakening of parental influence, and that perilous depreciation, not to say contempt, of family responsibilities and duties, which are at this moment the most painful and portentous symptoms in connection with the fast and ambitious social life of the States. This is a subject on which we dare not enlarge; but it cannot but be felt that for children to be educated, not under any direction or responsibility of the parent, but solely at the charge and under the direction of the State, and for parents to shrink from family responsibilities, are two facts which well agree. Other points, also, may be noted. The youth whom the State has educated, *in loco parentis*, has scarcely left school before he becomes, in most parts of the Union, an independent citizen and voter, from whom an original and individual opinion on civil and political questions is due; and so, under his father's roof, he becomes an independent political power. All these matters go together, and all tend to add intensity to the social evils, over which the wise and good in the United States lament.

It is impossible not to admire the liberality with which, in the

remost cities of the United States, educational institutions rovided and sustained; and the energy which, through- uch vast territories, has everywhere made some provision, ut hesitation or delay, for the education of the young. he example of the United States is certainly not such as courage us to revolutionise our own principles and methods blic instruction, whether elementary or more advanced. ıtime let us hope that the misrepresentations as to ican school education, which have been current in this ry for so many years, and which, in particular, the party cular educationists have so diligently propagated, will at h come to an end. The ideas and projects of Massachusetts ists have been accepted as if they were the facts of universal ican law and life; whereas they have never become realities in New England, and have found no place whatever in the s generally. This illusion has bred not a little confusion rror in the views of English educationists, and it is high it was finally exploded.

V.—1. *A Letter addressed to His Grace the Duke of rfolk, on occasion of Mr. Gladstone's recent Expostulation.* By n Henry Newman, D.D., of the Oratory. London, 1875.
e Vatican Decrees, in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance. By nry Edward, Archbishop of Westminster. London, 1875.
Reply to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone's 'Political postulation.' By the Right Rev. Monsignor Capel, D.D. ndon, 1875.
uticanism: an Answer to Reproofs and Replies. By the ght Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P. London, 1875.

E held from the first that Mr. Gladstone had rendered a signal service to the causes of civil and religious liberty s 'Expostulation' addressed to our Roman Catholic fellow- cts. Even those who blame him most for ever raising the oversy stirred by his pamphlet, must admit that it has nly had the effect of eliciting ample explanations from best qualified to offer them. The challenge flung down remarkable vigour has been taken up with as remarkable ptitude. Roman Catholics of all degrees have come for- to vindicate the Vatican Decrees, and to confute the notion they involve innovations menacing the rights of the Power. Amongst those who have stepped into the arena battle for Rome, there are three whose titles will be rsally recognised as spokesmen for their Church, on the score

score of intellectual eminence, of approved Catholicism and (as regards two) of high ecclesiastical appointments. There could not be found, within the Roman community, three men who more fully represent, by the combination of their characteristics, the shadings of tone and impulse tolerated within the recognised pale of the Papal Church, than Dr. Newman, Archbishop Manning, and Monsignor Capel.

Upon Dr. Newman's merits, as a fervent Catholic, a devoted priest, a theologian imbued with lifelong study of divinity, and above all, as a great teacher and exponent of religious thought it is superfluous to dilate. His eminence is acknowledged on all sides. In passing through the ordeal of a change of faith, his pious nature never has thrown aside, towards those from whom he separated, conciliatory forms of expression which beam with an air of genial candour, any more than it has contracted, as so often befalls converts, that overwrought temperament which delights in straining bonds of doctrine to intolerable tension. Of this grace of mind, and pleasing avoidance of asperity in argument, his 'Letter to the Duke of Norfolk' is a notable example, offering in this, as in many other respects, a contrast to other publications on the same topics by his distinguished co-religionists.

The hierarchical position of an Archbishop of Westminster would necessarily attach always capital weight to whatever came from his pen in behalf of his Church; but there are grounds why exceptional authority must belong to the words of Archbishop Manning, when expounding acts which emanate from the present occupant of the Holy See. His promotion to the eminent office he occupies was made under circumstances signally illustrative of the esteem he enjoys in Rom for it was due to the personal action of Pius IX., who delib rately set aside the nominations recommended, in accordar to custom, by the Chapter. Besides, Archbishop Manning w as he admits, a principal agent in bringing to pass the Vati Decrees; so that no one should be better qualified to exp their intention.

Monsignor Capel, again, can point, in voucher of the e lence of his doctrine, to a distinction, second only to the trust for which the Archbishop was selected. When i Roman councils it was seen fit to attempt in Protestant En the experiment, which has not met with much encourag even in Catholic Ireland, of an University embodying Papal principles, Monsignor Capel was singled out of th of English Catholics as the man best qualified to presi a scholastic institution which, it is fondly hoped, will ne the deleterious influence of our educational system, an

away the youth of England from the noxious atmosphere of our national high-schools into the carefully weeded pasture-grounds of an immaculate doctrine:—an ample mark of the implicit confidence which Rome reposes in his judgment and his doctrine. Taking the pleadings of these three champions in the aggregate, we may feel assured of having before us every argument it is possible to adduce in refutation of Mr. Gladstone's allegations. Whatever can be said in disproval of the Vatican Decrees containing aught contrary to the immemorial customs of the Church, or fraught with possible danger either to its traditional constitution or to its relations towards the State, that will of a certainty be found somewhere in the pages of one or other of these three most competent spokesmen; and whatever does not so stand there, we may confidently assume to have been omitted because these eminent advocates instinctively felt that the plea could not possibly be sustained with any show of plausibility.

One more observation we must make before proceeding to examine the arguments respectively advanced by these advocates. Dr. Newman, conscious of the variance in animus that may be discernible between his pleadings and those of others, gently deprecates as a 'showy and serviceable retort in controversy, but nothing more,' any criticism founded on the 'very considerable differences in argument and opinion between himself and others who have replied to Mr. Gladstone.' Could we persuade ourselves that the force of criticisms founded on such discrepancies were limited to the flash of an empty retort we should certainly leave them aside, but with all respect for Dr. Newman, we cannot bring ourselves to look on them in this light. The discrepancies between his tone and that of his eminent comrades, are characteristic of material differences between them in status and in the elements they represent. It has been the fortune of him, who must be considered the most illustrious acquisition made in our time by the Church of Rome in this country, never to have been advanced to such official distinction as has been freely showered on other converts in the service of the Church of his adoption. While so many have been promoted to offices of dignity and trust, the great Oxford teacher, whose words, more than those of any contemporary, quickened his generation in that remarkable movement which has carried not a few to Rome, so far from having been made an object of honour, has been left to spend his days in the humble ministrations of a simple Father of the Oratory. Dr. Newman has been allowed to remain (as far as the Roman Curia is concerned) an obscure priest; and his utterances derive weight solely from his personal character.

and

and his recognised religious fervour and illumination. As he takes care to say himself, he writes as one 'not in any sense in the counsels of Rome.' In Archbishop Manning, and in Monsignor Capel, we listen, on the contrary, to ecclesiastics in possession of not merely that degree of theological knowledge which it is within the grasp of every diligent Catholic to derive from authenticated records of public property, but avowedly admitted to the exceptional confidence of the Roman Curia, and addressing us with the full credentials of appointed organs. This construction of the relative values to be set on the respective utterances of Dr. Newman and of Archbishop Manning, is none of our devising. It is claimed for his words by the Archbishop with a distinctness which has the merit of plain speech. In a passage not the least remarkable among many remarkable passages in his dissertation on the score of boldness, the Archbishop, with a view to impart special effect to a thundering volley of tirade immediately preceding, appends these noteworthy words: 'It may not be amiss to add, lest it should be thought that the *statement is merely a private opinion*, that the text from which I quote was translated into Italian in Rome, in 1862, was *examined by the Censorship, and printed at the Propaganda Press.*'—(p. 131.) Here, therefore, the Archbishop not only proclaims his pretensions to have his opinions ranked as very superior to those of a '*private*' Doctor, but he furnishes us with what he declares to be canonical tests for this superior authority, namely, that the opinions in question have been scrutinised and allowed to pass unchallenged by the Roman Censorship, and have been printed at the Propaganda Press. It is so rare in discussion with spokesmen of the Curia to pick up from them any distinct statement as to positive tests for what is, and for what is not, of authority, that we are truly beholden to Archbishop Manning for having, in the eagerness to vindicate the transcendent value of his own words, glided into a tangible definition that can be grasped and applied with confidence. We have it now, under Archbishop Manning's hand, that the fact of an opinion having been passed without challenge by the Censorship of the Roman Curia, and having been circulated through the agency of the Propaganda Press, constitutes a positive test that such opinion is not merely a private one, but is approved of and concurred in by the infallible depository of the authority of the Church, the sublime guardian of Faith and Morals.

In the dedication to the Duke of Norfolk, we meet at the very outset an expression eminently distinctive of the difference in complexion between Dr. Newman's theological views and those of his more thorough Vaticanist co-religionists. 'None but the *Scholæ Theologorum*,

Theologorum,' says he, 'is competent to determine the force of Papal and Synodal utterances, and the exact interpretation of them *is a work of time*.' These plain words affirm distinctly, that to the body of those, who are skilled in the learning of the Church, appertains the faculty of determining the import and scope of any utterance emanating with the solemn accent of dogmatic enunciation from the Head of the Church. A definition of that particular process on the part of the *Schola Theologorum*, which can so determine the precise value of a Papal utterance, Dr. Newman does not give. This much, however, is involved in his saying that the canonical import and binding force of a solemn Pontifical sentence are not determined, except through the mature operation of protracted study and interpretation on the part of the illuminated doctors of the Church. But this opinion is quite at variance with the principles laid down by the official representatives of the Curia. It is contrary to the general spirit of their exposition and to the actual terms of particular propositions enunciated by them with laboured emphasis. Indeed, the very expression *Schola Theologorum* would appear excluded, as of evil sound, from Vatican terminology, for it never once occurs throughout Archbishop Manning's disquisition. There is, however, more than the merely negative test of omission to show the incompatibility between any such regulating intervention by theologians as Dr. Newman contemplates, and the direct, immediate, and self-appointed force which Archbishop Manning claims emphatically to be within the competency of the Pope to affix of his own office to any sentence he may deliver. In the pamphlet before us this high authority declares, first, that 'it belongs to the Church alone to determine the limits of its own Infallibility' (p. 167); and, directly after, that, 'by the definition of the Vatican Council, what is traditionally believed by all the faithful in respect of the Church, is *expressly declared of* the Roman Pontiff' (p. 168). Again, in another place, we read: 'Mr. Gladstone thinks to aggravate the case by adding that the Pope is to be the ultimate judge of what acts are *ex cathedrâ*, *and who else should be? Ejus est interpretari cujus est condere* is a principle of all law' (p. 17). Beyond dispute these words affirm that, in so far as his title to Infallibility rests on this Vatican definition, the Pope is seised of absolute faculties for determining the range of his own Infallibility; that on him, and him alone, depends the force that shall attach to such utterances as he may be moved at any time to make. This interpretation of what is implied by Papal Infallibility is expressed with even greater explicitness in words, written by Archbishop Manning himself, on an occasion of capital

capital solemnity. Whoever has perused his writings will a
that the Archbishop is a consummate master in the ar
controversy. No one knows better how to state a case in
guage as forcible by its terseness as it is impressive from a
blance of frankness; nor has any one a keener sense for
can be paraded with effect and what had better be kep
of sight. It is therefore remarkable that in this exposi
avowedly meant to dispel Protestant misconceptions, ar
expound without reservation the doctrine involved in the
can Decrees, the Archbishop, though referring repeatedly
at length to certain Pastorals of his own, should yet ste
omit to quote from them the passages which bear most dir
on the particular points under discussion. It is true that
are not exactly calculated to produce an appeasing effec
minds not predisposed to hail, as intensified messages of sub
truth, theological propositions because couched in the unv
formulas of extreme Ultramontanism. That the passage
question are, however, couched in such formulas with all th
liberateness of solemn reflection, is a matter of grave significa
for they occur in a Pastoral spontaneously indited by the A
bishop under a sense that, as 'Head of the Papal Churc
England,' he was bound to instruct officially those within
spiritual jurisdiction as to the canonical import and natur
the doctrine that had been just promulgated by the Va
Council. In this dogmatic document, addressed, not to scep
ears, but to the sympathetic audience of Papal devotees, we
the following definitions:—

'The privilege of Infallibility is *personal*, inasmuch as it att
to the Roman Pontiff, the successor of St. Peter, as a *public* p
distinct from, but inseparably united to the Church. . . . . It is
independent, inasmuch as it does not depend upon either the *Ec*
docens or the *Ecclesia discens*. . . . It is *absolute*, inasmuch as it
be circumscribed by no human or ecclesiastical law. . . .
separate in no sense, nor can so be called, without manifold he
unless the word be taken to mean *distinct*. In this sense, the R
Pontiff *is distinct from the Episcopate*, and is a *distinct subje*
Infallibility; and in the *exercise of his supreme doctrinal authori*
magisterium, he does not depend for the Infallibility of his defin
upon the consent or consultation of the Episcopate, but only or
Divine assistance of the Holy Ghost.' *

Now whatever plea may be set up, with the view of explai
away these words differently from their natural sense, this n
we hold to be irrevocably fixed, that an Infallibility of the I

* 'Petri Privilegium: The Vatican Council and its Definitions, a Pa
Letter to the Clergy,' p. 113.

wh

which, in whatever form, can be considered *personal*, *independent*, *absolute*, and *distinct* from every co-operation on the part of the Episcopate, must perforce be one which decidedly shuts out the *Schola Theologorum* from all part in determining the scope and bearing of its nature.

It is true these terms are not repeated in the Archbishop's present publication; and that the other Vatican theologian, Monsignor Capel, after using in print the expression 'personal infallibility,' hastened to state it was merely a quotation. The idea may have suddenly occurred, that no amount of ingenuity could possibly evolve any minimising interpretation of the Vatican Decrees that would command the least effect, so long as these obnoxious terms were not got out of sight. We venture on no conjectural explanation as to the motive that may have impelled those in the confidence of the Vatican to eschew at this moment the highly emphatic terms which before they freely employed; but we cannot forget that they have been deliberately employed on occasions of capital solemnity; nor that, though omitted in the plain letter, they yet in substance are smuggled in even now by these adroit controversialists in formulas less ostentatiously conspicuous. Nor can it be denied that a notable difference must exist between the conceptions of a mind that ascribes to the *Schola Theologorum* the function of determining the force of Infallibility, and those necessarily entertained by all who proclaim Infallibility as a *personal*, *independent*, *absolute*, and *distinct* attribute of the Pope's individuality in virtue of his office.

'The key-note of Mr. Gladstone's Pamphlet is this,' says Dr. Newman, quite correctly, 'that since the Pope claims Infallibility in faith and morals, and since there are no "departments and functions of human life which do not and cannot fall within the domain of morals," and since he claims also "the domain of all that concerns the government and discipline of the Church," and, moreover, "claims the power of determining the limits of those domains," and "does not sever them by any acknowledged or intelligible line from the domains of civil duty and allegiance," therefore Catholics are moral and mental slaves, and "every convert and member of the Pope's Church places his loyalty and civil duty at the mercy of another."' 'I admit,' he concludes, 'Mr. Gladstone's premises, but I reject his conclusion, and now I am going to show why I reject it.'—p. 39.

Our business here is not to judge whether in the heat of argument Mr. Gladstone may not have occasionally used words of unusual severity, but to consider how far the essence of his serious allegations is really neutralized by the substance of what is advanced in rejoinder. Dr. Newman joins issue by alleging

that there is nothing in the '*supreme direction*,' claimed by the Pope, 'of Catholics in respect to all duty' which can possibly involve one tittle more interference of an arbitrary kind over human actions than appertains to the attributes of the Law.

'The Law is *supreme*,' he exclaims, 'and the Law *directs* our conduct under the manifold circumstances in which we have to act, and must be absolutely obeyed. . . . Yet no one would say that the Law, after all, with all its power in the abstract, and its executive vigour in fact, interferes either with our comfort or our conscience. . . . . Law, to apply Mr. Gladstone's words, "is the shadow that cleaves to us, go where we will." Moreover, it varies year after year, and refuses to give any pledge of fixedness or finality. Nor can any one tell what restraint is to come next, perhaps painful personally to himself. . . . Is not all this enough to try the temper of a freeborn Englishman, and to make him cry out with Mr. Gladstone, "Three-fourths of my life are handed over to the Law; I care not to ask if there be dregs or tatters of human life such as can escape from the description and boundary of Parliamentary tyranny"? Yet though we may dislike it, though we may at times suffer from it ever so much, who does not see that the thraldom and irksomeness is nothing compared with the great blessings which the Constitution and Legislature secure to us?'—pp. 41, 42.

It is to us matter of surprise that an intellect of Dr. Newman's keenness should have committed the error of meeting Mr. Gladstone's charge by a rejoinder that strikes manifestly so wide of the mark. The Law invoked by Dr. Newman, as a case in reply, constitutes no such case. The Law, which he would bring into court as a witness in his favour, is a Law embodying fixed public principles, and acquiring solemn force through the warrant of public assent to the enactment of its chapters. Dr. Newman himself says, the obligations of the Law he dwells on can only come into operation through the medium of constitutional and legislative agency. But the contingency Mr. Gladstone deprecates is an order of things in which Law, no longer dependent for its utterance on the co-operation of public organs, becomes the exclusive prerogative of individual will, and consequently is liable to be the sport of caprice. His contention is, that by certain decrees of the Vatican Council there has been effected an extension of Papal prerogative, which virtually makes this prerogative quite as despotic as ever was that of the Czar of All the Russias, wherewith to render his subjects the victims of vexatious commands through the arbitrary utterance of Ukases. To attempt the disproval of this allegation, by reference to the action of an authority, which cannot be determined by any individual force, but must be the outcome of the public mind, embodying a code on public principles, is really to put forward a fallacy of transparent

away the youth of England from the noxious atmosphere of our national high-schools into the carefully weeded pasture-grounds of an immaculate doctrine:—an ample mark of the implicit confidence which Rome reposes in his judgment and his doctrine. Taking the pleadings of these three champions in the aggregate, we may feel assured of having before us every argument it is possible to adduce in refutation of Mr. Gladstone's allegations. Whatever can be said in disproval of the Vatican Decrees containing aught contrary to the immemorial customs of the Church, or fraught with possible danger either to its traditional constitution or to its relations towards the State, that will of a certainty be found somewhere in the pages of one or other of these three most competent spokesmen; and whatever does not so stand there, we may confidently assume to have been omitted because these eminent advocates instinctively felt that the plea could not possibly be sustained with any show of plausibility.

One more observation we must make before proceeding to examine the arguments respectively advanced by these advocates. Dr. Newman, conscious of the variance in animus that may be discernible between his pleadings and those of others, gently deprecates as a 'showy and serviceable retort in controversy, but nothing more,' any criticism founded on the 'very considerable differences in argument and opinion between himself and others who have replied to Mr. Gladstone.' Could we persuade ourselves that the force of criticisms founded on such discrepancies were limited to the flash of an empty retort we should certainly leave them aside, but with all respect for Dr. Newman, we cannot bring ourselves to look on them in this light. The discrepancies between his tone and that of his eminent comrades, are characteristic of material differences between them in status and in the elements they represent. It has been the fortune of him, who must be considered the most illustrious acquisition made in our time by the Church of Rome in this country, never to have been advanced to such official distinction as has been freely showered on other converts in the service of the Church of his adoption. While so many have been promoted to offices of dignity and trust, the great Oxford teacher, whose words, more than those of any contemporary, quickened his generation in that remarkable movement which has carried not a few to Rome, so far from having been made an object of honour, has been left to spend his days in the humble ministrations of a simple Father of the Oratory. Dr. Newman has been allowed to remain (as far as the Roman Curia is concerned) an obscure priest; and his utterances derive weight solely from his personal character,

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the allegation that the substance of this Third Chapter is an innovation on the organic articles of the Church, and that for its language no authority can be cited except the utterances of Pontiffs, who were the conspicuous representatives of a spirit of theocratic absoluteness, which claimed to be exempt from all civil ties, and considered the deposing power and the prerogative to impose interdicts the cardinal faculties of spiritual authority.

It was with an astonishment which took away our breath that we read the opening statement of Archbishop Manning on this head: 'Mr. Gladstone has argued from the Third Chapter of the Constitution of the Roman Pontiff, that his powers have received a great extension. Mr. Gladstone, *so far as I am aware, is the first and only person who has ever ventured on this statement.*' (p. 11.) What is to be thought of a controversialist in the Archbishop's position, who can deliberately write down such a sentence, and deliberately give it to the world? It would be trifling with the reader's time to give proofs of the flagrant incorrectness of such an affirmation. It is notorious to whoever has but glanced at the controversy provoked by the Vatican Decrees—it should, perforce, be as familiar to the Archbishop as the contents of his Breviary—that the particular extension of the Pope's prerogative in this Chapter, as pointed out by Mr. Gladstone, constitutes, and has constituted throughout, the foremost article in the remonstrances of those persons—so vehemently inveighed against by the Archbishop as the machinators of a horrible conspiracy against the Church—the Old Catholics. If Archbishop Manning has written down these words in the simplicity of ignorance, then he must stand convicted of never having even looked at one of those anti-Vatican publications, upon the heads of whose authors he pours so freely the vials of his wrath. If, on the contrary, the Archbishop did acquaint himself with the opinions of those he so hotly denounces, then it is impossible to absolve him from the charge of having, in the above sentence, written down that which he must have known not to be according to fact. And on reading further, though we have much reason to be struck by the boldness—not to say audacity—of statement, we regretfully recognise a repeated absence of conformity to patent facts, which, when occurring in so able an advocate as the Archbishop, cannot but shake confidence in the ingenuousness of his pleading. 'As one of "the astute contrivers"' [of the scheme embodied in the Third Chapter] 'I will answer that these words were introduced because the Pontiffs *and Councils of the Church have always so used them.* They may be "remarkable" and "new" to Mr. Gladstone, but they are *old as the Catholic Church.* I give the first proofs which come to hand.' (p. 12.)

Let

et us then look at these would-be proofs, ushered in with suc
ne of absolute confidence. Let it be, however, well impresse
he reader's mind that the allegation of Mr. Gladstone res
inctly on these points:—That the decree stretches the Pope
ogative beyond all domain previously sanctioned, through i
nsion over whatever can be declared by him to appertain
imen et disciplina ecclesiæ;' that the decree is universal in i
e and obligation; and that the stringent terms in which it
hed are without precedent in any dogmatic sentence p
a with the concurrence and formal sanction of the Churc
g imported from expressions to be found only in certai
rances of a much-questioned character, autocratically issue
ome medieval Popes, who, however vigorous in action, ha
a considered, by the consent of even Catholic writers,
s rather of haughtiness than of an apostolical spirit. Nov
efutation, the Archbishop brings forward one text, and on
that as regards its date could possibly be to any purpos
indicating the ancient authority of the language employe
he decree, though he began by giving us to understand th
would pour forth at haphazard proof upon proof, out of th
adance of evidence which is to his hand. It is, however, th
that the single tittle of evidence so adduced proves, on exam
on, to be glaringly out of point on every count, except, perhap
of date. Archbishop Manning does not scruple to pass of
warrant 'not less formidable than the Third Chapter' for i
n gripe,' a Canon, by no means of an Œcumenical Counci
is words would lead an unwary reader to believe, but of
e Synod convened in 863 at Rome, by Nicholas I., for th
icular purpose of adjudicating on the matrimonial cause
g Lothair's bigamous marriage, and of censuring ecclesiasti
had connived thereat. This strictly disciplinary assembl
oked expressly to give sentence in a case of individu
orality that had been abetted by certain French prelate
append to its judgment (involving reversal of a verdict pr
aced by an ecclesiastical tribunal in France) words declar
of the Pope's undoubted title to watch over *ecclesiasti*
pline (a totally different thing from *regimen et disciplin*
siæ), and to check wickedness. Such simply disciplinar
aration of the priestly faculty to curb and censure irregu
y and immorality—one, moreover, strictly particular in i
ication—the Archbishop of Westminster has no scruple i
ing to pass off as a voucher that in the ninth century th
rch in Council (!) had already sanctioned the formula pr
gated as an universal Canon in the Third Chapter, thoug
act, not a word or letter of the said formula is to be fou

in the Synodal sentence referred to with such preposterous assurance. At every point—be it of circumstance, or of application, or of expression—the case put forward by the Archbishop in this instance breaks down ignominiously; and there we are satisfied to leave it, without caring to speculate whether a piece of workmanship so transparently flimsy was concocted under imperfect knowledge or with consciousness of its utter hollowness.

'But,' continues the Archbishop, 'this Canon was recognised in the Eighth General Council held at Constantinople in 869;' and, as if a text were superfluous when his word is passed for a statement in Church history, he merely appends in a foot-note a vague reference to Labbe's 'Acts of Councils.' We have turned to Labbe, and it certainly perplexes our intelligence how to construe what we found there in anything like the meaning, in which the Archbishop wishes us to understand it. This Eighth Council met to heal the dissensions caused by the rival claims of Ignatius and Photius to the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The Pope was represented at it, and beyond doubt his particular rescripts in that particular controversy were accepted and confirmed; but by what process of special interpretation the Archbishop can pretend to make any of its Canons serve as a title-deed for the Pope's full, direct, absolute, and immediate authority universally over all churches and every individual member thereof, it exceeds our capacity even to surmise, so long as he will not condescend to more than the sort of ex-cathedrâ allegation that this is so with which he has been pleased to content himself. Mr. Gladstone tells us in 'Vaticanism,' that it is the Second Canon which the Archbishop considered himself justified in making the basis of his statement. That basis has, however, been shown to be wholly without foundation by Mr. Gladstone, who has given the text of this Canon. Of Patriarchal rights, there is, indeed, very explicit mention—those same rights which, precisely in virtue of the terminology of this Third Chapter, Pius IX. has considered himself empowered to make free with; but of that, which the Archbishop desires imperfectly-educated Protestants to believe is contained in them, these Acts seem to us entirely devoid, according to any faithful reading of their words.

And now from this Eighth Council this daring apologist of Vatican doctrine would carry us at a bound into the very thick of medieval times. 'Innocent III. may be no authority with Mr. Gladstone, but he says,' exclaims the Archbishop, 'what every Pontiff before him and after him has said, *Nos qui sumus ad regimen universalis Ecclesiæ supernâ dispositione vocati.*' If previous Pontiffs did speak this language, the proof has at least

been most negligently omitted by the Archbishop, though ve given it would have constituted the crushing reply Gladstone's capital allegation, that for the claim now pro- ted as an universal precept, no authority is forthcoming, such as can be found in the presumptuous utterances of Popes who in the Middle Ages pushed their pretensions oint, which has converted the history of their times into inued narrative of incessant conflict between Church and

Of these overbearing and meddlesome Pontiffs, none nore conspicuous than Innocent III. for the vehemence s action, and for the haughty energy with which he ed to interfere in temporal matters. What serious value an be attached to a supposed canonical voucher in behalf ended Papal prerogative, which is derived from a spon- us assertion by Innocent III. of his assumed right as Pope p in and regulate according to his pleasure the conflict en John of England and Philip Augustus of France? Yet scrap plucked out of a Decretal addressed to the French es by Innocent III., claiming for the Church the right to the issues between these Sovereigns—a Decretal known cally as *Novit* in history, as among the most vehement sions of extreme Papal pretensions—which is here flou- before our eyes by the Archbishop in professed refutation assertion, that only in the extravagant utterances of Pon- ho, like Innocent III., systematically encroached on the ns of secular rights, can there be found any warrant for the s, which this Third Chapter now makes an article of faith ld every Pope as seised of. What value could possibly be ed to the argument of a lawyer who, being pressed to esta- the conformity of some highhanded procedure to the prin- of Magna Charta, sheltered himself behind precedents from Chamber practice? Yet this would be in precise analogy to anner in which the Archbishop has seen fit to argue.

have, however, yet a word to say on the manner in the Archbishop makes use of this Decretal. When the ns of the Eighth Council were in question, he preferred e no definite reference. But in the matter of this De- we are referred by him to Appendix A, where, it is dis- r stated, 'will be found in full the Text' of the same. It rertheless, positive that the text is not given there in full, t a markedly modified—we may even say, in a garbled n. Without a word to warn imperfectly acquainted s of any serious omission, in a Treatise professedly pur- g to furnish full instruction to Protestant minds of every- relating to the Vatican Doctrine, the Archbishop has deemed

deemed himself justified in dropping out of the text the passages which have made the Decretal memorable as a Papal utterance—namely, those in which Innocent III., without circumlocution, claims, as the right of his Pontifical office, to coerce by physical means. Is this a procedure that can inspire trust in the frankness and in the candour of the person who indulges in it? We have no mind to comment further on an array of title-deeds drawn out of the pigeon-holes of the later Roman records. A single authentic scrap of primitive times has been asked for; the challenge made has professedly been accepted, but in truth has been glaringly evaded. Despite all the advantages of favoured insight into the innermost archives of Rome, the Archbishop of Westminster has wholly failed to produce one scrap of evidence in support of his bold assertion, that the terms of the Third Chapter merely transcribe the well-known traditional language of the Catholic Church. His fellow-counsel, Monsignor Capel, has shown a wiser discretion. He, at all events, has shrewdly abstained from venturing to vindicate on historical grounds the terminology of the Third Chapter; and thus has avoided the exposure upon which the Archbishop has rushed with extraordinary recklessness.

Before proceeding further, it is well to ascertain the force which this Chapter can have for increasing Papal prerogatives, not merely in theory, but in actual practice. Archbishop Manning makes light of the notion that any such increase can be involved. 'The Vatican Council has left the authority of the Pontiff precisely where it found it,' are his confident words, which, after our experience of his correctness, we would fain test for ourselves by facts, since he disdains to adduce any himself. The Vatican apologists do not dispute that by the terms of this Third Chapter the Pope is vested with direct and immediate powers throughout the Church, notwithstanding any 'rite or dignity.' No organic independence remains therefore to any of the Church's members, who depend wholly on the Pope. He is in himself essence and quintessence; the remainder is constituted of mere functionaries, the creatures of his will—instruments quickened by his breath, and crumbling at its withdrawal. This is an ecclesiastical polity where no organ but one can assert itself on the ground of inherent rights—where the power of issuing commands in whatever relates to the 'government and discipline of the Church,' 'to which all of whatever rite or dignity, both pastors and faithful, both individually and collectively, are bound by their duty of hierarchical subordination and true obedience, to submit,' subsists exclusively in the individual Pontiff. It is boldly

ly affirmed by Archbishop Manning, that an ecclesiastical
:m, marked by such absence of all independent authority
'government and discipline,' on the part of every mem-
ınd dignitary in presence of the Sovereign Pontiff, is only
: has always prevailed with the assent of the Church. 'The
:s had at all times the power to rule the whole Church,
only in faith and morals, but also in all things which
ıin to discipline and government, and that whether in-
ɔly or not.' (p. 14.) We venture to submit that there are
in past history which wholly refute this assertion, as there
facts in contemporary history which clearly indicate what
ɔachments on Episcopal independence, and what violations
ıcient customs by the Pope, will be warranted as canonical
he future through the tenor of this now Dogmatic Decree.
is known that in the days of Mr. Pitt and Lord Castle-
h there were communications, as well with those who
reland and England were hierarchical representatives of
Roman Church, as with the Holy See itself, in view of
ɜing some basis satisfactory alike to the Church and to the
:, which would enable the latter to recognise the Roman
ıolic Establishment. That this matter, involving directly
conditions on which the Spiritual Pastors of the Faithful
ld be admitted to their charges, fell within the province
ıe 'regimen et disciplina Ecclesiæ,' will hardly be ques-
:d by any one we apprehend—and least of all, we may con-
ıtly assume, by Archbishop Manning—who has, on more
ɜions than one, claimed for the Pope a really arbitrary pre-
tive as to nominations in the Church. The method which
'ested itself as calculated to meet the requirements of both
ies was that popularly known as the Veto, by which the
es of candidates for episcopal appointments should be sub-
ed for approval to the Crown before transmission to Rome
canonical institution. If the administration of the Roman
ıolic Church has always been confided to the immediate care
ıe Pope in that strict degree which is expressed in the Third
pter, then the Pope's opinion ought, perforce, to have been
lute with all true Roman Catholics for acquiescing in such
ıgagement with the Crown. For Pastors of the Irish Church
ave presumed on intimating to a Pope, possessed of the
ɔgative powers enunciated in this Chapter, that they abso-
y declined to consider him capable of duly understanding
t was conformable to the interests of the Church in their
icular province, on a point of such vital importance for
ıtual interests as the mode of nominating Pastors, cannot
have been an act of ecclesiastical insubordination that must
have

have been visited with stringent censure. Yet not only did the Irish Bishops venture on such plain-spoken repudiation of the Pope's authority to instruct them in regard to this grave matter, but the Pope quietly put up with the rebuke.

It was in February, 1814, that, during the deportation from Rome of Pius VII., a Brief from Monsignor Quarantotti, Vice-Prefect of the Propaganda, in virtue of faculties delegated to him during the Sovereign Pontiff's enforced absence, came to the English Vicar-Apostolic, Dr. Poynter, approving of the proposed arrangement for submitting to the British Government the names of episcopal candidates for its concurrence. In December of the same year, Pius VII. informed the 'Catholics of Great Britain,' from Rome, in a Brief 'under the ring of the Fisherman' (which is one of the signs Dr. Newman declares that if affixed to the Syllabus, would instantly make it of binding force on his conscience), that, inasmuch as the rescript issued 'during our absence and the dispersion of our venerable council,' concerned 'a matter of the highest moment,' it had been referred 'to those of the Congregation of our Venerable Brethren, the Cardinals, to whom matters of this nature are usually referred, in order to be examined by them maturely and *ab integro*.' On April 26, 1815, Cardinal Litta, Prefect of the Propaganda, accordingly transmitted to the Vicars-Apostolic the solemn decision arrived at by this special congregation of Fathers of the Church, and ratified by the Holy Father:

'His Holiness will feel no hesitation in allowing those to whom it appertains [*i.e.* the diocesan clergy and capitular bodies] to present to the King's ministers a list of candidates, in order that if any of them should be obnoxious or suspected, the Government may immediately point him out, so that he may be expunged, care however being taken to have a sufficient number for his Holiness to choose therefrom individuals whom he may deem best qualified in the Lord for governing the vacant Churches.'

The reception given to this grave utterance by the Venerable Brethren to whom it was addressed, was anything but deferential. The Irish prelates immediately combined to remonstrate, dispatching to Rome as their representative an ecclesiastic of distinction—the subsequent Archbishop Murray,—and on his failing to produce due impression, they collectively drew up and agreed to the following remonstrance against resolutions that had been deliberately sanctioned, and solemnly recommended, as conducive to the interest of the Church, by the Pope:—

'We should consider ourselves as *betraying the dearest interests of that portion of the Church which the Holy Ghost has committed to our* care

re, did we not declare most unequivocally that we will at all times, d under all circumstances, deprecate and *oppose* in every canonical d constitutional way, any such interference. *Though we sincerely nerate the Supreme Pontiff as visible Head of the Church, we do not ceive that our apprehension for the safety of the Roman Catholic urch in Ireland ought to be removed by any determination of his oliness adopted, or intended to be adopted, not only without our concur-nce, but in direct opposition to our repeated resolutions,* and the very ergetic memorial presented on our behalf, and so ably supported by r deputy, the Most Reverend Dr. Murray, who in that quality was ore competent to inform his Holiness of the real state and interests the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, *than any other with whom is said to have consulted.*'

These are tolerably sharp words to be uttered towards an in-llible depositary of Divine authority, by Pastors said by Arch-shop Manning to have been solemnly bound to acknowledge the Pontiff so rudely rebuked, not merely an 'office of in-ection or direction,' but 'full and supreme jurisdiction,' with rdinary and immediate power' over themselves. The remon-rance was made in August 1815. In February 1816, Pius VII. plied in a long Brief, dated from the Basilica of St. Mary ajor, and addressed to 'his Venerable Brethren the Archbishop d Bishops of Ireland;' and, therefore, again provided with e of Dr. Newman's sign-marks of a grave sentence. This teresting document is too long to be given here *in extenso.* is couched in the customary style of solemn Roman utter-ces, and has the usual references to ecclesiastical authorities d to ecclesiastical precedents:—

'The perusal of your letters has,' writes the Supreme Pontiff, 'im-ssed our mind with deep concern. . . . . With what pain then do find it expressly declared in your letter, that the expedient which, ongst others, we signified that we would follow, for satisfying the overnment of the loyalty of those to be elected Bishops, not only d not meet your approbation, but *appeared to try to threaten destruc-n to the Catholic Religion in Ireland. Wherefore, in conformity with r duty, we dispatch the present letter to you, for the purpose of effacing om your minds the not sufficiently well-founded opinion which you appear entertain in regard to the expedient above alluded to.*'

After having stated at length the grounds for his decision, e Pope continues:—

'Venerable Brethren, it is unquestionably evident that what we ve done amounts only to this: we have agreed to act steadily to-rds the British Government, according to the same rule, useful in elf, founded in prudence, which our predecessors, the Roman Pon-fs, even before those times when the nomination of Bishops was anted to Princes, determined, in their wisdom, to maintain as effec-tually

tually as might be . . . we therefore, Venerable Brethren, *entertain no doubt* that you all, having considered and duly weighed what we have thus set before you, *will acknowledge the measure adopted by us to be most just, and will, in all respects, conform yourselves to it.*'

These Venerable Brethren proved, nevertheless, obdurately deaf to the voice from Rome; nay, they must be held to have shown themselves irreformably contumacious, if we accept Archbishop Manning's version of what in those days already was the law of the Church. They publicly turned away from him whom we are gravely assured it was then 'proximate to heresy' not to regard as infallible, and appealed to the religious conscience of a self-constituted body, termed the 'General Board of Catholics in Ireland,' for an expression of sentiment in protest against the Pope's mandate. This document was transmitted to Rome, and thereupon the Supreme Pontiff again addressed a monitory Brief to these recalcitrant Catholics, in which occur these words: 'As to the suspicion and alarm which we find from the conclusion of your letter you entertain concerning the ecclesiastical affairs of your country, *we order you to be at ease.*'* In spite of this emphatic order, the Irish Episcopate would not be at ease; it declined to concur in the Pope's instructions, 'concerning the ecclesiastical affairs of their country,' though explicitly enjoined in the solemn form of Apostolical Briefs, and (which is of special importance for the points immediately under discussion) this dogged disregard of Pontifical opinion must have been acquiesced in by the Pope as not exceeding the independence legitimately appertaining to Bishops, for it never was visited with Pontifical censure.

In the face of these transactions, we would put to Archbishop Manning the following queries:—1. Can he venture to affirm that the points involved in the matters at issue between the Irish Bishops and the Pope did not fall within the province of matters appertaining to the 'regimen et disciplina Ecclesiæ,' as comprehended within the Third Chapter? 2. If he does venture on this affirmation, will he state the grounds of intrinsic difference which could make it not a point of 'regimen et disciplina Ecclesiæ' in Ireland sixty years ago, whether the concurrence of the State was to be sought for ecclesiastical nomination, but must make this matter now a point of 'regimen et disciplina' when raised in Germany, as results from the Pontifical condemnation, as impious, of that particular

* The documentary evidence for these transactions will be found in Butler's 'Memoirs of English and Irish Catholics,' vol. iv., 3rd edit. They are given partly in the Appendix and partly in the Text. The Pope's first Brief is printed in extenso, but of the last only an extract is given.

legislative

gislative enactment which demands that the nomination of clesiastics to preferments should be intimated to the Civil thorities before induction? We here raise no question as the general nature of recent German and Prussian legis-ion in Church matters, but strictly confine ourselves to the rticular point of preliminary consultation with the State fore ecclesiastical appointments, vehemently condemned by us IX. as incompatible with the principles of the Church, but nich Pius VII. held to be a matter as to which it formed part of his indelible disciplinary *magisterium* to impose opinion. 3. Will he be prepared to declare that with this ird Chapter, proclaimed as a Dogmatic Decree, he can ntemplate the possibility of his ever, 'as Head of the Papal urch in England,' associating himself with his Suffragan shops for the purpose of remonstrating, even feebly, against postolical Briefs analogous to those so unceremoniously pro-ted against by the Irish Bishops? 4. If he should think at such remonstrance need not be incompatible with the sub-ssion due by him, according to the Third Chapter, to the pe's immediate and ordinary jurisdiction, will he be also dy to affirm that, in presence of certain facts, with which must be well acquainted, he can in his conscience believe that us IX. would tolerate any manifestations of independent inion by any section of the hierarchy similar to those which us VII. did not deem it incompatible with the nature of his fice to acquiesce in? One fact in particular, which we have present in our mind, is the action by the present Pope towards e Uniat Armenian Church.

The Uniat Armenians acquired their Constitution as a dy in communion with Rome under an instrument from nedict XIV. In that deed guarantees of the most solemn nd were given by the Pope for the continued free election of triarchs, Bishops, and Clergy, conformably to the old-esta-lished usages of the Oriental rites. This Constitution carried ith it other than strictly religious bearings. It has been the variable practice of the Turkish Government to accord civil ghts to its non-Mussulman subjects only as members of cknowledged religious communities, represented through offi-ially recognised Headmen resident at Constantinople, and rmed Civil Patriarchs. Only as such Patriarchs come to be cognised by the Sublime Porte, does a religious community quire a legal status in the Ottoman empire, whose acquies-nce in the nomination is consequently an essential condition r the validity of the position of this dignity in the State. urely spiritual authority can be exercised through the medium of

of strictly sacerdotal influence over sympathizing minds; b a legal status, with the many benefits accruing therefrom, c be obtained in the Turkish empire by a Christian communi only through the concurrence of the Porte, in its being const tuted as a community, the headship whereof is vested in recognised Patriarch. It became quite naturally an object wit the Roman Curia to obtain for the Uniat community eccles astically constituted this recognition from the Porte. This w at last accomplished in 1830; and from that time, beside t national Armenian, there was also an Uniat Patriarch, who h a civil position at Constantinople. Manifestly such an arrang ment partakes of the nature of a compact, resting upon cond tions interchanged between the Body seeking and the Stat according legal recognition; the very foremost being necessarily that the ecclesiastical authorities should not assume to modify of themselves the Constitution that had been acquiesced in by the State. This is, however, what Pius IX. has deemed himself justified in doing towards the Uniat Church and the Turkish Government. For years it was the endeavour of Rome to supplant the native priesthood of national fibre by importation of clergy educated at the Propaganda, with the view of silently undermining the organic liberties which by the tenor of Pope Benedict's Charter had been secured to this Church. The process came to a climax on the intrusion of one Hussain, a Roman nominee, into the Patriarchate. On the occasion of the last vacancy in the See, the electors duly assembled, according to canonical prescription, for the nomination of a successor, were astounded by the production of a Papal Brief, issued in absolute secrecy some years before, by which Hussain had been assured of the reversion. Through artifice, and through influences considerably reinforced by French diplomacy, Hussain contrived to get himself sufficiently accepted in his community, so as to acquire the recognition of the Porte as Patriarch. As the representative of the Uniat Armenians he attended the Vatican Council, and there his conduct brought matters to a crisis. In violation of the oath which he had been made to swear on his elevation, conformably to the instrument of Benedict XIV., Hussain recognised the Pope's absolute and direct authority in all matters touching the Church, of whose ancient liberties he had been sworn as guardian. What ensued is matter of public knowledge. The Armenian Bishops in Rome—barring those who, like Hussain, were creatures of the Propaganda—withdrew from a Council which had become for them only an instrument of coercion, seeking, in the first instance, under the diplomatic wing of the Sultan's ambassador, some protection against that

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on gripe' which, in virtue of an assumedly Divine prerogae to extort in all things unlimited obedience, strove in their sons to strangle ecclesiastical liberties of venerable origin. nen all appeals finally failed in making any impression on obduracy of Papal passion, there occurred the inevitable sequence—a determined repudiation by the Uniat body of action perpetrated by an unfaithful Patriarch—the solemn position, according to canonical forms, of Hussain—and a te of things involving the separation of an ancient rite from me, and obliging the Porte to withdraw its recognition from Patriarch, and to decline the Pope's demand that it should cibly coerce the Armenians into ecclesiastical subjection to ssain, in other words, to Rome.* These transactions are eminently interesting, for they furnish a gauge whereby to asure the stretch to which Pius IX. is prepared to drive dently the wedge of his personal authority through ecclesiastical arters, however august, and athwart the domain of civil jurisction, however unquestionable. In this stroke of usurpation initiative proceeded exclusively from the Pope, who gratified lust of absolute power in the appointment of Bishops by a, which deliberately brought the Church into collision with State, and constituted a striking instance of highhanded d contemptuous disregard of the latter. Archbishop Manng, from the part he played in the Vatican Council, must be roughly familiar with these occurrences, though he has not n fit to make any allusion to them. Can he say that the ion of Pius IX. on this occasion was strictly in conformity th precedents 'as old as the Catholic Church'? Is the colion, which most undoubtedly did ensue out of this matter tween the Pope and the State, one which with any show of son can be said to be due—as the Archbishop affirms all ch collisions to be due—to 'a systematic conspiracy against Holy See'?

The far East is by no means the single quarter where us IX. has exhibited specimens of the encroachment upon memorial custom in Church government, which he deems ential for sound 'regimen et disciplina Ecclesiæ' in these ter days. They are forthcoming near home; indeed, so very ar, that some touch Archbishop Manning himself closely. fore the Committee of the House of Lords upon the Condition Ireland in 1825, Archbishop Murray made the following statents as to the mode in which Roman Catholic Bishops were pointed to Ireland:—

* A succinct account of these transactions is to be found in the Appendix to tescue's 'Armenian Church.'

'The

'The nomination of Roman Catholic Bishops is vested in t Bishop of Rome, but he *never appoints, at least for many years he h not appointed, except from the recommendation of some portion of t Irish Catholic clergy.*' 'Are you to be understood that the Pope do not customarily nominate them, except on recommendation?'—'*I never does, so far at least as many years back.*' 'Have there been a instances in which, when persons have been so recommended for ins tution, the Pope has refused his consent?'—'*Not within my recoll tion.*' 'In point of fact, the Pope has always taken the recommen tion of the clergy in Ireland?'—'*Always, in my recollection.*'

And Bishop Doyle, after confirming all this, added the follo ing remarkable observation in reply to a further question:—

'If the Pope were to reject any recommendation of any per proposed to be appointed Bishop, in Ireland, what would be the co sequences? must there be a fresh election?'—'*That is a case which not hitherto occurred in the history of our Church, as far as I am quainted with it, and it would be too much for so humble an individua I am to state what resolutions the persons concerned would come to in t event.*' (Committee, House of Lords, March 21 and 24.)

The case which had never occurred in the history of t Church, and the event which was of so wholly foreign character that the mind of the learned Bishop Doyle declin even to contemplate its occurrence, has, since his time, beco not unfamiliar to the Catholics of Great Britain. In Irela Cardinal Cullen was named to the See of Armagh by dire nomination from the Pope, who set aside all the candidates su mitted for selection by the local clergy, according to custo The innovation thus made on ancient usage has since bee repeated more than once in Ireland, and has likewise bee introduced into England. It was to such an exercise of th Pope's plenary authority that Archbishop Manning exclusivel owed his promotion. Previous to the creation of the Hierarchy England, being in the state of a Mission, was ecclesiastically under Vicars-Apostolic directly named from Rome. At various times the Catholics of this country made earnest efforts to obtain a Hierarchy, so as to be rid of ecclesiastical superiors who were blind instruments of a foreign element. In the latter part of the seventeenth century two prominent English priests even contemplated getting a Bishop consecrated by French prelates, with the view of effecting canonical emancipation; and again in 1792 an Association was founded, avowedly, according to Milner, 'to oppose the usurpations of Rome and the tyranny of the Vicars-Apostolic.' But when Pius IX. did establish a Hierarchy, he took the precaution to cripple its faculties. England still remains under the Propaganda, as if it were in a state of Mission, and although

although capitular bodies are allowed to go through the form of presentment, these carry in practice no weight at Rome. On Cardinal Wiseman's death, not only was Archbishop Manning intruded on the Chapter, but as one of the three candidates recommended by it, happened to have been Coadjutor of the See, *cum iure successionis*, the Pope, by an unprecedented stroke of power, actually stripped him of his ecclesiastical position in order to make room for his own nominee. As on the occasion of the last Episcopal vacancy, the Pope likewise promoted to the See of Nottingham an ecclesiastic of his own choice, in entire disregard of the names submitted by the Chapter, it is manifest that this mode of direct Papal nominations is becoming a system. After the promulgation of the Third Chapter, such a proceeding is perfectly normal; for it distinctly abrogates all independent Episcopal rights, and reduces the universal Hierarchy into an assemblage of Papal creatures.

There is, indeed, one rejoinder Vatican apologists might perhaps make to the points we have been dwelling upon. They may say that the incidents referred to have occurred anterior to and independently of the Vatican Decrees, and that consequently they must be irrelevant to the immediate subject matter under controversy, namely, whether through these Decrees the Pope's prerogative has been really stretched. Such a plea would be more specious than valid. The subject matter of inquiry is not whether the sentiments in the Decrees are wholly without precedent, but whether they are conformable to any precedent in dogmatic utterances; and as they are now embodied in utterances of this august character, it is very much to the purpose to note the nature and temperament of that dominant force which has succeeded in clothing these sentiments with a semblance of the sublimest sanction it is possible to frame upon earth. The ecclesiastical acts of Pius IX. are deserving, therefore, of special attention—and none more so than the much-commented on Encyclical of 1864, with the accompanying Syllabus. Mr. Gladstone has levelled his lance with an unswerving directness against these famous utterances, as authoritative expositions of principles, with which it is the determined aim of the Papal power to inundate the Roman body through the faculties conferred upon it in virtue of these Decrees. Whether in his reading of these documents he may not have overstrained the meaning here or there of a word is of very secondary importance. The point of moment is whether, by those who are competent representatives of the Roman Church—of the elements, moral, intellectual, and devotional that are embodied in its present Executive—these documents are regarded as merely casual ex-

pressions incidentally dropped by the man Pius IX., and clothed with no authoritative weight, or whether they are accepted by them as Pontifical sentences of august force. Dr. Newman states his view on this head with a clearness which is free from all ambiguity. He holds the Encyclical to be, indeed, an utterance conveying 'infallible judgment' (p. 82); but in the Syllabus he can recognise only an anonymous document, with 'no mark or seal put upon it which gives it a direct relation to the Pope.' Again he says:—

'Who is its author? . . . anyhow it is not the Pope, and *I do not see my way to accept it for what it is not.* . . . I assent to that which the Pope propounds in faith, and morals, *but it must be he speaking officially, personally, and immediately*, and not any one else, who has a hold over me. *The Syllabus is not an official act*, because it is not signed, for instance, with "Datum Romæ, Pius P. P. IX.," or "sub annulo Piscatoris," or in some other way; *it is not a personal*, for he does not address his "Venerabiles Fratres," or "Dilecto Filio," or speak as "Pius Episcopus;" *it is not an immediate*, for it comes to the Bishops only through the Cardinal Minister of State. *If, indeed, the Pope should ever make that anonymous compilation directly his own, then, of course, I should bow to it*, and accept it as strictly His' (p. 79).

Finally, he adds, '*The Syllabus then has no dogmatic force*' (p. 81). We accept these explicit declarations from Dr. Newman, as the expressions of his sincere conviction, and in no sort couched in language adopted for the occasion; but also nowhere in his Letter are we more forcibly impressed that we peruse the composition of one who, though eminent for the purity of his Catholic sentiments, is yet in no manner in the counsels of Rome. Whatever defect on the score of Chancery forms the curious eye of an ecclesiastical antiquarian might be able to detect in the Syllabus, if he were minded to pick holes in its value as a canonical instrument, it cannot for one instant be called in question by any candid mind but that the solemn—nay, dogmatic—character of the Syllabus has been affirmed in the plainest terms, not merely by Theologians who stand generally high in Vatican favour, but also by such as have been the objects of an approval marked in this conspicuous respect, that, subsequent to their having publicly and solemnly attributed this high character to the Syllabus, they were selected by the plenary discretion of the Holy See for participation in the responsible duty of preparing the material out of which the assembled Episcopate of Latin Christendom was required to fashion the Decrees on Obedience and Infallibility. Dr. Newman more than once refers to writers of standing in his Church. He cites Bishop Dupanloup and Father Coleridge, and particularly Bishop Fessler, the latter of whom,

ı, as Mr. Gladstone appropriately observes, shortly before eath was prompted to write a treatise with the view of hing down some of the most objectionable points in an theology. Nowhere, however, does Dr. Newman so as allude to one who, certainly amongst divines prized in ;, holds a foremost rank, and has written a commentary on yllabus that has been honoured with the express approba- of the Pope—the Jesuit Father Schrader. Mr. Gladstone ıoroughly established the degree to which this Jesuit divine cates the solemn nature of the Syllabus, as an emphatic nce of positive and affirmative sentences, carrying, for all Catholics, the force of sacred obligations. The treatise in ı this character is claimed for the Syllabus is not to be light of—for not only is it given to the world with the ıer of a Papal approbation, but the writer has been subse- ly intrusted by the Pope with theological duties of the : subtlety. But granting that the opinion of one who has edly been admitted into the innermost workshop of the an, was either unknown to or deliberately deemed of rfect authority by Dr. Newman, yet we cannot close our to the fact, that in what he says as to the nature of the bus he diametrically flies in the face of the views ex- ed with emphatic solemnity by his immediate ecclesiastical ior. It is not the least remarkable circumstance in Arch- p Manning's 'Reply' that, although professedly directed e refutation of Mr. Gladstone's propositions, and ushered th a declaration that such refutation shall be full, and its ls shall not be ambiguous,' he has not found it to be within ope to grapple with him on this ground of the Syllabus, from inadvertence or design) gives the matter the go-by. e Protestant reader, who seeks from this treatise to learn pinion of the Archbishop of Westminster in regard to the e of authority, which it is incumbent on a sound Catholic ach to the document in question, will find himself with- he least glimmering of enlightenment. Nor will he gain ing to the purpose from the slight allusion made by Mon- r Capel to the Syllabus. For some reason both these ates of Vatican principles have been led to omit taking e of what in our opinion constitutes a capital point in M:. ıtone's charge, which it would have been of primary impor- to shatter. Happily the light not vouchsafed in pages t only for allaying the misgivings of startled minds, is to be in those very instructive Pastorals of the Archbishop's, which he quotes, indeed, largely, but still only to leave out ges yet more pregnant in import. On the point of the

authority which should attach to the Syllabus, the Archbishop delivered himself thus in a Pastoral to his Clergy in 1867. After alluding to the address to the Pope by the Bishops in Rome at the Centenary of St. Peter, the Archbishop says:—

'By these words the Bishops did not confirm the Acts of the Pontiff as if they needed confirmation . . . They did not intend or imply that the supreme Pontifical Acts since 1862, in the form of Allocutions, Briefs, Encyclicals, *and the Syllabus*, were of imperfect and only inchoate authority until their acceptance should confirm them. *Nothing was further from the thoughts of the pastors of the Church.* . . . The Encyclical Quanta Cura *and the Syllabus or Compendium of Eighty Condemnations* in previous Encyclicals and Allocutions—all these had been at once received by them *as part of the supreme teaching of the Church* through the person of its Head, which *by the special assistance of the Holy Ghost is preserved from error.* They did not add certainly *to that which was already infallible.* . . . It has been my intention to treat of the Encyclical and Syllabus fully and explicitly. But the urgency of other duties has delayed it till now, and I have been compelled to content myself with publishing these two Pontifical Acts in our fifth Diocesan Synod *as a part of the supreme and infallible teaching of the Church, both in the Declarations and in the Condemnations contained in them.*'—*Petri Privilegium*, pp. 33–38.

He must be a bold man who would venture even on the pretence of an effort to bring into harmony the sense of these emphatic declarations by the Archbishop with that of the language, in which Dr. Newman expresses his estimate as to the intrinsic value of the Syllabus. Beyond all cavil, there is here a serious divergence of sentiment, neither veiled nor capable of being veiled, between these two distinguished champions of the same Faith, which constitutes a perplexing illustration on the much-vaunted unity in belief put forward as the characteristic attribute of their persuasion. Where then can we hope for a decisive test as to which of the two commentators on this article has truly spoken in conformity with the intention that inspired its composition? There is one ready to hand, the fallibility of which cannot be possibly assumed by any Catholic, and the testimony borne by which against his opinion Dr. Newman cannot fail to accept as conclusive the instant his attention is drawn to its existence. Amongst the authorities he is fond, and rightly so, of referring to is the 'Recueil des Allocutions.' It needs only to skim the pages of this volume to become impressed with the vigilance of the Holy See in watching for and censuring opinions that may spring up regarding itself, which it considers to be erroneous. The promptness with which the Pope discharges this function has never failed, in particular when an error has manifested itself

f within the area of the Faithful. That the Syllabus has construed with marked emphasis by a widely diffused and active section of the priesthood, as a Pontifical utterance ied with that grave character which the Archbishop ascribes , is beyond challenge, and specially testified to by Dr. New- . That the construction thus put upon the Syllabus has erfully stimulated an angry feeling against the Holy See in ous quarters—that it has exposed the Church to much ic obloquy—is also matter that cannot be questioned. If the sense that was being put on his Act with so much onstrativeness by an influential section of the Church, and was productive of such deep irritation on the outer public ie disadvantage of the Church, was one the Pope himself diated, how comes it that he should never have stepped ard in accordance with his invariable custom to chide and d opinions at once so false and so grievously mischievous? have kept silence under circumstances of this nature would been to prove unfaithful to that divine *Magisterium* which, rding to Catholic belief, is the indelible attribute of the r See, for such silence on the part of the Pope would be mount to his conniving at the unimpeded circulation of e errors amongst his flock. Can Dr. Newman point to single expression—be it ever so casual—that has fallen the Pope, which seems to breathe the faintest disavowal ose constructions that would render the Syllabus little less a new Decalogue revealed to this sinful world through pecially inspired organ of Pius IX.? Until he can do so d for this he will have to wait for some sentence as yet oken—we really cannot accept the estimate put by Dr. man upon the intrinsic value of the Syllabus in any light : than as a private—we even venture to call it a strictly ridual—opinion. Indeed, the demonstration involved in the inued Papal silence should, for a Catholic, be so overpower- conclusive, that we can only suppose Dr. Newman must inadvertently overlooked this public fact when evolving ments out of the subtleness of his brain in the isolation of ell.

e are strengthened in this surmise by Dr. Newman's lan- e in reference to another matter of first-rate importance in controversy—the declarations in regard to the doctrines in the Roman Church, which were made with the view of ritatively satisfying the British Government on this head, aratory to a relaxation of the Penal Laws. The meaning eyed by Dr. Newman's remarks must be, that the British ernment received spurious declarations, because emanating from

from quarters not capable of giving assurances of sterling value; and that Rome, which alone could have furnished such, never had cognizance of the bodies that assumed to issue the said declarations. According to Dr. Newman, Rome remained necessarily ignorant of that which, though professedly spoken in her name, was, in truth, a clandestine and unauthorized declaration. 'Why did they [the English Ministers] potter about the halls of Universities in this matter of Papal exorbitances, or rely upon the pamphlets and examinations of Bishops whom they never asked for their credentials? Why not go at once to Rome?' (p. 14.) And, again: 'Bishops brought from the corners of the earth in 1870, what could they know of English Blue-books and Parliamentary debates in the years 1826 and 1829?' (p. 16.) No doubt not a few among the Bishops in the Vatican Council must stand excused for not knowing what passed on the occasion referred to. But to plead such excuse for the Holy See, and to allege that the vouchers given to the British Government were patently faulty, as emanating from unauthorized sources, and without credentials of genuineness, is an argument which Dr. Newman would never have ventured to advance had he first mastered the facts. It is true that if we accept Archbishop Manning's emphatic language as decisive of what has been the doctrine of the Church, we shall find ourselves driven to conclusions which may well trouble the soul of a Catholic. He lays it down with a definiteness which expresses dogmatic conviction, that 'The Infallibility of the Head of the Church was a doctrine of Divine Faith before it was defined in 1870,' and that to have called it at any time in question was 'at least proximate to heresy, if not actually heresy.' Should, therefore, this doctrine have been denied, not merely by a scrap assemblage of unauthorized divines, or even a certain number of grave doctors, but by a whole Body of Bishops, and by the united voices of the Faculties of Theology in the most renowned Catholic Schools,—in respect to whom it can be shown that they were in proximate communication with the Holy See, as also that their particular utterances on the matter immediately under consideration were known to and checked by the Holy See,—then we should be at a loss to guess how in the eyes of Archbishop Manning, the Holy See can stand exonerated from having fallen itself into what would be 'at least proximate to heresy,' for connivance in explicit public declarations from these same Bishops and Faculties in repudiation of this doctrine of Infallibility.

Dr. Newman's argument rests wholly on the assumption that the Declarations in question were put forth under conditions which enabled

enabled them to escape the infallibly testing cognizance of that divine *Magisterium* which is resident in Rome. If 'real information' was desired, why, asks Dr. Newman, was not application made straight to 'headquarters'? If then it can be shown that 'headquarters' were by no means in ignorance of what was being done here in England and elsewhere, we apprehend that Dr. Newman's arguments must forthwith crumble away at the base.

At the suggestion of Mr. Pitt, the Roman Catholic community presented a statement of the tenets taught in their persuasion in reference to the Pope's personal authority. Accordingly they obtained the opinion of the five most celebrated Catholic Faculties in Europe on points submitted to them; and they drew up, besides, a Protestation of their principles, justly designated by Mr. Gladstone, 'in the strictest sense, a representative and binding document,' to which the English Vicars-Apostolic affixed their subscriptions. That document was deposited in the British Museum, where it still is. Out of this arose the Catholic Relief Bill, wherewith was connected a form of oath which, as originally framed, was pronounced unobjectionable. It contained a formal denial of any jurisdiction or authority within the realm 'on the part of any foreign prince, person, prelate, or potentate.' But though thus accepted and sanctioned after mature consideration (Bishop James Talbot, we are told, took the oath home with him for some days for examination before giving it his assent), an Encyclical was subsequently issued collectively by the four Vicars-Apostolic (including the same Bishop Talbot) declaring that 'none of the Faithful, laity or clergy' should take the new oath. This abrupt change of front was due to intimations from 'headquarters.' Mr. Gladstone says rightly, 'that the history connected herewith is rather obscurely given in Butler.' But though we have not the text of the monitions from Rome, this much is beyond controversy: that the Roman Catholic community in this country, represented by its Episcopal heads, as well as by its principal members, had come to an understanding on a Declaration of principles; that this Declaration, coupled with a form of oath confirmatory of its tenor, had been deliberately approved of as conformable to conscience and doctrine; and that subsequently these same Episcopal heads felt bound by their obligations of deference to Rome to put forth an Encyclical cancelling their previous assent *as regards the oath*, and inhibiting the Faithful from acting thereon. Here then we have it demonstrated that the doings of the Roman Catholic Body in these islands were not lost sight of by those at 'headquarters;' but, on the contrary, were there continually watched and dogged with jealous vigilance.

vigilance. As a striking instance of how watchfully the eyes of Rome ever followed the movements of English prelates, the severe censure inflicted on Bishop Milner, in 1820, for no greater fault than that, in 'Andrews' Orthodox Journal,' he had committed himself to the opinion that the Revolution was quite as much due to 'the bad example of a degenerate clergy' as to irreligion, is sufficiently to the point. It is impossible that Dr. Newman, with his natural candour, could for a moment maintain the proposition implied in his words, that Rome could have been in ignorance of what was being done by the parties in question in her name, after his attention has been drawn to the elementary facts of the case. We may therefore safely dismiss the untenable hypothesis, with a confident belief that Dr. Newman will concur in its being removed out of sight, that the Bishops in 1826 met and gave forth a corporate Declaration, with their names and Episcopal titles attached thereto, that 'IT IS NOT AN ARTICLE OF CATHOLIC FAITH, NOR ARE CATHOLICS REQUIRED TO BELIEVE THAT THE POPE IS INFALLIBLE;' without this having been brought to the knowledge of 'headquarters.'

Even if we could persuade ourselves that through some miracle of non-transmission this Declaration failed to reach the ears of the Pope, the case would not be a whit mended. For in 1810 there was made a Declaration yet more solemn, a *Synodal* Declaration by the Irish Episcopate, in approval of the Oath at that time exacted from Catholics in Ireland, which must perforce have come from the Synod under cognizance of Rome. In that Oath it was sworn that—'IT IS NOT AN ARTICLE OF THE CATHOLIC FAITH, NEITHER AM I THEREBY REQUIRED TO BELIEVE OR PROFESS THAT THE POPE IS INFALLIBLE.' On this the Bishops in Synod declared—'That said Oath, and the promises, declarations, abjurations, and protestations therein contained, are notoriously, *to the Roman Catholic Church at large, become a part of the Roman Catholic Religion*, as taught by us Bishops, and received and maintained by the Roman Catholic Churches in Ireland, *and as such are approved and sanctioned by the other Roman Catholic Churches.*' And from Rome, the depository of an indelible *Magisterium*, and one so wakeful as instantly to trounce so trusty a servant as Bishop Milner for the veriest trifle of a slip, there never breathed even a whiff of censure on those Bishops for this solemn and august affirmation in Synod of an opinion 'at least proximate to heresy,' according to Archbishop Manning.

To these undeniably very pertinent matters neither the Archbishop nor Monsignor Capel have seen fit to make any allusion, however distant. For those who should derive their knowledge only

from the tracts of these divines, such very stubborn facts ld be left entirely out of cognizance. Yet the Archbishop not deemed it irrelevant to launch into lengthened discus- s on transactions far less germane to the subject-matter of his ise. While he has not a single word to say in reference to ns by those in charge of the Roman Church in these islands cedently to the Vatican Decrees, which, when viewed in the t of the latter, acquire a perplexing appearance of irregularity, Archbishop is prompted to travel discursively through the t scattered fields of history. He gives a synopsis, as bold as novel, of Italian history in connection with that of the Popes; glances obliquely at France, and the Gallican opinions; nce he passes on to Germany, on which country he has some ments, certainly not wanting in originality; while as regards land, he contents himself with occasional side-shots, which, the volleys on field-days, seem more calculated for parade the rough work of close quarters. These portions of his ise, though not strictly to its theme, are, nevertheless, highly uctive. From them, better than from his fence with specu- e matter, we acquire a standard whereby to gauge the Arch- op's faculty for faithful observation, and the spirit in which s prone to deal with facts.

If anybody will persist in saying that the *two and twenty s of aggression* against the Holy See, from 1848 to 1870, caused by Pius IX., I must address myself to other men,' aims the Archbishop. 'Who, I ask, began the fray? *From Siccardi laws down to the laws of the Guarantees* who were the essors?' (p. 99). But what were these same Siccardi laws, h here are made to figure as the first burglarious weapon med to have been levelled at the Pope's existence? Were in any sense an act of violence against him, either in his city as Sovereign of a Principality, or as Pontiff? These ardi laws, which are here exhumed after a lapse of years with view of being stalked forth for effect in the semblance of thing horribly sacrilegious, were never anything more than icipal enactments, not of any revolutionary Italian Parlia- t, but of the Piedmontese Legislature, to have force simply in the limits of the Piedmontese State, and to what purpose? y, to none other than had already been effected in most an Catholic States, namely, the abrogation of the Forum lesiasticum—the limitation of those civil powers on the part eligious corporations which had been acquired during the dle Ages, and are admittedly quite incompatible with the principles of modern government. Archbishop Manning carefully

carefully avoids saying a word in definition of these outrageous Siccardi laws, though he cannot but be thoroughly acquainted with their nature. And yet he does not think it incompatible with accuracy to represent these Piedmontese statutes for the mere regulation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in accordance with the practice of most Catholic countries, as the opening step in a course of ruthless aggression on the Supreme Pontiff. But were there no propositions made during these two and twenty years to propitiate this Supreme Pontiff—which, both at the time and since, were deemed conformable to his spiritual position by many unimpeachable Catholics? Dr. Newman, at least, in illustration of how the Pope's right of supremacy rests legitimately but on assent, refers pointedly to our having heard 'much of the Pope being made the head of an Italian Confederation,' and manifestly implies that such an arrangement would have been satisfactory. Is it imperfect acquaintance with the events of the last fifteen years in Italy that has led Archbishop Manning wholly to omit reference to this often discussed scheme—to speak only of aggression, and to have no other terms than Infidels and Conspirators, Doctrinaires and Communists, for the men who have reared a national Unity, from which the Archbishop piously prays 'God may save Italy'? Amongst the men thus branded as Infidels and Communists—'perverting the intellect and dividing the wills of the men of Italy,'—there must be classed one, of the scene at whose deathbed, as of the scenes consequent thereon, the Archbishop—who boasts of his intimate acquaintance with Rome from a seven years' residence—could hardly have failed to hear. He might have remembered how there had been one Camillo Cavour; how, when struck down in mortal sickness, this 'Infidel and Conspirator' had duly sought as a professing Catholic the ministrations of the Catholic Church; how a Friar of unimpeached character had bestowed them, as in duty he was bound, to the dying man; and how, for such performance of his duty as a Catholic priest, this unsophisticated Friar was summoned to Rome, and there upbraided with harsh censures from the mouth of an infallible Pope. But that episode did not fit into the Archbishop's fanciful panorama, and so has been quietly put out of sight.

Not less daring is the mode in which he professes to prove the Popes to have been throughout the champions of national patriotism. In passing, be it observed, that the mere venture of such proposition is a preposterous feat of self-contradiction; for if there is one point which has been emphasized by the Archbishop, it is that the essential distinction of Catholicism,

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s represented visibly by the Papacy, consists in its being the xpression of an universal element in contradistinction to the arrow and strictly parochial nature of Nationalism.

'If Italy . . . should forget the *labours and sufferings and dangers hich united its Pontiffs and its people in the wars of its independence, reedom, and unity;* if it should forget the confederations wrought y the Pontiffs, by which *they made all the divisions of Italy work gether for the liberties of the whole Peninsula,* from the Alps to its ot—then, indeed, I should despair of its future' (p. 152).

What would be thought of a writer who, dilating on the pre-ninently national and public-spirited devotion of all our Sove-igns, left out, as if they had not existed, the Plantagenets, with eir French ambitions, and the Stuarts, with their high preroga-ve doctrines, to mention only the Saxon Kings and those of the ouse of Hanover? This would be precisely analogous to the mes selected by the Archbishop in demonstration that the pes were ever the guardians of Italian patriotism in the broadest nse. Glancing down his catalogue, we detect no mention of e Borgias, or the Medici, or the Farneses. All that portion Papal history is simply left out, which is represented by the asping Popes of those lineages, who strenuously strove to con-rt the tenure of the Pontificate into the means of founding a nastic power vested in their families, and whose memories e for ever enshrined in the word Nepotism, that had to be coined express the peculiar form of jobbery which grew rank under eir Pontifical auspices.

The observations of the Archbishop are of more serious im-rtance when he discourses on current events in Germany. In at country the antagonism, intellectual, spiritual, and political, etween Catholicism and Romanism, between State and Church, rising out of the Vatican Decrees, has grown to a head not o be made light of, and the Archbishop is ready with an account f how this state of things has been brought about. 'I will race out more fully the history of this conspiracy, in order o put beyond question my assertion that the plan of attack vas prepared before the Council.' For evidence of this we are eferred to the fact that the Bavarian Minister Hohenlohe, in a lispatch of April 1869, suggested the expediency of 'those overnments that rule over Catholic subjects,' conferring amongst iemselves as to their attitude towards the Council. This pro-osal for common consultation is termed a conspiracy; and we e told furthermore, 'no one could fail to see that this circular id not Prince Hohenlohe for its author. We shall afterwards race it to its legitimate origin.' That fountain-head the Arch-shop detects in Dr. Döllinger, to whom 'truth compels to ascribe

ascribe the initiative in this deplorable attempt to coerce the Holy See, and to overbear the liberty of the Bishops assembled in council;' a prophet of Belial, at whose 'instigation,' says the Archbishop, 'the Liberals and Infidels of Europe rose up.' Dr. Newman decidedly differs in opinion, for besides alluding in reverential terms to the great German theologian, he pointedly expresses regret at 'the neglect of the Catholic Powers to send representatives to the Council *who might have laid before the Fathers its political bearings*' (p. 16). To the evil-minded inspiration of the man, whom the Archbishop would fain represent in the dark colours of a sinister traitor, he ascribes 'the infamous matter of Janus,' and the 'document containing five questions proposed by the Bavarian Government to the Theological Faculty at Munich.'

'No one could for a moment doubt,' he says, 'by what hand those interrogatories also were framed; they were intended to elicit the answer that the action of the Council, if it were to define the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff, would be irreconcilable, not only with Catholic doctrine, *but with the security of civil Governments*' (p. 105).

That this conclusion was deducible from the arguments given with remarkable moderation of language in this opinion would be a fair statement, but the irreconcilableness between the proposed dogma and the civil power was certainly not affirmed in distinct terms. We are bound, however, to admit that these allegations were made later, very explicitly in another document which the Archbishop has forgotten to make use of. In an elaborate Declaration, under date of April 10, 1870, which was addressed to the Presiding Legates of the Council, the following statements are to be found:—

'We are far from the unjust opinion of those who charge the medieval Popes with unbounded ambition and the disturbance of civil order, because they pronounced judgment on Kings and Empires. . . . . For as those Popes, like the most learned, judged the Past by the measure of their times, and also were deceived by false reports of Popes having deposed Emperors in former centuries, so they were firmly persuaded, and in Decrees and Rescripts declared, how the right was given them by God, *to command and to judge on all temporal concerns in respect to sin. . . . This doctrine as to the relations of Papal to Temporal Power Boniface VIII. promulgated in the Bull Unam Sanctam, and enjoined as compulsory on all the Faithful. Some, indeed, seek to remove difficulties* by maintaining Boniface defined nothing more than that all are bound to recognize the Roman Pontiff as the Head of the Church appointed by Christ; *but for any one acquainted with the transactions between Boniface and Philip the Fair, there cannot be a shadow of doubt as to the intention of the Pope who promulgated the Bull in a Synod held expressly concerning France. . . .* The doctrine

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propound to the Christian people, in common with nearly all hops of the Catholic world, in reference to the relations between ritual and temporal authority is a different one. . . . It is neces- y to point out *the dangers that would arise to the Church from a ree not in accordance with our doctrine.* No one is ignorant of impossibility to reconstitute civil society on the rules laid down he Bull Unam Sanctam. . . . *Should, therefore, Christian instruction framed on this principle, then it would be of little avail for Catholics to everate ever so strenuously, that what relates to the power of the Holy over temporal matters is confined within the limits of theory, and not at the present time be of any weight in regard to facts and events;* t Pius IX. has not the most distant thought of deposing temporal ereigns. *Our opponents would reply with derision;* of Papal sen- ces we are not afraid; but after much and various dissimulation at t it is made public, *that every Catholic whose acts are guided by Faith born enemy to the State, inasmuch as in conscience he must deem self bound to do all in his might that all realms and people be subject he Pope.'*

Here, indeed, we have a protest of singular force and point, ifted, moreover, not like the Munich document in hypothetical ms, but in direct criticism of the actual text of the decree. om whom, then, did this notable document emanate? Did it ceed from the impious pen of some 'Liberal and Infidel' ponding fiendishly to the instigation of the arch-serpent, Dr. öllinger? If so, then his subtle influence extended deep into e very penetralia of the Church. For this document was avow- ly composed by no less a person than the Cardinal Archbishop Vienna; and amongst the Episcopal signatures subscribed nds that of Ketteler of Mayence, 'that distinguished Bishop Germany,' whose 'noble protest' Archbishop Manning de- hts in quoting extensively, when his effusions are directed fulmination of the laws of his country. It is well to re- mber that this protest must be perfectly familiar to the Arch- shop who was so prominent a figure in the Council. So much r the candour of his argument; so much also for the charge sinister conspiracy sought to be fastened on Dr. Döllinger, cause of the guarded opinion given by the Munich Faculty April 1869; and so much for the ingenuousness that can be ercome with perfect paroxysms of horror when Mr. Gladstone plies that civil allegiance might apparently be imperilled rough the power vested in a spiritual autocrat by the Vatican ecrees, but deems it strictly compatible with pious emotion t to say one word against the same sentiment, though ex- essed with an intensified point, when to have done so would inevitably attended with creating scandal about Prelates whom

whom at the present moment it is desired to puff to the skies as models of Catholic orthodoxy and Apostolical virtue.*

It will have been observed how these Fathers of the Church committed themselves to a very decided construction of the *Unam Sanctam*. We shall not stop to consider the Archbishop's laboured dissertation on this serious stumbling-block for Infallibilists and Minimizers. Should some one still need to master the elements of the case, we strongly recommend the powerful statement as to the nature of this Bull by an anonymous writer in 'Macmillan's Magazine.' † Here we would but indicate how the Archbishop has fallen into glaring contradiction with what, in days when already he had become a member of the Roman Church, was still publicly affirmed by Roman authorities in this country to be the only doctrine they would teach on the matters in question. In unmistakable terms the Archbishop claims for the Pope what has been designated by a school of theological sophists *indirect power*. The Archbishop's words are: 'In whatsoever things, whether essentially *or by accident*, the spiritual end, that is, the end of the Church, is necessarily involved, in those things, *though they be temporal, the Church may by right exert its power*, and the *Civil State ought to yield*' (p. 70). Now here is what in 1854 was stated, in regard to the same matter before Lord Harrowby's Commission of Inquiry into Maynooth, by Dr. O'Hanlon, Prefect of Dunboyne: 'We teach in Maynooth, that the Pope has no temporal power whatever, *direct or indirect*. We have affirmed that doctrine upon our solemn oaths, and we firmly maintain it. . . . *We hold the same doctrine in regard to the Church.*' The reader who turns to 'Macmillan's Magazine' will there find a forcible illustration of how this same formula of '*indirect* power' can be made to work in stretching the Pope's claims. Here it is enough to have pointed out the flagrant discrepancy between declarations of doctrine made authoritatively twenty years ago and at present by the respective representatives of Catholic tenets in this realm at these periods. The Archbishop is, however, at variance not only with co-religionists, but also with himself. The sum and pith of his assertions is to rebut indignantly the notion that the Vatican Council can be obnoxious to the charge of having in

* The text of this declaration is in Friedrich, 'Documenta ad Conc. Vat.,' p. 388. Besides by the Cardinal and Ketteler, it was signed by the Archbishops of Munich and Bamberg, the Bishops of Augsburg, Treves, Ermland, Breslau, Rottenburg, and Osnabruck, the Saxon Vicar-Apostolic, and the Prussian Military Bishop. The opinion of the Munich Faculty will be found in Friedberg's 'Collection,' p. 298.

† See 'Macmillan's Magazine' for December, 1874.

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manner been intended as a weapon that could possibly
:t the existing relations of the Church towards the State.
ıe civil powers of the Christian world have hitherto stood in
:eful relation with an Infallible Church, and that relation
been often recognised and declared by the Church in its
ncils. *The Vatican Council had, therefore, no new matter to*
t on this point' (p. 5). So writes the Archbishop on the
ısion when recognising 'the right of the English people . . .
earn from me what I believe and what I teach,' he comes
rard with a profession of faith that purports to be full, frank,
conclusive, and which, moreover, appeals 'to the justice and
he good sense of the Christian people of this country.' It
ıowever, the melancholy fact that notwithstanding this solemn
ırance of unreserved declaration, the words just quoted stand
ıopeless contradiction to what was given forth by the Arch-
ıop to the circle of his own co-religionists in the Pastoral
ch he indited, with the express purpose of instructing them as
'hat was the contemplated aim of the coming Council. Here
'hat he said on that occasion :—

Another cause requiring the deliberation of the Church is *the*
ıge of its relations, both those of the Holy See and of the several
rches of its Communion, to the civil powers of every country. . . . The
forms of usage and of arrangement need revision, in order to bring
peaceful co-operation the two supreme authorities on which the
fare of society reposes. If the Governments of the world know
r own highest interests, they *will recognise the necessity of entering*
loyal and honourable relations of confidence and co-operation with a
er which pervades, sometimes a large proportion, sometimes the whole
ılation, subject to their civil rule. The Church pervades at least
fourth, if not a third, of the population of Great Britain. . . . *It*
f the highest moment to the civil powers of the world to re-adjust their
tions with the Catholic Church, for so long as the public laws are at
ance with its divine rights and liberties internal peace and fidelity
hardly to be secured. Poland *and Ireland are proofs beyond question.*'
'etri Privilegium, p. 83.

'hese words require no comment, as they admit of no ex-
ining away; and the Archbishop is bound to admit that in
frank declaration for the enlightenment of English Pro-
ants he was gravely oblivious of what he said when addressing
y the Faithful.

'here is still one further matter to be noted in connection
h this passage. Ireland is held up as an example of
r impossible it is to secure the '*fidelity*' of a people
ess public laws be made to accommodate themselves—to
ıt? the demands of conscience? no! but to 'the divine
rights

rights and liberties' of the Church, amongst which, necessarily, must be comprised whatever can be crammed within the elastic compass of the Third Chapter. No wonder this awkwardly candid slip of the pen is carefully kept out of sight in a treatise where the Archbishop is strenuous in denying that religious interests can be made to exert a disturbing leverage on political allegiance; and in professing his strong loyalty to the Queen, though he does, in a way not very intelligible, couple that loyalty with an expression of equally strong affection for the laws of good King Edward. No one would question for a moment the Archbishop's personal wish to prove loyal in an emergency. The question is how far the principles he advocates are, or such as in consistency should, and in practice actually are being attended with results which can obstruct his own personal desires. In this matter of Irish political disaffection, which the Archbishop distinctly identifies with religious sentiment, how can according to his own expressed views of Catholic duty, could he influence his co-religionists towards toleration in the hypothesis that a majority of the Irish people were to become Protestants? The Archbishop affirms that nothing can be more contrary to his principles than religious coercion; and he claims for Catholics that they have always upheld principles of tolerance, the example brought forward being the Constitution of Maryland. Mr. Gladstone justly expresses a belief that the case does not bear out the construction put on it by the Archbishop. Indeed it is incomprehensible how the action of Lord Baltimore, and of a batch of emigrants, can be invoked as an authority for the practice of the Church. Against the spirit of toleration exhibited by Lord Baltimore, a lay peer who never had any ecclesiastical credentials, we might set the spirit of persecution exhibited in the last century by a Sovereign, at the same time a high dignitary of the Church, the Prince Bishop of Salzburg, who cruelly drove his Protestant subjects into exile. The Archbishop is correct in saying that Papal Bulls have forbidden the baptism of children without assent of the parents; and that doctors have not advocated, as a principle, coercion into the Faith of populations that had never been in it. But he must know that the practice in Rome as regards the former has been different, as was made notorious by the Mortara case, while as concerns the latter point it would be desirable to have some more precise definition. The Prince Bishop of Salzburg evidently held that a Protestantism of more than a century was not yet entitled to security. How long a period, for instance, would the Archbishop consider conditional for a Protestant Ireland to acquire in his eyes moral safeguards against being coerced back into the old Faith in the

event of a Catholic power acquiring the physical force? m the Archbishop's words we can gain no satisfactory light. : point is curious only in speculation, the true safeguard being physical condition of things. Still it is the fact that he gnises distinctly religion to be the main factor in Irish tics—that he considers Irish disaffection natural, because nging from a religious source—and that he clearly justifies Pope's interference in political concerns whenever he has physical power to do so. 'The Italian people,' are his ds, 'have been for twenty years spectators of a Revolution ch has overthrown the Sovereigns of Naples and Tuscany.' It o be observed that the case is not limited to the rebellion in Pope's own States, but is expressly stretched to other princities. 'What,' he continues to say, 'has been the action of Pope in respect to the Italian Revolution? *He has said that -operate in the Italian Revolution was not lawful*' (p. 38). In last number we gave documentary evidence how the Pope directed the offices of the Church to be administered in a ner to act as a deterrent from faithfully fulfilling the duties sequent on military conscription in Italy. It is of no small e now to have from the Archbishop this indirect confirma- of the perfect authenticity of these instruments.

lere we take leave of this discussion; but in parting comy we cannot avoid referring to an incident of the hour affords enhanced proof of the different estimation in which supreme Head of the Church holds the two divines on se words we have principally dwelt. While we are in the of writing, tidings come how the Pope has bestowed on the the highest grace in his gift. Him whom we have spoken as Archbishop must henceforth be styled His Eminence. the other divine no honour of any kind has been paid. Dr. wman remains, after his 'Letter to the Duke of Norfolk,' same unnoticed Oratorian Father as before. Yet Pius IX. been singularly lavish of Approbations and Benedictions on ters to his mind. More than a dozen such Apostolical ours are on record to individuals who have vindicated the trine of the Vatican Decrees. Neither Missive nor Benetion, however, has been transmitted from the Vatican to the inent divine, whose advocacy alone has had any serious effect calming suspicion in this country. What has been showered Veuillot and on Ward, that has been sullenly withheld from wman; and in this withholding lies the authoritative declaion that the language of Newman is no language with which me will identify herself. The meaning put by Dr. Newn on the Papal Acts is one now plainly not endorsed by

the Pope; and that fact carries with it a signal justification of the warning note raised by Mr. Gladstone—not against isolated utterances here and there—but against 'the smooth and soft exterior of a system which is dangerous to the foundation of civil order,' if it should indeed be enduringly supported by the whole strength of that powerful organization which has been embodied in the old Constitutions of the Latin Church.

ART. VI.—*The Last Journals of David Livingstone, in Central Africa, from* 1865 *to his Death. Continued by a Narrative, &c. &c.* By Horace Waller, F.R.G.S., Rector of Twywell, Northampton. In two volumes 8vo., with Portrait and Illustrations. London, 1874.

AMIDST the long and universal anxiety for the fate of Livingstone, and the profound sorrow at the tidings of his end, there was not wanting a sense of misgiving lest we had too easily accepted his self-sacrifice, and a fear of retribution by the loss of those records, without which his last seven years' toils and sufferings would seem to have been offered in vain.

In vain for us, but not for the 'infants of humanity' among whom, and for whom, he daily wended his weary way. For the first and highest debt due to the memory of LIVINGSTONE is that we should not invert the order of the objects for which, in the uttermost sense of the word, he spent his life. He was, first and last, the Christian missionary; next, or rather an inseparable part of the Gospel message of freedom, was (in the words of his friend and Editor) 'a sincere trust that slavery, "the great open sore of the world," as he called it, might, under God's good guidance, receive healing at his hands.' His persevering and enthusiastic labours in the cause of geographical science were always subordinate to those higher aims, prompted by 'a fervent hope that others would follow him after he had removed those difficulties which are comprised in a profound ignorance of the physical features of a new country.'

Of his primary work the 'record is on high,' and its imperishable fruits remain on earth. The seeds of the Word of Life, implanted lovingly, with pains and labour, and, above all, with faith;—the out-door scenes of the simple Sabbath service;—the testimony of HIM, to whom the worship was paid, given in words of such simplicity as were fitted to the comprehension of the dark-skinned listeners;—these seeds will not have been scattered by him in vain. Nor have they been sown in words alone, but in deeds, of which some part of the honour will

redound to his successors. The teaching by forgiveness of ries,—by trust, however unworthy the trusted,—by that con- ıce which imputed his own noble nature to those whom he ld win,—by the practical enforcement of the fact, that a might promise and perform, might say the thing he nt;—of this teaching by good deeds, as well as by the ds of truth and love, the successor who treads in the steps of INGSTONE, and accomplishes the discovery he aimed at and ıted the way to, will assuredly reap the benefit.

The records of his labours for progress towards that discovery e of a more perishable kind, and their possession is a gain ond our expectation, or perhaps our deserts. If a merchant kes a venture with insufficient means, he meets with little ıpathy for a loss, which is, after all, but a loss of money, e, and labour, and may be recovered by a more prudent in- tment. But if a traveller, exploring an unknown land, be dequately provided for his adventure, the man himself may ish with all that he has noted, the aim and fruit of all his and travel. The fate of Leichhardt in Australia, and of er gallant, accomplished, single-hearted explorers, furnishes examples of miserable miscalculation, stupid indifference, or e economy, in Communities and States concerned in gaining ıwledge of the unknown tracts of the globe.

England has been especially favoured in the recovery of the ord which redeems the last seven years' labour of the most oted and experienced of her African explorers from being, their geographical results, a waste of energy—the tracts tra- led over not blank—the venture not a total wreck. 'The *t hope*,' as the Editor truly describes it, 'that some of his rnals might survive the disaster, has been realized beyond most sanguine expectations;' and 'we have not to deplore loss of a single entry, from the time of Livingstone's depar- e from Zanzibar in the beginning of 1866, to the day when note-book dropped from his hand in the village of Ilala, at end of April, 1873.'

The work recorded, though left to be finished by other ourers, was the fit crown of Livingstone's discoveries in rica. From long personal friendship, 'and especially from respondence with him of late years,' Mr. Waller testifies, at Livingstone wanted just some such gigantic problem, as t which he attacked at the last, to measure his strength against' the determination of the true, the primary, the real sources the Nile, is abundantly shown to be the explorer's favourite n. He had studied the history of prior attempts, of old ases, of foregone or inadequately supported conclusions.

He more than once alludes to the exposition by the geographer Ptolemy of the state of Egyptian knowledge in the second century of our era, and to his representation of the Nile's origin. Among the questions thereby suggested the first was:—Of the several mighty reservoirs of rain-water in the interior of Africa, in the discovery of which Livingstone had borne the greater share, which of them answered best to Ptolemy's 'two lakes, situated east and west of each other' (i. 338), *i. e.* in about the same parallel of latitude, viz. 'between 10° and 12° south' (*ib. ib.*)? Without attaching much importance to the shapes or sizes of these lakes, from which, in the oldest of reasonably trustworthy maps, the two embryo streams flow northward, converging to form the 'White Nile'—where were the 'Montes Lunæ'? and, above all, what was the nature of the several streams flowing therefrom to supply the Ptolemean lakes, which the majority now vote to be the 'Victoria Nyanza' of Speke, and the 'Albert Nyanza' of Baker? The geographer of Livingstone's stamp has no repose in the latitudes of those lakes; he cannot rest without finding their feeders; he must pursue the quest, southward, of these intercepting reservoirs.

Whichever might receive a share of any streams flowing from Lake Tanganyika, that mightier and more southern fresh-water sea gave no solution to the problem of the 'coy fountains.' Livingstone could not and would not 'turn his back on them' (i. 338). Nay, though he waded through them to the death, he would find out whither they flowed and what they became. And here we come to his great and characteristic discovery; not only of the ultimate sources of the Nile, but of other great rivers of Africa: moreover, of a physical condition of the earth's surface in elevated tracts of the great continent, unknown before:—

'The bogs, or earthen sponges, of this country occupy a most important part in its physical geography, and probably explain the annual inundations of most of the rivers. Wherever a plain sloping towards a narrow opening in hills or higher ground exists, there we have the conditions requisite for the formation of an African sponge. The vegetation, not being of a heathy or peat-forming kind, falls down, rots, and then forms rich black loam. In many cases a mass of this loam, two or three feet thick, rests on a bed of pure river sand, which is revealed by crabs and other aquatic animals bringing it to the surface. At present, in the dry season, the black loam is cracked in all directions, and the cracks are often as much as three inches wide, and very deep. The whole surface has now fallen down, and rests on the sand, but when the rains come, the first supply is nearly all absorbed in the sand. The black loam forms soft slush, and floats

on

on the sand. The narrow opening prevents it from moving off in a landslip, but an oozing spring rises at that spot. All the pools in the lower portion of this spring-course are filled by the first rains, which happen south of the equator when the sun goes vertically over any spot. The second, or greater rains, happen in his course north again, when all the bogs and river-courses being wet, the supply runs off, and forms the inundation: this was certainly the case as observed on the Zambesi and Shiré, and taking the different times for the sun's passage north of the equator, it explains the inundation of the Nile.'—i. 113.

Livingstone again refers to these earth-sponges as demonstrating the humidity of the climate of the mountainous, or elevated, intertropical part of Africa:—

'In going to Bangweolo from Kizinga, I crossed twenty-nine of these reservoirs in thirty miles of latitude, on a south-east course: this may give about one sponge for every two miles. The word "Bog" conveys much of the idea of these earthen sponges; but it is inseparably connected in our minds with peat, and these contain not a particle of peat, they consist of black porous earth, covered with a hard wiry grass, and a few other damp-loving plants.

'In many places the sponges hold large quantities of the oxide of iron, from the big patches of brown hæmatite that crop out everywhere, and streams of this oxide, as thick as treacle, are seen moving slowly along in the spongelike small red glaciers. When one treads on the black earth of the sponge, though little or no water appears on the surface, it is frequently squirted up the limbs, and gives the idea of a sponge. In the paths that cross them, the earth readily becomes soft mud, but sinks rapidly to the bottom again, as if of great specific gravity: the water in them is always circulating and oozing. The places where the sponges are met with are slightly depressed valleys without trees or bushes, in a forest country where the grass being only a foot or fifteen inches high, and thickly planted, often looks like a beautiful glade in a gentleman's park in England. They are from a quarter of a mile to a mile broad, and from two to ten or more miles long.'

'The water, descending about eight feet, comes to a stratum of yellow sand, beneath which there is another stratum of fine white sand, which at its bottom cakes, so as to hold the water from sinking further. It is guided by the fine sand stratum into the nearest valley, and here it oozes forth on all sides through the thick mantle of black porous earth, which forms the sponge.'

'I travelled in Lunda, when the sponges were all super-saturated. The grassy sward was so lifted up that it was separated into patches or tufts, and if the foot missed the row of tufts of this wiry grass which formed the native path, down one plumped up to the thigh in slush.'

'These sponges are a serious matter in travelling. I crossed the twenty-nine already mentioned at the end of the fourth month of the

dry

dry season, and the central burns seemed then to have suffered no diminution: they were then from calf to waist deep, and required from fifteen to forty minutes in crossing: they had many deep holes in the paths, and when one plumps therein every muscle in the frame receives a painful jerk. When past the stream, and apparently on partially dry ground, one may jog in a foot or more, and receive a squirt of black mud up the thighs: it is only when you reach the trees and are off the sour land that you feel secure from mud and leeches. As one has to strip the lower part of the person in order to ford them, I found that often four were as many as we could cross in a day.'—i. 325, 327.

Stimulated by these experiences, the old traveller, like younger students, was led to ponder, to generalise, and deduce consequences and results of high geographical importance:—

'Burns' (he notes *Scotticè*) 'are literally innumerable; rising on the ridges, or as I formerly termed them mounds, they are undoubtedly the primary or ultimate sources of the Zambesi, Congo, and Nile; by their union are formed streams of from thirty to eighty or one hundred yards broad, and always deep enough to require either canoes or bridges. These I propose to call the secondary sources, and as in the case of the Nile they are drawn off by three lines of drainage, they become the head waters (the *caput* Nili) of the river of Egypt' (i. 328).

So of THE RIVER, as ancient record * termed it, the long-hidden source seems at last brought to light. A Bruce tracing the broad current upward comes upon its primary divisions, follows up the 'Blue Nile,' and rests on its tributaries, as the long-sought-for 'caput.' A Baker, a Speke, connect the 'White' branch with their respective Nyanzas, Victoria and Albert. More remote and grander lakes are now added, and the discovery of the feeding streams dissipates all the poetry and picturesqueness of an infant Nile gushing out of an environment in grandeur worthy of the wondrous river, by the prosaic reduction of its birth to the countless outflowings of 'Serbonian Bogs.' The mystery of the annual inundation of Egypt is solved on the same shaky treacherous basis. The dry season of tropical Africa may, indeed, crack the surface, but not suck up the moisture much below the crust of the 'sponge.' Then comes the season of rains. The sun returns from his greatest southern declination, the reservoir swells, and 'the cracks close their large lips. The whole sponge is borne up and covers an enormous mass of water, oozing forth in March and April, forming the inundations. These floods in the Congo, Zambesi, and Nile, require different times to reach the sea' (*ib. ib.*).

* Yeôr (Isaiah xxxiii. 3).

But

But it is not our intention to follow Livingstone step by step in his wanderings and discoveries, more especially as they have been already fully narrated and discussed by our contemporaries. Our main object at present is to direct attention to the curious and valuable notes made by the great traveller on various Natural Phenomena, which contain many suggestive facts, and which have not yet received the notice they deserve.

Of the primitive igneous condition of our planet Africa shows results; but of present activities of fire-force few and feeble examples. No active volcano has yet been discovered in that continent: Teneriffe to the west, Etna to the north, Isle of Bourbon to the east, are the nearest vents. May we infer a higher antiquity to the African tract of dry land than to the continent of the volcanic Andes? Have the expansive forces which raised the former vast tract above the sea-level operated there so long ago as to have exhausted their activity?

These considerations give interest to the few and brief notices of igneous action which occur in Livingstone's 'Last Journals':—

'*6th July* (1867).—An earthquake happened at 3.30 P.M., accompanied with a hollow rumbling sound; it made me feel as if afloat, but it lasted only a few seconds.'—i. 218.

'*2nd August* (*ibid.*)—Chronometer A. stopped to-day without any apparent cause except the earthquake.'—i. 224.

'*5th.*—A day distant from Nsama's place there is a hot fountain called "Paka pezhia," and around it the earth shakes at times: it is possible that the earthquake we felt here may be connected with this same centre of motion.'—i. 225.

'As we come down from the watershed towards Tanganyika we enter an area of the earth's surface still disturbed by internal igneous action. A hot fountain in the country of Nsama is often used to boil cassava and maize. Earthquakes are by no means rare. We experienced the shock of one while at Chitimba's village, and they extend as far as Casembe's. I felt as if afloat, and as huts would not fall there was no sense of danger; some of them that happened at night set the fowls a-cackling. The most remarkable effect of this one was that it changed the rates of the chronometers; no rain fell after it. No one had access to the chronometers but myself, and, as I never heard of this effect before, I may mention that one which lost with great regularity 1ˢ·5 daily, lost 15ˢ; another, whose rate since leaving the coast was 15ˢ, lost 40ˢ; and a third, which gained 6ˢ daily, stopped altogether. Some of Nsama's people ascribed the earthquakes to the hot fountain, because it showed unusual commotion on these occasions; another hot fountain exists nearer Tanganyika than Nsama's, and we passed one on the shores of Moero.'

Are these among the last faint evidences in actual Africa of the

the oldest modifier of a planet's condensing surface, the fina struggles of primeval fire to upheave its prison-walls, break them, and escape?

On the 13th of January, 1868, he crosses the Vuna, a 'strong torrent, which has a hot fountain close by the ford.' Leaving Lake Moero and going north he gets on to a plain flooded b the Luao:—

'We had to wade through very adhesive black mud, general ankle deep, and having many holes in it much deeper: we had fo hours of this, and then came to the ford of the Luao itself. waded up a branch of it waist deep for at least a quarter of a mi then crossed a narrow part by means of a rude bridge of branches trees, of about forty yards width. The Luao, in spreading over plains, confers benefits on the inhabitants, though I could not h concluding it imparts disease too, for the black mud in places sm horribly.'

Of metallic wealth Livingstone gives tempting evidences fo settlers, in the remote future, upon the healthier high grounds of his continent. Whilst in Casembe's land, east of the Luapula, between the lakes Bemba and Moero, he finds copper in great abundance, and the natives already in possession of some rude arts of extracting and working the metal:—

'About a month to the west of this the people of Katanga smelt copper-ore (malachite) into large bars shaped like the capital letter I. They may be met with of from 50 lbs. to 100 lbs. weight all over the country, and the inhabitants draw the copper into wire for armlets and leglets. Gold is also found at Katanga, and specimens were lately sent to the Sultan of Zanzibar.'—i. 265.

Farther south, in the same district, he notes:—

'13*th August*.—The Banyamwezi use a hammer shaped like a cone, without a handle. They have both kinds of bellows, one of goatskin the other of wood, with a skin over the mouth of a drum, and a handle tied to the middle of it; with these they smelt pieces of the large bars of copper into a pot, filled nearly full of wood ashes. The fire is surrounded by masses of anthills, and in these there are hollows made to receive the melted metal: the metal is poured while the pot is held with the hands, protected by wet rags.'—i. 332.

The notices of iron-ore, and the extraction and working of that metal, occur more frequently.

Near the Zomba hill-range, after crossing the Chipanga, in October, 1866, Livingstone notes:—

'Passing on we came to a smithy, and watched the founder at work drawing off slag from the bottom of his furnace. He broke through the hardened slag by striking it with an iron instrument inserted

inserted in the end of a pole, when the material flowed out of the small hole left for the purpose in the bottom of the furnace. The ore (probably the black oxide) was like sand, and was put in at the top of the furnace, mixed with charcoal. Only one bellows was at work, formed out of a goatskin, and the blast was very poor. Many of these furnaces, or their remains, are met with on knolls; those at work have a peculiarly tall hut built over them.'—i. 132.

And again, in the following year, whilst on the Löwendawé River:—

'Detained by a set-in rain. Marks on masses of dolomite elicited the information that a party of Londa smiths came once to this smelting ground and erected their works here. We saw an old iron furnace, and masses of hæmatite, which seems to have been the ore universally used.'—i. 201.

This industry evidently prevailed over a far wider tract of Negro-land than the extirpating blight of slave-catching now leaves practicable. Should the evidence submitted last summer to the 'Anthropological Institute' be deemed subversive of the Asiatic and Australian hypotheses of the sires of the Egyptian wise men, and sustentative of the arts and sciences of that land having sprung from an indigenous, that is an African, people, the continuance of the art of extracting iron from its ores among the different dusky hosts of our traveller will be an element in favour of the Egyptologist maintaining that the builders of the Pyramids, and the quarriers and polishers of granite and diorite, possessed and used the metal iron, as well as copper or bronze.

'Goat-skin bellows, wood ashes, and ant-hills,' offer a striking contrast, worthy of note by the historian of mechanical engineering, with the 'Bessemer blasts' and the 'Siemen's furnace,' which latter melts metal without allowing the escape of so much waste heat as would char a faggot. It is a suggestive mite this contribution by Livingstone to the embryology of inventions.

To Botany the traveller adds a little in both the fossil and recent sections of the science; chiefly, as regards living plants, in their relation to economic values:—

'I went with the Makondé to see a specimen of the gum-copal tree in the vicinity of this village. The leaves are in pairs, glossy green, with the veins a little raised on both face and back; the smaller branches diverge from the same point: the fruit, of which we saw the shells, seems to be a nut; some animal had in eating them cut them through. The bark of the tree is of a light ash colour; the gum was oozing from the bark at wounded places, and it drops on the ground from branches; it is thus that insects are probably imbedded in the gum-copal.

'The

'The Makondé get the gum in large quantities, and this attracts the coast Arabs, who remain a long time in the country purchasing it.'—i. 29.

The delta of the Lujigi, we may note, has been recently explored by Captain Elton with especial reference to copal diggings:—

'In the country near the hills of the Zalanyama Range the gum-copal tree abounds; it is known by the name of "Masuko Mochenga."' —i. 136.

The true papyrus, now extirpated from the Egyptian Nile, continues to flourish farther south, and was found by Livingstone in latitudes 8° and 9° S.:—

'26*th September* (1867).—Two and a half hours brought us to the large river we saw yesterday; it is more than a mile wide and full of papyrus and other aquatic plants, and very difficult to ford, as the papyrus roots are hard to the bare feet, and we often plunged into holes up to the waist. A loose mass floated in the middle of our path; one could sometimes get on along this while it bent and heaved under the weight, but through it he would plunge and find great difficulty to get out: the water under this was very cold from evaporation; it took an hour and a half to cross it.'—i. 234.

'It is remarkable that in all the central regions of Africa visited, the cotton is that known as the Pernambuco variety. It has a long strong staple, seeds clustered together, and adherent to each other. The bushes eight or ten feet high have woody stems, and the people make strong striped black and white shawls of the cotton.

'It was pleasant to meet the palm-oil palm (*Elais Guineaensis*) at Casembe's, which is over 3000 feet above the level of the sea. The oil is sold cheap, but no tradition exists of its introduction into the country.'—i. 267.

The virgin forests, whence future needs of caoutchouc and gutta-percha will, doubtless, be supplied, are suggestively noted. Cameron, in a letter of May 4th, 1874, writes:—'India-rubber is abundant in Manyuema.'

To the physiological part of Botany the 'Last Journals' add many suggestive facts. Livingstone had before remarked on a species of Sun-dew (*Drosera*), the points of the hairs on the leaves of which exuded pure liquid in, apparently, capsules of clear glutinous matter: 'the clammy fluid is intended to entrap insects, which, dying on the leaf, probably yield nutriment to the plant.'* This idea of 'carnivorous plants' formed a sensational topic at the last Belfast Meeting of the British Association.

* 'Missionary Travels,' p. 472, 8vo., 1857.

Several

Several localities in both the Arabian and Libyan desert-
undaries of the valley of Egypt are noted for the quantities of
cified wood, sometimes in trunks or branches, more often in
gments, indicative of the disruptive forces of transport or
face-wave-action in the uprising movement of the old sea-bed,
which the trees of a tertiary continent had been drifted.
ingstone fails not to notice and record this phenomenon in
more southern and central parts of Africa. In the valley of
Mehambivé, country of the Makondé, *e.g.*:—

All the rocks we had seen showed that the plateau consists of
y sandstone, capped by a ferruginous sandy conglomerate. We
r came to blocks of silicified wood lying on the surface; it is so
recent wood, that no one who has not handled it would conceive
be stone and not wood: the outer surface preserves the grain or
dy fibre, the inner is generally silica.'—i. 25.

And again:—

We began our descent into this great valley when we left the
rce of the Bua; and now these low hills, called Ngalé or Ngaloa,
ugh only 100 feet or so above the level we had left, showed that we
come to the shore of an ancient lake, which probably was let off
n the rent of Kebra-basa on the Zambesi was made, for we found
nense banks of well-rounded shingle above—or, rather, they may
alled mounds of shingle—all of hard silicious schist with a few
es of fossil-wood among them.'—i. 162.

Rising to zoological jottings we learn that other insects besides
sts serve as food: specimens of the 'Kungu' would be wel-
ed by the 'Entomological Society.'

3rd September, 1866.—Went down to confluence of the Misinjé
came to many of the eatable insect "kungu"—they are
ght by a quick motion of the hand holding a basket. We got a
e of these same insects further down; they make a buzz like a
m of bees, and are probably the perfect state of some lake insect.'
. 94.

Mr. Blackwall will, doubtless, 'make a note of' the fol-
ing:—

A large spider makes a nest inside the huts. It consists of a
e of pure white paper, an inch and a half broad, stuck flat on the
l; under this some forty or fifty eggs are placed, and then a
rter of an inch of thinner paper is put round it, apparently to
en the first firmly. When making the paper the spider moves
lf over the surface in wavy lines; she then sits on it with her
t legs spread over all for three weeks continuously, catching and
ng any insects, as cockroaches, that come near her nest. After
three

three weeks she leaves it to hunt for food, but always returns [illegible] night: the natives do not molest it.'—i. 227.

Ant-lore receives valuable contributions, characterised [illegible] minute observation, quaint description, and too often un[illegible] viable personal experiences. For example:—

'A small ant masters the common fly by seizing a wing or leg, [illegible] holding on till the fly is tired out.'

In the country of the Balangu, near the River Lochenjé,—

'a shower of rain set the driver ants on the move, and about two hours after we had turned in we were overwhelmed by them. They are called Kalandu or Nkalanda. To describe this attack is utterly impossible. I wakened covered with them; my hair was full of them. One by one they cut into the flesh, and the more they are disturbed, the more vicious are their bites; they become quite insolent. I went outside the hut, but there they swarmed everywhere; they covered the legs, biting furiously; it is only when they are tired that they leave off.'—i. 202.

Our Apiarians may add the following to their wealth of information:—

'A very minute bee goes into the common small holes in worm-eaten wood to make a comb and lay its eggs, with a supply of honey. There are seven or eight honey-bees of small size in this country.'

We learn that there are cuckoos among insects as well [illegible] among birds:—

'A sphex may be seen to make holes in the ground, placing stupified insects in them with her eggs; another species watches when she goes off to get more insects, and every now and then goes in to lay her eggs, I suppose without any labour; there does not appear to be any enmity between them.'

Entomotomists of the fell Tsetse-fly may compare their descriptions with Livingstone's dissections recorded, vol. i. p. 320; perhaps with profit.

Rising to vertebrate life the traveller records that the Mofw[illegible], a shallow piece of water about two miles broad, four or less long, full of sedgy islands, so abounds in fish as to have attracted Casembe I., and induced that founder of a sable dynasty to locate there his capital. From an incidental remark—'Fish are in great abundance (perch)'—*ib.* 252—it may be inferred that their large, spiny, dorsal fin attracted Livingstone's notice, and that they may be found to belong to the Percoid family.

'Its fisheries are of great value to the inhabitants, and the produce is carried to great distances.'—i. 267.

Associated

Associated with this source of spawn and young fry the 'sedgy islands are the abode of countless water-fowl' (*ib.* 251).

Of the Kalongosi, which expands, lake-like, to 60 yards in width, Livingstone records the native names of thirty-nine species of fishes which 'never cease ascending that river, though at times they are more abundant than others.' Of some of these tropical African fishes Livingstone made sketches, serving the ichthyologist to determine at least the genus. When he has time for a description his conclusions as to affinity are just:—

> 'We slept in a fisherman's hut on the north shore. They brought a large fish, called "mondé," for sale; it has a slimy skin, and no scales, a large head, with tentacula like the *Siluridæ*, and large eyes; the great gums in its mouth have a brush-like surface, like a whale's in miniature; it is said to eat small fish. A bony spine rises on its back (I suppose for defence), which is two and a half inches long, and as thick as a quill. They are very retentive of life.'—i. 243.

Had Bruce or Du Chaillu indulged in tales of terrestrial, or stomatogenous, or lactiferous fishes, recording how they prowled like foxes, or burrowed like rabbits, on dry land, and how they brought forth their young by the mouth, and nourished them with their milk, what subjects would have been afforded for the scorn of fireside sceptics, self-satisfied with their small knowledge-stores!

The fish that 'comes to forage out of the river—in great numbers, often three feet in length—eating, amongst other prey, insects and lizards,' is rightly referred by Livingstone to a Siluroid species. Its progresses out of its element, 'one following after another,' are recorded in divers parts of the 'Journals':—

> 'Lightning was very near us last night. The Manyuema say that, when it is so loud, fishes of large size fall with it, an opinion shared by the Arabs, but the large fish is really the *Clarias Capensis* of Smith, and it is often seen migrating in single file along the wet grass for miles; it is probably this that the Manyuema think falls from the lightning.'—ii. 93.

Still, what we know, or what is believed, of the migration of eels, might help to the acceptance of this 'traveller's tale.' The fossorial fish is described as a 'black' one; it is called the Nsaka:—

> It 'makes a hole with raised edges, which, with the depth from which they are taken, is from fifteen to eighteen inches, and from two to three feet broad. It is called by the natives their house. The pair live in it for some time, or until the female becomes large for spawning; this operation over, the house is left.'—i. 95.

It might be surmised, indeed, that Livingstone was here noting a kind of *Protopterus*, that amphibious fish of the Gambia which, in the shrunk dimensions of that stream during the dry season, burrows below the hard-baked mud and waits, torpid, till the floods restore it to its proper element.

But as Livingstone evidently recognises *Protopterus* when he sees it—as on the 17th October, 1872, at Mpimbé, 'we found many Lepidosirens in a muddy pool, which a group of vultures were catching and eating' (ii. 239)—his Nsaka was probably a truer fish, of a different genus or family.

Many instances of 'fish out of water,' and keeping life in a foreign element, nay, even losing it in their own, if restored thereto abruptly, are now on scientific record. In New Zealand, for example, the gold-diggers have disinterred small living fish in stiff clay at a depth of four feet from the surface, and thirty-seven feet above the level of the nearest river (the 'Hokitika'), and three miles from the sea. The 'Warden' of the district examined seven or eight specimens, found inclosed in hollows of the clay, which moved freely when first extracted, but when placed in water got sluggish and soon died. Dr. Hector, F.R.S., State Geologist of the Province of Wellington, North Island, verified the fact, and, in his communication thereon accompanying the specimens sent to the British Museum, remarks:—'I believe that the early settlers in New Zealand were frequently much astonished by digging up fish along with potatoes they had planted in the rich swampy land—a natural bounty which they were not prepared for.'

The big fish with breasts, giving milk, was, doubtless, a Manatee, or Sirenian Mammal.

But what, it may be asked, has Science to say to the following?—

'The dagala, or nsipé, a small fish caught in great numbers in every flowing water, and very like whitebait, is said to emit its eggs by the mouth, and these immediately burst and the young fish manages for itself. The dagala never becomes larger than two or three inches in length. Men say that they have seen the eggs kept in the sides of the mouth till ready to go off as independent fishes. The nghédédégé, a species of perch, and another, the ndusi, are said to do the same.'—ii. 17.

Note the care with which Livingstone, like an older traveller, distinguishes what he sees from what he hears. In the present case he was more fortunate than Herodotus, few of whose hearsay stories have received a verification so satisfactory as that of the Manyuemas' tales of the mouth-born 'dagalas.'

The gill-chambers of fishes are at the sides of the mouth, and the

same opening receives food, and the respiratory streams of
:r that flow through the mouth to the gills, and issue by
branchial slits. In certain fishes the side-cavities are so
:loped as to serve the same purpose as the marsupial pouches
ıe kangaroos. Not, however, that the embryo is generated
ıe oral cavity of the fish any more than in the outside belly-
:h of the opossum. But the instances have been well-
rmined in the class of fishes in which the ova, when expelled
he usual way from the abdominal egg-chamber, or 'hard
are received into the mouth, not to be devoured, or from
nct of hunger, but to be protected or hatched in side-
ties, akin to cheek-pouches. This instinct characterises
ıin Siluroid fishes of the genus *Arius*, and Reichardt has
the young, after they have left the egg, re-entering the
chambers. The term 'Branchicolæ'—gill-dwellers—has
rdingly been proposed for one piscine group having this
ɔus habit; but it may be manifested by fresh-water Siluroid
:s of different families.

he brooding or young-protecting instinct is notable in other
ıbers of the *Siluridæ*. The Sheat-fish makes or chooses a
of nest, and the male manifests great care of the young, and
:s away other fishes.

he *Phycis*, a kind of Goby, makes a nest of the roots of the
s-wrack (*Zostera marina*), as Ovid sings in his 'Halieu-
ı:'—'Atque avium dulces nidos imitata sub undis,'

he mother Catfish (*Pimilodus catus*) is followed about by
/oung brood like a hen by her chicks. The Sun-fish (*Pomo-
ulgaris*) hovers over her eggs, or rather the male over his
's, and protects them for weeks. Our little stickleback has
same instinct. In the genus *Dorus* both male and female
take part in the construction of the nest.

vingstone's ornithological notes are mainly interesting as
:ations of localities whence unknown kinds may be derived.
bird-naturalist at home has learnt from Gilbert White the
: of the 'note' as indicative of a new species. By the
ılone a Gould will tell of the kinds of birds infesting or
'ening your garden. Being a good imitator, he may bring
ıples of all of them into view, though the transit of the
ɔus songster may be rapid, and need a sharp and knowing
:e for recognition:—

'he forest resounds with singing birds, intent on nidification.
colins abound, but are wild. "Whip-poor-wills," and another
which has a more laboured treble note and voice—"Oh, oh, oh!"
flowers blush unseen, but the people have a good idea of what is
le and what not. I looked at a woman's basket of leaves which
she

she had collected for supper, and it contained eight or ten kinds, with mushrooms and orchidaceous flowers.'—i. 167.

The latter will, doubtless, excite the speculation, perhaps enterprise, of a Veitch or an 'orchid' Bateman.

A note on nidification serves as a peg whereon to hang a hit at higher communities of wealth-producers than those of the primitive group of negro-huts in which the traveller seeks shelter:—

'There is nothing interesting in a heathen town. All are busy in preparing food or clothing, mats or baskets, whilst the women are cleaning or grinding their corn, which involves much hard labour. The wagtails build in the thatch of the huts; they are busy, and men and other animals are active in the same way.'—ii. 214.

What proportion of the commercial or trading, or, for that matter, 'philosophic' world, with the 'infinite azure' in final view, might be classed with the sparrows of the London house-tops! Yet a Higher than Tyndall teaches that even these are cared for.

The Mammalogist may note the following among our traveller's manifold jottings anent elephants.

On leaving the village of Chitoku, the guide led him into the forest, by what he meant to be a short cut to Chimuna's:—

'We came on a herd of about fifteen elephants, and many trees laid down by these animals. They seem to relish the roots of some kinds, and spend a good deal of time digging them up; they chew woody roots and branches as thick as the handle of a spade. Many buffaloes feed here.'—i. 137.

'The Moami country is full of elephants. They do much damage, eating the sorghum in the gardens unmolested. The elephants had come into the village and gone all about it, and to prevent their opening the corn-safes the people had bedaubed them with the elephants' droppings.'—i. 208.

A three-tusked elephant is noted (ii. p. 44). This anomaly may be explicable on the retention of one of the milk-tusks and its subsequent growth, its successor pushing its way through another part of the jaw, or in another direction. Four tusks are developed in all elephants, two being deciduous. In some extinct elephants tusks grew from the lower as well as the upper jaw.

In accordance with known carnivorous propensities of domestic pigs is the following:—

'The wild hogs abound, and do much damage, besides affording food for the tsetse. The brutes follow the ewes with young, and devour the poor lambs as soon as they make their appearance.'—i. 44.

The

he notes of the traveller abound with references to the lion. bore in his broken left arm the marks of his marvellous pe from the powerful jaws of that wild beast. If the following ıld not relate to a young male of *Felis Leo*, the Council of the ological' may look out for a new kind of African lion:—

When at Kanengwa a small party of men came past, shouting as ey had done something of importance: on going to them, I found two of them carried a lion slung to a pole. It was a small eless variety, called "the lion of *Nyassi*," or long grass. It had ɔd a man and they killed it. They had its mouth carefully pped, and the paws tied across its chest, and were taking it to ɔmbe. *Nyassi* means long grass, such as towers overhead, and is ıick in the stalk as a goose-quill, and is erroneously applied to ssa. Other lions—Thambwé, Karamo, Simba—are said to stand feet high, and some higher: this seemed about three feet high, but ıs too dark to measure it.'—i. 303.

: is a significant fact in relation to the repetition of Bruce's tment in the case of Du Chaillu, that, since the latter's return ı the Gaboon, no other specimen of the full-sized gorilla has hed England. Those exhibited in the British Museum, e, female, and young, remain to this day unique.

'he most remarkable addition to the Natural History of the nmalia, contributed by these 'Last Journals of Livingstone,' ıe evidence of a gorilla-like creature, called by the natives a :o,' and with the weird-like beast they associate superstitious .s:—

A soko alive was believed to be a good charm for rain; so one caught, and the captor had the ends of two fingers and toes bitten The soko or gorillah always tries to bite off these parts, and has ı known to overpower a young man, and leave him without the ı of fingers and toes. I saw the nest of one: it is a poor contri- ɔe; no more architectural skill shown than in the nest of our hat dove.'—ii. 28.

'he two faithful followers, to whom his country owes the body, science the journals, of the great traveller, being brought to British Museum to see the gorilla, could not identify it with soko. This they believed to have been as big as the gorilla, it was black, not iron-grey. Livingstone describes a speci- ı as having 'fine long black hair all over' (ii. 102). Being wn the full-sized stuffed male black chimpanzees, from the st Coast of Africa, Susi affirmed them to be smaller than the).

)u Chaillu writes:—'Though there are sufficient points of ersity between the gorilla and man, I never kill one without ing a sickening realization of the horrid human likeness of

the beast. This was particularly the case to-day, when the animal approached us in its fierce way, walking on its hind legs, and facing us as few animals dare face man.' * . . . 'When progressing on the lower limbs only, the "walk is a waddle from side to side;" these "being somewhat inadequate to the proper support of the huge superincumbent body, the gorilla balances himself by swinging his arms, or clasping them behind the head."' †

In the latter attitude Livingstone figures a soko advancing on his hind legs to attack the spearmen (Plate, p. 52, vol. ii.), and notes: 'They often go erect, but place the hand on the head, as if to steady the body' (ii. 52).

One remembers the reception of Du Chaillu's statement that a threatened gorilla 'beat his vast breast with his huge fists till it resounded like an immense bass-drum;' ‡ and again: 'Sometimes from the standing position he sits and beats his chest, producing a dull reverberation.' §

So Livingstone notes: 'Sokos collect together and make a drumming noise;' ‖ and again, but apparently on hearsay: 'They beat hollow trees as drums with hands, and then scream as music to it' (*ib.*). The capacious chest of the gorilla accords with Du Chaillu's observation of the mode of 'drumming' in that ape, and it is the more probable one.

Of the gorilla, Du Chaillu again writes:—'Though it has such immense canines, and though its vast strength doubtless fits it to capture and kill almost every animal which frequents the forest, it is a strict vegetarian.' ¶

So Livingstone:—'The soko eats no flesh—small bananas are his dainties, but not maize; his food consists of wild fruits, which abound' (ii. 54). Both gorilla and soko are keen-sighted, sharp at hearing, and suggest the idea of their 'stalking' the hunters in quest of them. But the sum of Livingstone's remarks on the soko, its mode of attack, and the wounds it inflicts, 'biting off the finger-ends of its assailant,' indicates it to be a less bulky and powerful antagonist than Du Chaillu's beast. Fortunately the portrait which Livingstone sketched of a young soko (Plate at p. 55) enables the naturalist to decide as to its affinity to the two previously known African forms of Anthropoid apes. The gorilla differs from the chimpanzee in the smaller and more human proportions of the external ears: these in the Plate (p. 55) of the soko are decidedly the ears of a chimpanzee. The details of hands and feet in the sketch are not such

* 'Adventures in Equatorial Africa,' 8vo., 1861, p. 277. † Ib.
‡ Ib. p. 70. § Ib. p. 351. ‖ Vol. ii. p. 70.
¶ 'Adventures in Equatorial Africa,' p. 348.

as

ıre available to science. But the extension of the geographical ge of a species of chimpanzee (*Troglodytes*), from the inter- pical West Coast to 27° E. longitude, is an acceptable addition he Natural History of the Anthropoid apes. If these extended ir range along the fertile valleys, watered by rivers ultimately ting on the West Coast, the soko-chimpanzee may be taken as element, small indeed, in the probability of what the great er may be, or become, the sources of which Livingstone had covered. The occurrence, also, of the mud-fishes, common to Zaire and Gambia, in the Luapula, as well as in its essential tinuation the Lualaba, suggests a similar probability of the er's flow. It is true that *Protopterus* has been found in the mbesi; but we are not aware that this mud-fish has been met h in the White Nile.

Finally, the report of a Manatee in the Lualaba gives a gnant suggestion of the coast on which it disembogues. The ological Society has lately told us of a fossil Sirenian in the tiary bed of the Nile, and the traveller, Rüppel, holds that the adger" of the Old Testament (Numb. iv. 6), the skins of ich were used to roof over the holy tent, was a Dugong of the d Sea, which he accordingly terms '*Halicore Tabernaculi*.' t no existing species of mammiferous fish-shaped animal has herto been observed in the great rivers of Africa, save those ming upon the West Coast.

Every zoological note by one travelling over previously un- lden wilds of Africa is helpful to the highest aims of the nce, and especially in fixing the foundations of the great law the 'Geographical Distribution of Animals.' Some forms, , gorilla, chimpanzee, giraffe, toothed anteater, are peculiar or still unknown out of, Africa; other forms, *e.g.*, elephant, noceros, hyrax—the 'coney of the stony rocks'* and little sin of the 'unicorn' of Scripture—are common to Africa and a, but are represented by distinct species or propagable ieties in each continent. The negro is the African form of n, call him, as you please, species or variety; and not the it valuable of the scientific 'Last Notes' of Livingstone are se which he contributes to Ethnology. He encounters repre- tatives of, at least, two of the several well-marked types of k-skinned aborigines, and confirms, if it were needed, the mon experience of Anthropological researches on the diver- es of the men, which would have passed, in the 'Southern tes,' under the common designation and ban of 'Niggers':—

The Manganja, or Wa-nyassa, are an aboriginal race; they have

* Hyrax Syriacus.

great masses of hair, and but little, if any, of the prognathous in the profile. Their bodies and limbs are very well made, and the countenance of the men is often very pleasant. The women are very plain and lumpy, but exceedingly industrious in their gardens from early morning till about 11 A.M., then from 3 P.M. till dark, or pounding corn and grinding it: the men make twine or nets by day, and are at their fisheries in the evenings and nights. They build the huts, the women plaster them.'—i. 95.

Livingstone's former fellow-traveller and coadjutor in missionary work, the excellent editor of his 'Last Journals,' adds that the 'Manganja' are distinguished from lower types by their long well-shaped heads and better brains, and, 'as a rule, are extremely clever in all the savage arts and manufactures; their iron weapons and implements show a taste for design which is not reached by the neighbouring tribes' (i. 122):—

'The Waiyau are far from a handsome race, but they are not the prognathous beings one sees on the West Coast either. Their heads are of a round shape; compact foreheads, but not particularly receding; the alæ nasi are flattened out; lips full, and with the women a small lip-ring just turns them up to give additional thickness. Their style of beauty is exactly that which was in fashion when the stone deities were made in the caves of Elephanta and Kenora near Bombay.'—i. 80.

Mr. Waller also contrasts the 'round apple-shaped heads' of the Waiyau with the 'long well-shaped heads' of the Manganja. Ethnology may thus have to modify her generalization of 'dolicho-cephalism' as applied to the 'Ethiopian race':—

'The Babisa have round bullet heads, snub noses, often high cheek-bones, an upward slant of the eyes, and look as if they had a lot of Bushman blood in them, and a good many would pass for Bushmen or Hottentots. Both Babisa and Waiyau may have a mixture of the race, which would account for their roving habits.'—i. 166.

The acceptors of the origin of the human species from a single created pair, and of the divergence of the actual races of the entire globe from one Asiatic centre, see evidence of this in phenomena which, viewed apart from such prepossession, admit of a more simple explanation. If, *e.g.*, an ancient Egyptian be depicted killing wildfowl by throwing a stick at them, it does not follow that the Australian inventor of the 'boomerang' or 'throwing-stick' derived the idea from ancestral tradition, or, reciprocally, that the originators of Egyptian civilization were 'Australioids.'

The practice of filing or knocking out a front incisor may, likewise,

wise, possibly originate independently in human communities at the level of Tasmanian and tropical African aborigines:—

'The Baulungu men are in general tall and well formed; they use a over six feet in length, and but little bent. The facial angle is good in most cases as in Europeans, and they have certainly as a of the "lark-heel" as whites. One or two of the under front a are generally knocked out in women, and also in men.'—0.

imilarly, the practice of 'tattooing' may have sprung up ıtaneously in New Zealand, as elsewhere:—

'The Makoa have the half or nearly full moon, but it is, they say, or ornament. Some blue stuff is rubbed into the cuts (I am told charcoal), and the ornament shows htly in persons of light complexion, by the bye are common. The Malé and Matambwé file their front teeth oints; the Machinga, a Waiyau tribe, e two points on the sides of the front a, and knock out one of the middle incisors above and below.'—).

Machinga and Waiyau Teeth.

'Many of the men have large slits in the lobe of the ear, and they their distinctive tribal tattoo. The women indulge in this ful luxury more than the men, probably use they have very few ornaments. The central front teeth are hollowed at the ng edge. Many have quite the Grecian al angle. Mapuio has thin legs and quite ıropean face. Delicate features and limbs are common, and the -heel is as scarce as among Europeans; small feet and hands the rule.'—i. 140.

Women's Teeth hollowed.

'he latter, however, is essentially a character of inferiority. evolutionists point to it as common to negroes and apes, e especially as regards the hands. Some of the negro phynomies recalled to our traveller's mind Assyrian features, and r ethnic evidences suggested Egyptian relations:—

'The tattoo or tembo of the Matambwé and Upper Makondé very h resembles the drawings of the old Egyptians; wavy lines, such ıe ancients made to signify water, trees and gardens enclosed in ıres seem to have been meant of old for the inhabitants who lived he Rovuma, and cultivated also; the son takes the tattoo of his er, and thus it has been perpetuated, though the meaning now ears lost.'—i. 49.

ut a rude representation of water might well be suggested by haracteristic movement, independently, in diverse and remote families

families of mankind, when risen to the rudiments of æsthet design. The common primitive inclosure is the square, ar offers the same explanation in regard to a rude, childlike pl of a garden. A cherished prepossession evidently underlies t frequent reference to Egypt in connection with the dogma of t 'poor degraded children of Ham':—

'Young men and women wear the hair long, a mass of su ringlets comes down and rests on the shoulders, giving them t appearance of the ancient Egyptians. One side is often cultiva te and the mass hangs jauntily on that side; some few have a solid ca of it.'—i. 125.

But the appearance in the sculptures and paintings of Egypt, here alluded to, is given by a wig: the Egyptians, at a certain age, shaved or cut close off the hair, and it became the material of the complexly woven wig in both sexes. A specimen of this head-gear may be seen, preserved to this day, in the British Museum, after some thousands of years have passed since the decease of the wearer. The comfort, in the hot season of the Kampseen winds, on the Nile, of sitting in a darkened chamber without the wig, and of having its protection to the head, out of doors, as the turban serves the modern Orientals, was fully appreciated by the subjects of the Pharaohs. During their ancient Empire, as far back as the sixth Dynasty, 3700 B.C., the Egyptians distinguished the darker races to the south (Berbers, Soudanese?) by a term which our great Egyptologist, Birch, renders 'negroes.' In his 'Introduction' to the Translation of the famous 'Inscription of Una'* he writes: 'In it is found the earliest known mention of negroes, who seem at that remote period to have been conquered by the Egyptians and conscribed for their armies.' 'The ethnologist's' idea of 'typical,' as applied to the negro, would involve—prognathism, thick lips, broad depressed nose, prominent heel, narrow cranium, and receding front,—in short, physical characteristics distinguishing them, as a race, from those dark-skinned Africans, of which the men 'have as beautiful hands as one could find in an assembly of Europeans and the women have 'fine small, well-formed features, excitin the admiration of the Arabs.'†

Whatever may prove to be the ethnic or generic relati between the Africans of the upland forest-regions of Itawa a those lower races and 'ungainly forms' which grow up in unhealthy swamps of 'West-coast ugliness,' the allusion, Livingstone, to the type of his handsome Itawans being th the ancient Egyptian, is interesting in relation to rece

* 'Records of the Past,' 12mo, 1874, p. 1. † 'Last Journals,' i. 2

acc

acquired evidences, in which the distinction of the type of that marvellous people from those of the negro and of the Australian seems to have been fully demonstrated.* There remains, then, the question, admitting the agreement of type between the ancient Egyptian and the handsome mountain people of Central Africa, whether the migration, assuming any such movement, was from Egypt southward, or the reverse? We commend to the Anthropologist a serious consideration of the subject of the 'Frontispiece' of the work under review, and of the psychical as well as physical characteristics of the highest type of man, exemplified by the Christian missionary, who has given his life to his work.

Our quotations bearing on this work must be few. But, meanwhile, we may now notice some of the conditions under which Livingstone pursued his course, and recorded his varied observations on Men and Things.

He had a free passage from Bombay in the 'Thule,' a vessel sent as a present from the Bombay Government to the Sultan of Zanzibar. Livingstone had the further advantage of being honoured with the commission to make the formal presentation to the Sultan of this vessel, on the part of his Excellency the Governor-in-Council, in order to show in how much estimation he was held, and thereby induce the Sultan to forward his enterprise. Sir Bartle Frere, ever ready or foremost in the promotion of good work, added a commendatory epistle, in Livingstone's favour, to his Highness Sejuel Majid.

But to this insular centre and sink of the east-coast slave-trade, as to its utmost ramifications on the continent of Africa, the name of Livingstone was 'anathema'—a name of hate.

The task subsequently assigned to Sir Bartle in relation to this Sultan or 'Said' of Zanzibar, must have dissipated any hope or expectation of real help to the apostle of African liberty to be gained by gifts or letters to one for whom the words 'benevolent objects,' 'philanthropic designs,'† suggested only interference with the traffic by which the 'budget' of Zanzibar might show a surplus. Sejuel Majid gave, of course, a favourable reception to his pestilent and dreaded enemy—'was very gracious, and seemed pleased with the gift:' as well he might, for 'the Thule is fitted up in a most gorgeous manner.'

The Traveller sets forth with a Havildar's company of sepoys: thirteen natives of an island in the Comoro group, noted among slave-holders as the most stupid of blacks, were

* 'Journal of the Anthropological Institute,' vol. iv., 1874, p. 223.

† See Sir Bartle's 'Letter,' vol. i., p. 2.

added

added as 'carriers;' they were the notorious 'Johanna' men: the only trustworthy followers, as it turned out, were two Waiyau lads, Wakatani and Chumah, liberated from the slavers by the Doctor and Bishop Mackenzie in 1861, and who had lived for three years with the Mission party at Chibisa's before they were engaged by Livingstone; and certain 'Nassick lads,' whom Livingstone pointed out to the Sultan as having been 'rescued from slavery, educated in Bombay, and sent back to their country by the Governor.' His Highness was graciously pleased to add a 'Letter,' the advantage of which, when presented to his remote Arab representatives, may be conceived when it is considered that one purpose of the expedition was to strike at the root of the main source of the revenue of the Sultan.

Our Missionary Traveller starts on his Expedition, 19th of March, 1866, with his Highness's Letter of Recommendation or general passport, and with the above specified cortége. The journal of the 4th April shows how soon the representatives of their Sultan began to carry out the wish of his heart. The Jemidar Hamish, respectfully perusing the Sultanic 'passport,' bows low, professes much, and puts the weary traveller into a 'shabby hut which lets in rain and wind; I slept one night in it and it was unbearable' (i. 10). Hamish's assertion that Livingstone would find 'that no carriers could be hired from the independent tribes,' of course had no deterrent effect; and as he prosecuted his journey, he gets proof that the lie was simply 'to do him an ill turn.' Again, on the 18th April, 'Ben Ali,' another official of the Sultan, 'purposely misleads him.'

The whole of the subsequent actions of his royal escort show how well they understood and carried out their real master's behests. The officer in command of the Sepoys protested that he had no power to check their mutinous conduct. They lag behind, and 'tried to prevail on my "Nassick boys" to go slowly like them and wear my patience out.' Opportunity serving, they kill the camels (p. 43); waste and throw away the stores (p. 54). It could hardly be without the connivance of their 'Havildar' that they also killed the donkey Livingstone had given that officer to carry his things (p. 75). It is plain they merely bided the opportunities of place and time to desert in a body with all they could carry off. Meanwhile, the Sepoys were sowing disaffection among the negroes of the cortége.

Wearied out at last by daily conflict with these soldiers, Livingstone anticipates their desertion and robbery by discharging them; and exemplifies his own large and forgiving nature by supplying them out of the remnants of his wasted store,

tore, with the means of buying from the black chief of the ribes of the then locality (Moemba), supplies of food, until n expected Arab trader should arrive there. The Havildar ıade a show of some sense of shame, and strongly begged › be permitted to remain. 'I consented, though he is a drag on ıy party, but he will count in any difficulty' (i. 76). Vain onfidence!

Livingstone had hired native blacks to supply the place of ıe discharged Sepoys, and lighten the labour of the negroes ssigned to him at starting. So recruited, he might still succeed, nd the true mission of the wily Havildar be incomplete. The ffects of the too easily associated corrupter soon show themelves. The Johanna men first exemplify the baneful influence. 'Musa,' their leader, is told :—

'That all the country in front was full of Mazitu; that forty-four ıabs and their followers had been killed by them at Kasungu, &c.

'I explained to Musa that we should avoid the Mazitu; but his yes *stood out* with terror, and he said, "I no can believe that man." ut I inquired, "How can you believe the Arab so easily?" Musa nswered, "I ask him to tell me true, and he say true, true," &c.

'When we started, all the Johanna men walked off, leaving the oods on the ground. They have been such inveterate thieves that I m not sorry to get rid of them; for though my party is now inconeniently small, I could not trust them with flints in their guns, nor llow them to remain behind, for their object was invariably to plunder heir loads.'

Had they also got their secret instructions at parting?

But, in that case, what colourable pretext could be given for heir return? 'The whole party,' they said, 'had been attacked, he Sepoys defeated, the Nassick boys made slaves of, and he leader slain.' Thus was the ill-fated expedition, as it was eared at home and hoped at Zanzibar, cut short on the 26th September, 1866.

The confidence in the traveller and the knowledge of the conlitions under which he was exploring were crucially tested by his report. We know how it was received by the Royal Geographical Society and their distinguished President, Sir RODERICK MURCHISON. They 'bated no jot of heart or hope.' Mr. Edward Young, R.N., boldly declared the story to be false, nd subsequently proved it to be so.

The traveller, though crippled, is not arrested, but courageously pushes on. His Nassick boys, with Chumah and Wakaani, are still true to him, and he hopes the best from their hired elpers. He is now nearing the southern end of Lake Liemba, fterwards shown to be part of the grander Tanganyika. The Havildar

Havildar had fled. 'No one thought the Waiyau would desert. They, too, were but biding their opportunity:—

'The forest was so dense and high, there was no chance of getting a glimpse of the fugitives, who took all the dishes, a large box of powder, the flour we had purchased dearly to help us as far as the Chambezé, the tools, two guns, and a cartridge-pouch; but the medicine-chest was the sorest loss of all! I felt as if I had now received the sentence of death, like poor Bishop Mackenzie.'

The feeling proved true. The Sepoy officer had done his duty.

An Arab trader, whom Livingstone was deceived into believing to be favourably influenced by his Highness's general 'Letter of Recommendation,' seems to have read it 'between the lines':—

'The rascal sold the favours of his female slaves to my people for goods which he perfectly well knew were stolen from me. He received my four deserters, and when I had gone off to Lake Bangweolo with only four attendants, the rest wished to follow, but he dissuaded them by saying that I had gone into a country where there was war; he was the direct cause of all my difficulties with these liberated slaves.' —ii. 75.

It is not to be supposed that the Sultan of Zanzibar is the sole Mahomedan ruler whose policy is adverse to suppression of the trade in slaves.

The astute Khedive of Egypt, whether he repeat the southern conquests of his predecessor Thotmes by Pasha Baker or by General Gordon, knows that it will be an extension of his area of forced labour and serfdom. Livingstone clearly discerns the logical result of such conquest.

No doubt in the degree to which the engineer may be supported in facilitating the transport of produce from the Soudan, will legitimate labour and trade be there promoted. But a Mahomedan despot, whether he reign in Ispahan, Constantinople, or Cairo, will have his slaves and his eunuchs. They are essential to the economy of the harem. From their Highnesses the Pashas downward, slaves must be had by the Mussulman who can afford more wives than one. Enmity and opposition, open or covert, are inevitable against whomsoever would stop the supply of this necessity. The harem exemplifies the varnished barbarism of the Mahomedan communities. The upholding of the 'rotten state' of Turkey will be a subject in future history, reflecting disgrace on the powers of civilized and christianized Europe. The inevitable decomposition might at least be left to take its course.

On

On a retrospect, however, of the conditions under which the African Apostle and Martyr was left to fulfil his mission one cannot help 'looking at home;' not only in relation to the higher aim, but to the material results of his geographical discoveries.

Admitting the administrative principle of 'weaning the colonies,' discoveries which may lead to fresh troubles of that kind ought, logically, to be discouraged.* On this basis 'Cook's Voyages' were, financially and governmentally, a mistake.

An estimate of the investments by Mother-country, and her losses or gains in developing the Australian Provinces, would be a business-like test of such alleged administrative principle. Supposing the result to prove its unsoundness, considering that the Mother-country may not be stationary, may not have risen to the zenith of her population and prosperity, and that future colonies may continue, like present ones, to promote the continuance and advance of those desirable conditions,—what should be the attitude of the statesman to the rare and exceptional individual, like a Cook or a Livingstone, who may be the instrument in enriching his native State with the initial conditions of its prosperity in and by colonies? Surely to listen, we might almost venture to say, with respectful consideration to well-weighed propositions and plans for ensuring the success of explorations.

In Voyages of Discovery experience has made easy, if not perfect, such preparations; in land journeys it has to be acquired. Even in what may be regarded as the minor results of travel, of how many a plant, how many an animal, of which Livingstone notes some useful property, or strange economy, one would be glad to know the name! such name as gives its nature and affinities, such as that to which Linnæus refers in his adage:—"Nomina si pereunt perit et cognitio rerum."

In Banks, Solander, Parkinson, the Circumnavigatory Expedition organised by George III., which, in April 1770, planted the British flag near Cape York, Australia, had the needful staff for enriching Science with the strange animals and plants which met the eyes of these naturalists and their draughtsman as they gazed in wonder upon the flowery banks and plains of Botany Bay. To provide such adjuncts to land explorers may seem Utopian; the proposition, however, of the official Astronomer of Victoria, submitted by him to the Administration of that wealthy Australian Province, was essentially sound in an economical point of view. Professor Neumayer, referring to the losses of

* H. Walpole, in a letter to Mann, of March 10, 1755, writes:—'The prospect is warlike. The Ministry are so desirous of avoiding it, that they make no preparations on land. Their partizans d—n the plantations, and ask if we are to involve ourselves in a war for them.'

valuable

valuable information, and of the more valuable lives sacrificed in obtaining it, drew up a scheme or plan of exploration by which investments in geographical research would be most likely to be remunerative.

Failing to obtain its adoption in the Colony, the propounder came over to submit his well-considered recommendations to the Mother-country, mainly in behoof of an unweaned child too young to comprehend them. They are, however, as applicable to Africa as to Australia. The Council of the Royal Geographical Society may know the Administrative Departments or individuals before whom, in 1868, the able Astronomer pleaded his plan of research.*

The policy of 'weaning' is one of weaning us from our best customers: in every new colony a new source of production and trade is founded; and now, with extended, quickened and cheapened communication is very like an extension of the territory of the British Islands themselves. The missionary of science is a missionary of commerce.

In this relation, let us finally glance at the consequences to Livingstone of his conditions of travel.

On the 26th June, 1870, all his people had failed their leader save the three faithful ones, Susi, Chumah, and Gardner. Their names deserve and will, doubtless, share the lasting memory of that of him whom they followed to the death, and whose 'Last Journals' and mortal remains they ultimately brought back to Zanzibar.

But two years and six months of weariness, sickness, and pain, sometimes rising to torture, are still to be endured.

The insect plagues were minor calamities, but they were bad enough.

'The human ticks called "papasi" by the Suaheli, and "karapatos" by the Portuguese, made even the natives call out against their numbers and ferocity.'—ii. 275.

Livingstone adds his experiences to those recorded and groaned over by other tropical travellers of the torments from ants. Take the following instance:—

'Suffered a furious attack at midnight from the red Sirafu or Driver ants. Our cook fled first at their onset. I lighted a candle, and remembering Dr. Van der Kemp's idea that no animal will attack man unprovoked, I lay still.' Vain confidence in the enemies' forbearance! 'The first came on my foot quietly, then some began to bite between

* This 'Plan' was read and discussed at the meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, June 8th, 1868: it was subsequently submitted to the Royal Society, and the Details, with Estimates, are given in the 'Proceedings' of the Society, *No. 102, 1868.*

the

, then the larger ones swarmed over the foot and bit furiously, de the blood start out. I then went out of the tent, and my erson was instantly covered as close as small-pox (not con- on a patient. Grass fires were lighted, and my men picked f my limbs and tried to save me. After battling for an hour they took me into a hut not yet invaded, and I rested till they he pests, and routed me out there too! Then came on a steady rain, which held on till noon, as if trying to make us miserable. M. I got back into my tent. The large Sirafu have mandibles like reaping-sickles, and very sharp—as fine at the point as st needle or a bee's sting. Their office is to remove all animal cockroaches, &c., and they took all my fat.'—ii. 276.

any well-to-do householder, who may be worried by ic troubles, read a page of 'Livingstone' and take a from his patient spirit. The traveller's lowered vital rendered him more especially amenable to the lodgments sites. His quinine was gone. Febrile attacks, follow- amp-wadings, wettings to skin, exhaustions, poor food, run their course, and drain off the remnants of resistance by a constitution once of iron-strength. That Living- could no longer rely on this essential element of his successes we have early evidence.

January, 1867.—A set-in rain all the morning; but having e were comfortable in the old huts. In changing my dress orning I was frightened at my own emaciation.'—i. 187.

, again, in the same year:—

October.—Very ill; I am always so when I have no work— nes—much headache; then lost power over the muscles of the s at Liemba; no appetite and much thirst.'—*Ibid.* 237.

een months of such attacks, with partial recoveries, had d the tissues to the condition curiously attractive to the tive feeders on a weakened organism. The gardener when his plants lack nourishing soil by the blight and lice that invade them.

February, 1869.—I extracted twenty *Funyés*, an insect like a , whose eggs had been inserted on my having been put into an se infested by them; as they enlarge they stir about and impart ing sensation; if disturbed, the head is drawn in a little. a poultice is put on they seem obliged to come out, possibly ant of air: they can be pressed out, but the large pimple in they live is painful; they were chiefly in my limbs.'—ii. 4.

the hero had no thought of yielding. The outer works be assailed and partially demolished. But he had a stout heart,

heart, a breadth of chest and squareness of shoulder, that aforetimes had carried him victoriously through seemingly as unequal contests. But now the very citadel, his stronghold, was assailed.

'1*st January*, 1869.—I have been wet times without number, but the wetting of yesterday was once too often: I felt very ill, but fearing that the Lofuko might flood, I resolved to cross it. Cold up to the waist, which made me worse, but I went on for two and a half hours east. I marched one hour, but found I was too ill to go further. Moving is always good in fever; now I had a pain in the chest, and rust-of-iron sputa: my lungs, my strongest part, were thus affected. We crossed a rill and built sheds, but I lost count of the days of the week and month after this. Very ill all over.'

'*About 7th January.*—Cannot walk: pneumonia of right lung, and I cough all day and all night: sputa rust-of-iron and bloody: distressing weakness.'

Sadly interesting is it to read how he could analyse and note the signs of his condition, and truly touching is the commentary:—

'It is probably malaria which causes that constant singing in the ears. Ideas flow through the mind with great rapidity and vividness, in groups of twos and threes: if I look at any piece of wood, the bark seems covered over with figures and faces of men, and they remain, though I look away and turn to the same spot again. I saw myself lying dead in the way to Ujiji, and all the letters I expected there useless. When I think of my children and friends, the lines ring through my head perpetually:

'I shall look into your faces,
And listen to what you say,
And be often very near you
When you think I'm far away.'—ii. 2.

The 'contest for existence' is nevertheless doggedly maintained for another year; then the tissues themselves begin to give way. Microscopic invisible organisms may be at the bottom of what the surgeon calls an 'ulcer.'

'*July* 1870.—For the first time in my life my feet failed me, and now having but three attendants it would have been unwise to go further in that direction. Instead of healing quietly as heretofore, when torn by hard travel, irritable-eating ulcers fastened on both feet; and I limped back to Bambarré on 22nd. The sores on my feet now laid me up as irritable-eating ulcers. If the foot were put to the ground, a discharge of bloody ichor flowed, and the same discharge happened every night with considerable pain, that prevented sleep.'—ii. 47.

'*26th September.*—I am able now to report the ulcers healing. For eighty

eighty days I have been completely laid up by them, and it will be long ere the lost substance will be replaced.'—*Ibid.* 63.

Another evidence of weakening of the mind with the wear of the frame. Old favourite studies and thoughts come to the surface. 'Fountains of Herodotus' and traces of MOSES are hoped for, seemingly expected in land farther to the south-west of Egypt than the Lawgiver ever travelled to the north-east from Goshen.

'*2nd November.*—I long with intense desire to move on and finish my work, I have also an excessive wish to find anything that may exist proving the visit of the great Moses and the ancient kingdom of Tirhaka, but I pray give me just what pleases Thee my Lord, and make me submissive to Thy will in all things.'—ii. 74.

To pains of body were added anguishes of soul. Not for himself—not on his own account; that account he had well made up, and he 'knew that his Redeemer lived,'—but the moral world in which he wandered, with which he strove. These inevitable blots, descriptive of ignorant, wicked, sickening atrocities, darken many pages of the book. Take any of the slave-hunters' procedures, as for example:—

'*18th July*, 1871.—The murderous assault on the market people felt to me like Gehenna, without the fire and brimstone; but the heat was oppressive, and the firearms pouring their iron bullets on the fugitives, was not an inapt representative of burning in the bottomless pit.

'The terrible scenes of man's inhumanity to man brought on severe headache, which might have been serious had it not been relieved by a copious discharge of blood; I was laid up all yesterday afternoon with the depression the bloodshed made—it filled me with unspeakable horror.'—ii. 139.

Livingstone here refers to the break up of another part of his system, the intestinal canal. His wonderful lungs had battled with the pneumonia and driven off the inflammation, but they were left wounded and enfeebled. Adhesions had ensued. Henceforth his breathing became short, hard, and frequent.

Finally the vital fluid itself drained off. The excruciating pains of his dysenteric malady caused him the greatest exhaustion as they marched.

'*10th April*, 1873.—I am pale, bloodless, and weak from bleeding profusely ever since the 31st of March last: an artery gives off a copious stream, and takes away my strength. Oh, how I long to be permitted by the Over Power to finish my work.

'*12th April.*—Cross the Muanakazi. It is about 100 or 130 yards broad, and deep. Great loss of αἷμα made me so weak I could hardly walk, but tottered along nearly two hours and then lay down quite done.'—ii. 294.

The

The end—the Crown—was at hand.

They made him a bed raised from the mud-floor of a hut by sticks and grass. The boy Majwara slept just within to attend to his master's wants. About 11 P.M., Susi, whose hut was close by, was told to go to his master. That master's thoughts then were on his geographical work. He said slowly, and evidently wandering, 'Is this the Luapula?' Susi told him they were in Chitambo's village, near the Mulilamo: he lay silent for a while. Again he asks, in the Suaheli dialect, 'How many days is it to the Luapula?' A few seconds after, as if in great pain, he half sighed, half said, 'Oh dear, dear!' and then dozed off again.

About an hour later he asks for the medicine-chest, and tells Susi to hold the candle near him, for the man noticed he could hardly see. With great difficulty Dr. Livingstone selected the calomel, and directing Susi to pour a little water into a cup, and to put another empty one by it, he said in a low feeble voice, 'All right; you can go out now.' 'These,' writes the Editor, 'were the last words he was ever heard to speak.' The last to man. His last on earth were to his God.

It must have been about four in the morning when Susi heard Majwara's step once more. 'Come to Bwana'—their name for their beloved master—'come, I am afraid: I don't know if he is still alive.' The lad's evident alarm made Susi run to arouse Chumah and the few remaining followers. They went immediately to the hut.

Passing inside they looked towards the bed. Livingstone was not lying on it, but appeared to be engaged in prayer, and they instinctively drew backward for an instant. Pointing to him, Majwara said, 'When I lay down he was just as he is now.' The men drew nearer. A candle, stuck by its own wax to the top of the box, shed a light sufficient for them to see his form. Their master was kneeling by the side of his bed, his body stretched forward, his head buried in his hands upon the pillow. For a minute they watched him: he did not stir; there was no sign of breathing; then one of them, Matthew, advanced softly to him and placed his hands to his cheeks. They were cold; the body almost cold: Livingstone was dead.

ART. VII.—1. *L'Empire Romain en Orient.* Par Gaston Boissier. Publié dans la 'Revue des Deux Mondes,' Juillet 1874.
La Statue Vocale de Memnon, considérée dans ses rapports avec l'Égypte et la Grèce. Par Jean Antoine Letronne. Paris, 1833.

THEBES in Egypt—who has not heard of its wonders? Who has not longed to behold them? That city of the hundred tes, as Homer calls it, has indeed long since passed away; but en now some of its massy monuments and vast sepulchral ambers bear witness to its ancient grandeur. Above all, those in statues of colossal size—'the Pair,' for so our countrymen ve named them—continue to look down on the valley of the le, and more than any other monuments arrest the stranger's e. 'There they sat'—so writes Miss Harriet Martineau, scribing her first sight of them—'together yet apart, in the dst of the plain, serene and vigilant, still keeping their untired tch over the lapse of ages and the eclipse of Egypt. I can ver believe that anything else so majestic as this Pair has been ceived of by the imagination of Art. Nothing even in nature rtainly ever affected me so unspeakably; no thunder-storm my childhood, nor any aspect of Niagara, or the great Lakes America, or the Alps or the Desert, in my later years.'
Such were Miss Martineau's words of wonder derived only m a transient glance in her up-stream voyage. But on her urn, when she passed many days at Thebes, she found her first miration very far from enfeebled, and she has expressed it with r wonted vividness of style: 'The Pair sitting alone amidst e expanse of verdure, with islands of ruin behind them, grew re striking to us every day. To-day, for the first time, we ked up at them from their base. The impression of sublime nquillity which they convey, when seen from distant points, confirmed by a nearer approach. There they sit, keeping tch—hands on knees, gazing straight forward, seeming, though much of the faces is gone, to be looking over to the monu-ntal piles on the other side of the river, which became gorgeous mples after these throne-seats were placed here—the most im-vable thrones that have ever been established on this earth!'
These gigantic statues, as Sir Gardner Wilkinson has mea-red or computed, are forty-seven feet in height; that is, above e present soil, for they extend to seven feet more below it. ey appear like islands during the yearly inundations of the le which cover the plain around them. Each was at first of a gle block, although the one to which we shall presently and

more in detail advert has been repaired in five blocks, from th middle upwards. Those five blocks came from a neighbouri quarry; but each original monolith was of a stone not kno within several days' journey of the place, so that the means adopt for their transport are not easy to imagine or explain. Wh countless multitudes must have been required to move th stupendous masses!

Our readers, we are sure, need not be reminded how since t commencement of the present century the patient industry some eminent men has poured a flood of light upon Anci Egypt. Not only have its pyramids and sepulchral cham been explored, but its hieroglyphics deciphered and its inscripti read. By these means—that is, by the tablets at the back of th Colossi—we learn that both represent King Amunoph the Third, who began his reign about 1400 years before the Christian era. They were designed as the entrance to an avenue leading to the temple-palace of Amunoph, about 1100 feet farther inland. This palace-temple, once so richly adorned with its sculpture, sphinxes, and columns, is now a mere heap of sandstone—'a little roughness in the plain,' says Miss Martineau, 'when seen from the heights behind.'

Many centuries later, when Greeks began to settle in Egypt, they found that the easternmost statue of the Pair had been shattered down to the waist. According to one report, this mutilation was due to the capricious fury of Cambyses, as conqueror of Egypt. We regard it, however, as highly improbable that if Cambyses had been swayed by such an impulse, he would have been satisfied with the demolition, and that only partial, of only one of the statues. It is far more likely that, as Strabo, the geographer, was assured, an earthquake was the cause of the disaster. To the half-statue, which then remained, the Greeks gave the name of Memnon. They believed it—notwithstanding the strong asseverations of the natives, who rightly alleged Amunoph—to represent the fabled son of Tithonus and Aurora, the valiant prince extolled by Homer, who brought a host of Ethiopians to the aid of Priam.

But ere long a rumour rose that this was no ordinary statue. As ear-witnesses affirmed, it would sometimes, in the first hour after sunrise, send forth a musical voice. The sound, they said, was like that when a harp-string breaks. 'What more natural,' exclaimed the Greeks, 'than that the son of Aurora should hail in tuneful tones the advent of his mother!' Even those philosophers who might not admit the argument could not deny the fact. Men and women of rank came from distant lands 'to hear Memnon,' as was then the phrase; and we find the Vocal Statue celebrated

celebrated all through the classic times. Thus when Juvenal, in his fifteenth Satire, is describing Egypt, he speaks of it as the country—

'Dimidio magicæ resonant ubi Memnone chordæ.'

Not all, nor nearly all, who came 'to hear Memnon' succeeded in their object. On many mornings the Statue remained obstinately dumb. When, on the contrary, the expected Voice came forth at daybreak, the foreign visitors frequently desired to engrave on the Statue itself a record of their gratification. Thus at the present day we find the whole lower part of the Statue covered with inscriptions from the classic times, in Greek or in Latin, in prose or in verse.

It is very strange that this huge mass, so conspicuous an object from the river, should have been unknown a century or more ago, and been subsequently, as it were, re-discovered. We have now before us a quarto volume, published at Paris in 1733, and at present become very rare, a 'Description de l'Égypte,' by M. de Maillet, formerly French Consul at Cairo. In this book an account of the Statue, with its name of Memnon, is given from the ancient writers, and M. de Maillet adds: 'Quoiqu'il en soit, il ne reste plus de traces aujourd'hui de ce colosse.'

In our own time the writers who have treated of this subject have mostly been disposed to connect the 'magical chords of Memnon,' as Juvenal calls them, with some artifice of the priests. They 'no doubt contrived the sound of the Statue'—so says, for example, Sir Gardner Wilkinson, in his 'Handbook of Egypt.' For our part we are not at all concerned about the character of the hierophants at Thebes, or bound in any manner to defend them:—

'Oh worthy thou of Egypt's blest abodes,
A decent priest where monkeys were the gods!'

But our regard for historical truth obliges us to say that, as we believe, there was no priestcraft whatever in this case. The priests heard the Voice, as did the visitors, but were as ignorant of its real cause. They did no more than share the common error, although no doubt they benefited by it.

We are glad to find that the opinion which we have now expressed entirely accords with that of a most competent judge on any subject connected with classic times, M. Gaston Boissier. He has touched upon this question incidentally, while discussing the inscriptions on the Statue, in an Essay on the Roman Monuments in the East, which appeared in the 'Revue des Deux Mondes' of July last year. But for full details we would refer

to the earlier and more special treatise of M. Letronne; a rare book, however, of which there were only two hundred copies printed; and even of these no more than one hundred were on sale. It is mainly by the aid, then, of these two able archæologists—Boissier and Letronne—that we hope to render the whole case clear and convincing to our readers.

And first, as to the shattering of the Statue. Admitting an earthquake to have been the cause, there still remains the question by which, or at what period, these huge fragments were hurled down. M. Letronne has produced a passage from the 'Chronicle of Eusebius,' as translated by St. Jerome. It refers to the year 27 before Christ, when, as it states, the edifices of Thebes were levelled to the ground. 'Thebæ Egypti usque ad solum dirutæ.' Judging even from what now remains, it is clear that this is a great exaggeration. Yet still the fact remains beyond dispute, that in the year alleged there was a violent convulsion of nature, which wrought great havoc at Thebes. Now earthquakes are, or were, extremely rare in the valley of the Nile. This has been noticed by Pliny, who, in one sentence, has rather strangely lumped together Gaul and Egypt. 'Gallia et Ægyptus minime quatiuntur.' If then any person be inclined to doubt that the partial destruction of the Statue took place in the year 27 before Christ, he will find it very difficult to name any other earthquake to which within the necessary limits of time that partial destruction can be ascribed.

But farther, this date accurately tallies with the other circumstances of the case. The visit of Strabo to Egypt was made between the years 18 and 7 of the Christian era, that is ten or twenty years after the earthquake which Eusebius has recorded. At Thebes he found the natives full of traditional resentment at the long past Persian conquest. They appear to have pointed out, or enumerated to him, various of their monuments as mutilated by Cambyses. But they always excepted the colossal Statue, which, as was said among them, had been rent asunder by a convulsion of the earth. That convulsion was then too recent for them to entertain or express any doubt upon the subject. But in the reign of the Emperor Hadrian, a hundred and fifty years later, the memory of the earthquake appears to have faded away, and the Colossus was then included in the list of monuments which Cambyses had attempted to destroy. Several of the inscriptions dating from that reign, and still to be traced along the base of the Statue, allude to this as to a certain fact.

It is to be borne in mind, that until the Statue was shattered to its waist there was no thought or question of its musical sound

sound at sunrise. It was only since then that the 'Voice of Memnon' was heard, or that by degrees the rumours of it spread abroad. Miss Martineau is therefore quite in error when, after mentioning how the easternmost statue was shattered by Cambyses, she adds, 'after which, however, it still gave out its gentle music to the morning sun.' It was not in spite of, but in consequence of, the mutilation that the musical sound was heard.

On the rumours, as they gradually went forth of this wonderful voice, travellers, some of princely rank, were attracted to the spot, and bore witness to the miracle. Thus, when in the year 19 of the Christian era Germanicus appeared in Egypt, and sailed up the Nile, we are informed by Tacitus that he visited the Vocal Statue. But as we have already noted, Memnon was by no means constant or indiscriminating in his favours. On some mornings the pilgrims were gratified with the expected Voice, on others they went disappointed away.

From this variation there ensued, ere long, the common idea that to hear Memnon was a high privilege—a special favour of the Gods. The inscriptions at the base of the Statue, beginning, so far as their dates can be traced, in the reign of Nero, are forward to commemorate the fact.

Here follow some of these inscriptions as translated, the originals being partly in Latin and partly in very indifferent Greek.

'I, Funisulana Vetulla, wife of Caius Lælius Africanus, Præfect of Egypt, heard Memnon an hour and a half before sunrise on the Ides of February, in the first year of the august Emperor Domitian.'

This date corresponds to the year 82 of the Christian era.

'In the seventeenth year of the Emperor Domitian, Cæsar Augustus, Germanicus, I, Titus Petronius Secundus, Præfect, heard Memnon at the first hour in the Ides of March, and gave him honor in the Greek verses inscribed below.'

Here then follow the verses, which seem of but moderate merit; although M. Letronne, considering the authorship, is disposed to view them with indulgence: '*Fort passables*,' he says, '*pour être l'ouvrage d'un Préfet.*'

'After the first hour, and when in the course of the second the genial day (*alma dies*) irradiates the ocean, the Memnonian Voice was happily heard by me three times.

'Viaticus Theramenes made (this inscription) when he heard Memnon

non in the Calends of June, Servianus being for the third time Consul. With him was his wife Asidonia Calpe.'

The third Consulship of Servianus answers to the year of our Lord 134.

(Greek Verses) by Cœcilia Trebulla.

'Hearing the sacred voice of Memnon, I longed for thee, O my mother, and desired that thou also mightest hear it.'

(In Greek verse.)

'Thy mother, O renowned Memnon, the Goddess, the rosy-fingered Aurora, has rendered thee vocal for me who desired to hear thee. In the twelfth year of the illustrious Antoninus, and in the month of Pachon, counting thirteen days, twice, O Divine Being, did I hear thy Voice as the sun was leaving the majestic waves of Ocean.

'Once the son of Saturn, great Jove, had made thee monarch of the East; now thou art but a stone; and it is from a stone that thy Voice proceeds.'

'Gemellus wrote these verses in his turn, having come hither with his dear wife Rufilla and his children.'

The 12th year of the reign of Antoninus answers to 150 of our era.

But by far the most interesting visit ever paid to Memnon was from the Emperor Hadrian, in the year of Christ 140. That Emperor, whose intelligent curiosity led him to view in their turn almost every place of note in his dominions, appears to have passed many days, perhaps even a whole month, at Thebes. With him came his Empress Sabina; and in their train was a blue-stocking matron, Julia Balbilla by name. This lady desiring to do honour to her patron, inscribed at the base of the statue several pieces of pedantic verse composed by herself. In one of them she triumphantly relates that the Emperor heard Memnon no less than three times—'a clear proof,' adds Balbilla, 'that the Gods love Hadrian.'

Sabina was not quite so fortunate. She was greatly displeased that when she first appeared before him Memnon remained mute. Her displeasure is still attested by an inscription in Greek verse, composed, it would seem, by one of her attendants, perhaps by the same blue-stocking matron who wrote the rest.

'Having failed to hear Memnon yesterday, we prayed to him not to be again unfavorable to us, nor withhold his Divine Sound; for the venerable

venerable features of the Empress were inflamed with anger. The Emperor himself might be irritated, and a lasting sadness might invade his venerable consort. Memnon accordingly, dreading the wrath of these immortal princes, has of a sudden sent forth his melodious voice, thus showing that he takes pleasure in the companionship of Gods.'

The accounts of the Memnon Statue and of its Voice at sunrise, as transmitted to us by divers Pagan writers since the beginning of the Christian era, are clear, distinct, and consistent with each other. There is, however, a remarkable exception in that historical romance, 'The Life of Apollonius of Tyana,' by Philostratus. Dr. Jowett, in the Article on Apollonius which he contributed to one of Dr. Smith's Classical Dictionaries, describes that book as a 'mass of incongruities and fables;' nor shall we find any reason to modify that general judgment by the particular instance which is now before us.

Philostratus then, writing in the reign of Alexander Severus, that is between the years 222 and 235 of our era, describes the wanderings and the miracles of Apollonius in the first century since the birth of Christ. He makes his hero visit the Memnon, which he represents as not mutilated but entire. The head, he says, is of a beardless young man; his arms rest upon his throne, his figure leans forward as though in act to rise, his mouth and eyes betoken a man in the act to speak, and when the Voice does issue his eyes shine forth with especial brilliancy, like those of a man on whom the sunlight falls.

But what a fancy fabric is here! All the other effigies of Amunoph the Third represent him as bearded: it seems therefore all but certain that this Colossus when entire was bearded also. As to the figure bending forward as though ready to rise, M. Letronne assures us that no such attitude is to be found in any other Egyptian statue. The eyes that betoken an intention of speaking, and that beam with preternatural light whenever the Voice is heard, are plainly the work of the imagination, and of the imagination only.

But further still, it is expressly stated by Philostratus, though M. Letronne was the first to notice it, as bearing on this question, that Philostratus does not profess to give this description on his own authority, but quotes the words of Damis, who was a writer in Assyria a century and a half before. The account which Philostratus, still following Damis, proceeds to give of the first cataract, may vie for its inaccuracy with his account of the Memnon. Here he says the Nile is flowing along mountains, like to those of Tmolus, in Lydia, from which its waters dash

dash down with so prodigious a noise, that many persons who approached them nearly, have lost in consequence all power of hearing. May we not then upon the whole adopt the judgment of M. Chassang, the last translator of the 'Life of Apollonius'? 'Tout porte à croire que cette description de la Statue de Memnon n'est qu'une amplification de rhétorique.'

If, as the Ancients did, we were to regard the Voice of Memnon as a miracle—as the manifestation of a Godhead to man—we must own that not many miracles could be better attested. We should have in its support an unbroken chain of testimonies, derived from the most various sources, and extending over scores of years. But in this case the light of modern science has supplied a natural and simple explanation. 'On sait que cette découverte est due à notre illustre Letronne,' —such are the words of M. Gaston Boissier. But in spite of this positive *on sait*, we will venture to assert that no such thing is known, for no such thing is true. Even for ourselves, the writers in this Review, we may claim precedence in the explanation over M. Letronne. And this the following dates will clearly show.

The volume of M. Letronne on this subject appeared in 1833. We of the 'Quarterly,' on the other hand, in our 88th number, published in February, 1831, were reviewing Herschel's 'Treatise on Sound.' Nor will it be any breach of confidence, after so long an interval, to state that this article was contributed by one of the foremost men of science in his day—by Mr., since Sir David, Brewster.

In his article then upon Herschel, Sir David took occasion to advert, though not at length, to the case of the Statue of Memnon. Here are the words he used: 'We have no hesitation in avowing our belief that the sound or sounds which it [the Statue of Memnon] discharged were the offspring of a natural cause.' In common with some travellers, whom we alleged, we 'ascribed these sounds to the transmission of rarefied air through the crevices of a sonorous stone.' And he adds: 'The phenomenon proceeded without doubt from the sudden change of temperature which takes place at the rising of the sun.'

It is plain, we may now subjoin, that in such a case the phenomenon could not be uniform or constant, but would depend on the varying conditions of temperature or season.

In the same Article we proceeded to point out that this is no solitary instance. There are several other well-attested cases of musical sounds which issue at sunrise from the like crevices, and which are explained by the same cause. Above all, we quoted the observations of the celebrated traveller, Baron Humboldt,

boldt, when wandering on the banks of the Oronooko: 'The granite rock,' he says, 'on which we lay is one of those where travellers on the Oronooko have heard from time to time towards sunrise subterranean sounds resembling those of the organ. The missionaries call these stones *loxas de musica.* "It is witchcraft," said our young Indian pilot. . . . But the existence of a phenomenon that seems to depend on a certain state of the atmosphere cannot be denied. The shelves of rock are full of very narrow and deep crevices. They are heated during the day to about 50°. I often found their temperature at the surface during the night at 39°. It may easily be conceived that the difference of temperature between the subterraneous and the external air would attain its *maximum* about sunrise, or at that moment which is at the same time farthest from the period of the *maximum* of the heat of the preceding day.'

Nor did the acute mind of Humboldt fail to notice, even though very vaguely, the close connection between this case and that of the Theban Colossus. For he goes on to ask: 'May we not admit that the ancient inhabitants of Egypt, in passing incessantly up and down the Nile, had made the same observation on some rock of the Thebaid, and that the music of the rocks there led to the jugglery of the priests in the Statue of Memnon?'

In the same Article we also called attention to the analogous phenomena among the sandstone rocks of El Nakous, in Arabia Petræa. But without quitting the soil of Egypt, or even the neighbourhood of Thebes, a striking parallel can be adduced. We called as witnesses three French artists, Messrs. Jomard, Jollois, and Devilliers, who state that, being in a monument of granite placed in the centre of the spot on which the palace of Karnak stood, they heard a noise which resembled that of a chord breaking—the very comparison employed by Pausanias—issue from the blocks at sunrise. And they were of opinion that these sounds 'might,' in their own words, 'have suggested to the Egyptian priests to invent the juggleries of the Memnonium.' The fact indeed may be taken as now accepted and admitted by men of science. It is no longer, we think, doubted in any quarter that the action of the morning sun on the chilled air in the crevices of rock may and does produce the same effect as was observed in the Statue of Memnon.

We would observe, that although in this explanation we claim priority over M. Letronne, we most cheerfully accord it to Baron Humboldt and to the other explorers, whose remarks we have transcribed. Still earlier precedence is due to M. Dussaulx, the French translator of Juvenal, who was the first, we rather think,

think, to suggest the true theory of the *magicæ chordæ* in his author.

It is also to be noted that M. Letronne himself never made that claim of priority which his countryman has thought fit to make in his behalf. On the contrary, he expressly quoted in his margin our Article of February, 1831, and derived from it the remarkable account by Baron Humboldt of the Oronooko sounds. His industry has also collected some further parallel cases—one, for instance, near the Maladetta mountain in the Pyrenees—and devoting a whole volume, instead of a mere digression in a Quarterly Article, to this subject, he has treated it in a most complete and convincing manner, with which our own cursory remarks could never pretend to vie.

Admitting then, as no one seems at present to deny, that the phenomenon of the Theban Colossus was produced by the vibration of the air, the question would still remain whether, as some persons persistently assert, 'the jugglery of the priests,' as they term it, was at all concerned. As we have already stated, we are convinced that it was not. Let it, in the first place, be considered that there is no hiding-place or secret chamber in or near the Statue; and that without the aid of these, it seems impossible that the Voice of Memnon could be either promoted or restrained. Secondly, had the priests really possessed any such power of promoting the miraculous Voice, they would certainly have used it in behalf of the great and powerful—of those whose favour they desired to gain. How then could we explain the fact that the wife of a Præfect of Egypt was allowed to make two visits without hearing the desired sound; that in like manner the consort of an Emperor came for the first time in vain, to her great displeasure and at the risk of her resentment; while a common soldier has put on record that he enjoyed the privilege no less than thirteen times?

The latest inscription that bears a date upon the Statue is by Marcus Ulpius Primianus, Præfect of Egypt, in the second Consulship of Septimius Severus, and in the year of our Lord 194; and the restoration of the Statue was, in all probability, made a few years afterwards. In its mutilated state, the lower half from which the Voice proceeded was part of the original monolith; when restored, or rather rebuilt, that lower half bore, as it still bears upon it, five ranges of enormous blocks of stone. The magnitude and cost of this construction must be held to indicate an Emperor's work, and the result of an Emperor's visit. Now since the time of Hadrian, no Emperor, except Septimius Severus, ever came to Upper Egypt. His biographer, Spartianus, records

records of him that 'he carefully examined Memphis, the Pyramids, the Labyrinth, and Memnon.'

Such being the fact, it cannot but be thought surprising that while there are so many inscriptions on the base of the Colossus to commemorate the visit of Hadrian, not a single one appears to commemorate the visit of Severus. As is argued by M. Letronne, there is only one explanation that can be assigned as satisfactory or sufficient to account for the omission—namely, to presume that when Severus came to the Statue it remained obstinately dumb. These inscriptions, it should be remembered, were never put up when there was a failure in the sound, unless in the case when the first failures were followed by success.

It may also be inferred, with considerable probability, that the silence of the Statue in the august presence was the cause of its reconstruction. Severus was a sincere and zealous Pagan; and he lived in an age when the adherents of the old Mythology, alarmed at the progress of the Christians, strove hard to regain the public confidence and favour. It was during his reign that the main attempt was made to hold forth Apollonius, of Tyana, as a worker of wonders and religious teacher, in opposition to our Lord. In like manner the Voice of Memnon, as a Pagan prodigy, was esteemed a counterpoise to the Christian miracles. The priests and devotees, as M. Boissier puts it, would assure Severus that since Memnon even in his mutilated state gave his greeting often, though not quite so often as he ought, his Voice would certainly become both more distinct and more unfailing if once his Statue were restored. This is no mere vague conjecture of the popular belief. Several of the inscriptions on the base express or imply the idea that Memnon, when entire, could speak in language, but since his mutilation, was reduced to inarticulate sounds.

But there is yet another point of view from which the Emperor might be urged. The silence of the Statue denoted the displeasure of the Gods. Did it not, then, become a devout worshipper, such as was Severus, to take some step for removing that displeasure? Should he not appease the offended deity by a splendid reconstruction of his Statue?

Yielding, perhaps—for there is no positive statement on the subject—to some such representations, the Emperor gave orders for the costly work required. But alas for the result! In his new construction he, of course, filled up the ancient crevices, and in consequence silenced Memnon for ever. Aurora continued to rise as usual, but received no further greetings from her son.

We

We have thus endeavoured to trace the varied fortunes, the rise and the fall, of this celebrated prodigy. Well pleased shall we be if any future traveller, as in his Nile boat he nears that majestic monument, shall feel that he owes to our pages a more accurate knowledge of its history, and a warmer interest in its survey.

ART. VIII.—1. *The Era of the Protestant Revolution.* By Frederic Seebohm. London, 1874.

2. *Geschichte der auswärtigen Politik und Diplomatie im Reformationszeitalter*, 1485–1556. Von Karl Fischer. Gotha, 1874.

IT is now more than half a century since a great English statesman, conversant above most of his compatriots with European ideas, as he drew toward the conclusion of a masterly and memorable vindication of his right to guide the public, spoke thus:—

'It is perfectly true . . . . that there is a contest going on in the world between the spirit of unlimited monarchy and the spirit of unlimited democracy. Between these two spirits, it may be said, that strife is either openly in action or covertly at work throughout the greater portion of Europe. *It is true, ... also . . . . that in no former period in history is there so close a resemblance to the present as in that of the Reformation.* . . . . The hon. member for Westminster has observed, that, in imitation of Queen Elizabeth's policy, the proper place for this country in the present state of the world, is at the head of free nations struggling against arbitrary power. Sir, undoubtedly there is, as I have admitted, a general resemblance between the two periods; forasmuch as in both *we see a conflict of opinion, and* in both *a bond of union* growing out of those opinions, *which established between parts and classes of different nations a stricter communion than belongs to community of country.* It is true—it is . . . . a formidable truth—that in this respect the two periods do resemble each other. But, though there is this general similarity, there is one circumstance which mainly distinguishes the present time from the reign of Elizabeth. . . . . Elizabeth was herself among the revolters against the authority of the Church of Rome; but we are not amongst those who are engaged in a struggle against the spirit of unlimited monarchy. We have fought that fight. We have taken our station. *We have long ago assumed a character differing altogether from that of those around us.* . . . . Let us be ready to afford refuge to the sufferers of either extreme party; but it is not surely our policy to become the associate of either. . . . . We look down upon those struggles from the point to which we have happily attained, not with the cruel delight which is described by the poet as arising from the contemplation

tion of agitations in which the spectator is not exposed to share, but with an anxious desire to mitigate, to enlighten, to reconcile, to save;—by our example in all cases, by our exertions where we can usefully interpose..... Great Britain .... has looked before and after .... has assumed the attitude and the attributes of justice, holding high the balance and grasping, but not unsheathing, the sword.'

In these noble and stately sentences the orator was indeed 'looking before and after;' his words strike the ear and are felt at the heart of his country with even greater force in 1875 than in 1823.

We have placed at the head of this article an admirable little book by an English writer, who is separated by many years from Mr. Canning's influence and by many associations from Mr. Canning's opinions and party. When we call to mind the peculiar ecclesiastical and civil position of Mr. Frederic Seebohm, who, if we mistake not, is a member of the Society of Friends, we can accord nothing but praise to the most kindly, moderate, and discriminating tone which pervades the present small work equally with his previous and more ambitious essay on 'The Oxford Reformers.'

Different as they are in almost all other respects, there is in like prominence in the active Foreign Secretary of the commencing nineteenth century, and in our Quaker country banker and student of its later decades, this common quality, that they both survey the sixteenth and the nineteenth century, by a sort of intuition, particularly on the political side, and that this their point of view is a markedly English one. Mr. Seebohm, trained on such an opposite model of taste and feeling to Mr. Canning's, struck with the contrasts between our own gradual national development and the tumultuary agonies of neighbouring States, styles the epoch of history he has undertaken to describe, adopting a title which yet manifestly would not have been used in this connection in any century preceding the nineteenth, 'The Era of the Protestant Revolution.'

It is our intention, on the present occasion, to follow these examples. To us nothing seems to throw more light on the Imperial and Papal movements of our own times—on, for instance, the varying fortunes of the Napoleons and of the Holy Alliance and its later imitations, or again on the preparations for and the results from the Vatican Council and the rise to predominance in Germany of the Hohenzollern; further, on the history of England as a separate interest in European and universal affairs—than a careful examination of corresponding appearances in the sixteenth century. No doubt, as will be seen

seen as we proceed, there is much in the setting of the two periods to testify to the numerous changes in the interval between them.

The sixteenth century, it has to be said at starting—and we might include also the seventeenth—had fallen, until a comparatively recent date, too specially to the ecclesiastical historian as his undisputed province. The fact is easily enough explained, nor is the misfortune without its compensations. Theological controversialists, quite excusably, first approached and got hold upon the land; they examined it and worked it out, and have, it must be allowed, for their requirements made, relative to it, a tolerably exhaustive report. But their estimates and explorations, however precise and painstaking, ought not to have been accepted as final by political and literary investigators, who, in their excursions into this ground, have far too seldom left the beaten track and strayed afield after bits of prospect to suit their own focus and opportunities, to try by their proper tests the conditions and products of the region. An inquirer, honestly anxious to arrive at the real position of civilisation in those days, will soon discover how unfruitful, how actually deluding and arbitrary, is the attempt to deal with the huge unsettlement he has before him as consistently and exclusively a revolt from the teaching and abuses of a creed and its corruptions. As such their undertaking did not then present itself to all, though it did to some, of the most eminent leaders. And certainly by those who regard the steps of those leaders not at one given turn or by some momentary flash—by those who can calculate, aided by the commentary of subsequent experiences, their impetus and goal—so partial and insufficient an appreciation will at once be abandoned.

It was a stream as gigantic and as irresistible in volume as can be conceived of, which was in full career. Those dissolvent and reconstructive energies, which worked so mightily on humanity in respect of its spiritual expectations and assurances, were as potent and searching in relation to the sources, bases, and securities of all national and corporate existence whatsoever, and in relation to speech itself, and all it can express, as the sole appliance by means of which man, a transitory yet rational force in nature, may strive to fix for himself, and to illustrate and communicate, his inner passions, pleasures, hopes, his emotions and his sympathies. A change was hurrying through its ultimate rather than through its preliminary phases in the whole theory of the highest ideal—not at all merely of religious doctrine—of human thought and of human society. We must ask leave to take a rapid retrospect.

Let

Let a glance be cast back over the whole past of Europe since the conquests of Julius Cæsar and the preaching of Christianity down to about the end of the twelfth century, where the date may be approximately fixed, at which other influences came into vigorous action, and the notion of the supreme value of discipline, as the secret of public and personal well-being, prompts and explains all the phenomena. According to it was planned and erected the fabric of the medieval Roman Empire and of the medieval Catholic Church. The Emperor and the Pope were both of them strictly elective, and were both of them, at the assumption of their dignity, and all through their continuance in it, invested with a Divine mission, and confirmed by sanctions of a kingdom other than the kingdoms of the earth. They did not, in theory, owe their place to any excellence of blood, or any unanimity of popular suffrages; it was not necessary that there should appear to be rewarded, or that there should be readily discernible in them, any conspicuously qualifying virtues. In their own interpretation of their power, and by the consent of those they governed, that power was sovereign by reason of a superhuman mandate and in coherence with a transcendental arrangement of the universe, pre-established and immutable. They stood above the rest of men, uplifted and upheld by omnipotent hands; neither of them could have an equal or a competitor. In the one, God had bestowed a captain on the whole congregation of His people; in the other, He had sent to all men the apostle of His gospel. Beyond the sweep and range of these two, His revealed and indisputable emissaries, men were out of reach of God's government of the world. An Emperor or a Pope acquired an awe of himself; he had become an implement through which the finger of destiny determined the laws of mankind; he was the repository of a wisdom and a will, which were in him but not of him; his consecration had extended the scope of his office in the universe out of all analogy and proportion to that of any other mortal.

It was in order to get an overmastering motive to obedience that the sceptre and the crook of medieval Rome were adorned with their mysterious and talismanic insignia. The metropolis of Europe had, in truth, never wavered from her oldest methods; her authority had always surrounded itself with the attributes of incontrovertible majesty, and insisted on implicit and religious subservience. And thus in the phraseology and imagination of Christendom, in its predominating institutions for many ages Roman in character and Latin in speech, there had lived on the principles

principles of the Empire of Heathen antiquity.* By the force of these principles, Rome deemed herself not only to have conquered the world, but to have been the only grandly successful instructor of the West in pacific sciences and arts, and, as she could plausibly enough affirm, in the faith of Christ. To us, now, how stupendous and amazing seems her concluding exploit: the building up, in the midst of the confusion of Teutonic barbarism, of a Holy Roman Empire, and, against the spell of the spirit and words of the New Testament, of a Catholic and Roman Church; the preservation and the perpetuation of the most impious and tremendous pretensions of the autocratic arrogance and pomp of Paganism in a Christian Cæsar and a triply-crowned Vicar of St. Peter! In that so different era the end seemed to justify the means. Under authorities which had been thus defined, which, as thus defined, were admitted and recognised, could not the final organisation of humanity be taken in hand and brought about? It was made possible to prepare elaborate and infallible prescriptions of conduct, by which the individual should be compelled to mould his intellect and to formulate his behaviour. It was made possible to set up a standard, by which righteousness and truth might be minutely weighed, and from which the remunerations of good and the deserts of evil deeds could be told off for time and eternity. On this foundation is grounded, as we have said, the whole feudal as well as the whole hierarchical system. The rules of the various monastic reforms, and of the several military societies under vows, and likewise the ordinances of secular chivalry, and the codes of guilds and trades, are framed on the same model of submission to one all-embracing, fixed and settled, external law, which relieves him, who conforms to it, from the conflict with self and with circumstances, and whose appointment and right it is to do so. For the most self-conscious, introspective, and aspiring souls, provision was made. Their tastes for by-paths had been foreseen, and the road-book was ready for them. The perfect knight, the perfect saint, a Godfrey of Bouillon, or a Bernard of Clairvaux, was the slave and martyr of obedience.

So long as the struggle with barbarism was internecine and the foremost labour incumbent upon the Christian man was that

* The same political faith, the same semi-spiritualist semi-materialist fervour, which animated, for example, the pilgrimage of the Emperor Hadrian to the image of Memnon, and his record on the spot—'Audivi voces divinas'—survived (will they survive as long as mankind?), only grown more crass, in, to cite but one specimen, the famous medieval couplet,—

'Spiritus est Papa, carnis velamine clausus,
Hunc quasi terrenum describere quis foret ausus?'

of

of the missionary, Europe was glad to acknowledge and support temporal and spiritual system alike. Against barbarism there was furnished a military leader and the only chance, at a strait, of a simultaneous equipment and a common plan of defence over the whole continent. And by a lonely and weary preacher of repentance in the wilderness, surrounded by, and feeling his helplessness among, unreasoning and obdurate savages, the supernatural claims and unwarrantable interpositions would not readily be canvassed, or in any of their practical issues comprehended, of that Visible Church from whose local habitation he was a voluntary though regretful exile, whose image he could idealise and idolise only in his memory and his dreams, whose triumphs he enlarged and hallowed, but never celebrated or enjoyed. Especially, if one is to understand at all how the state of thought we have sketched could continue, must one keep prominently before oneself what may be called the foreign policy for three centuries of Europe; one must remember how real was the enmity, how unabating the dread, of Islam, how by the incessant and uncompromising challenge a declaration was provoked and demanded of the Unity, in her faith and in her armies, of Christendom, how every superstition of the priest, how every propensity of the soldier worked itself into the general alarm, how congenial and enticing the Crusades proved to the remotest and securest countries in which they were proclaimed.

But already with the dawn of the thirteenth century something like the breeze of modern days was in the air. The difficulties which overwhelmed his successors had to be encountered by the great ecclesiastic whose history fills the first years of that century. The headings of the chapters, into which the late Dean of St. Paul's separated his account of the pontificate of Innocent III., are sufficient to indicate the magnitude of the struggles into the meshes of which the Pope cast himself. 'Innocent and Spain,' 'Innocent and France,' 'Innocent and the Empire,' 'Innocent and England,' 'Innocent and the East,' 'Innocent and the Anti-Sacerdotalists.' The Bishop of Rome's policy is, wherever it manifests itself, in opposition to the strength of nations, and, within nations and for individuals, new fountains of intellectual and emotional life begin to spring up, where the Supreme Pontiff has not blessed the source nor even struck the rock. And indeed those remarkable displays within the Church of the highest flight of ascetic devotion, with a description of which Dr. Milman concluded his narrative of Innocent's rule—the Mendicant Orders—were ill-omened in their sudden and self-stimulated spread; in regard to them some apprehension and suspicion was not foreign to the Pope's mind, they might in

course of time ally themselves to objects and inquiries entirely inconsistent with the scheme of the Papacy. Imagination and reason were betaking themselves to humble and common walks, affections which it had before been held laudable to repress and deaden, interests which were essentially narrow and homely, showed themselves above the surface, invited and obtained notice, encouragement, and care, and the result was to produce an existence overflowing with satisfactions and endowed also not only with a tenderness for the associations that made it up, but also with a passion for further progress surpassing any excitements, which had accompanied the glowing visions and recompensed the stern renunciations to which the old teaching had directed the world for guidance and safety. The frontiers of kingdoms were being formed, national patriotism was kindling, towns were increasing in number and size. Within their own walls these last reared a new class of population, fostered the love of commerce and charters, discovered fresh spheres of industry and manufactures, and modified the whole character of the government of countries. The most damaging evidence of the clumsiness and inapplicability of the old centralised system was forthcoming, as often as the appeal to that system was made. The 'Bann' of the Empire, even the 'Interdict' of the Church, was an awkward instrument of punishment; there was no telling how the blow might recoil; it touched no longer on the one hand the unruly vassal, the court-life of a few priests and knights, and on the other hand a herd of serfs, who bowed meekly under the undeviating injustice of every superior; but it roused the pride and inspired the resentment of opulent and intelligent communities, which had learnt to distinguish between the affairs of their city and those of the larger commonwealth, and between the public obligations of monarchies and the private morals of kings. The experience of these bodies had already led them to value usages and exemptions which implied some licence of opinion and conversation; a policy of neutrality, where definite inducements to the contrary did not offer themselves, had been the primary principle of those contractual aims, which had led them in their experiments hitherto in self-government and self-aggrandisement; they had nothing to do with a quarrel unless or until they had made it their own, and they could resolutely determine not to allow themselves to be the chief sufferers for offences committed neither by them nor on their behalf.

To watch, within the See of Rome's vast jurisdiction and the misty area of the Empire, the rise of national sovereignties and of keen-witted and grasping mercantile corporations, to note

note the break-up of the map of Europe into clearly marked territorial divisions with new and conspicuous sites of general and particular administration, is after all to observe only the superficial symptoms of what is going on.

With the fate of the universal State and Church was involved the fate of the universal idiom. Rapidly, when the borders of a land or district were definitely drawn, the common 'patois' had purified and ennobled itself, and become the organ of interpretation for every ingredient, even for the most delicate and evanescent elements, in the bearing and character of the people. And the rule and censorship in literature passed from the clerk to the layman; literary taste became secular and local. Joinville and Wolfram von Eschenbach, Dante and Chaucer—to cite four typical and early names—signalise the moment at which, armed for the contest, the living languages entered into rivalry with the dead languages; these authors mark the breadth of the lines of demarcation between the several chief dialects of modern civilisation; they exemplify, how melodious, how picturesque, how laden—above the measure of the great classical masterpieces of antiquity—with sentiment, how capable of sustained grandeur and graceful variety was the profane and vulgar speech of France, Germany, Italy, and England, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The individual was addressed in words familiar to him, the scenes and customs reproduced were those among which he moved, he came with every line that he read or listened to on ideas which had striven within himself towards utterance, on phrases and sentences which, half turned and polished, he had himself manipulated, he could trace with delight each fresh form and ingenious application which enriched the volume and meaning of his mother tongue. A suitable medium of co-operation and correspondence was not long wanting to this world of new thoughts and new vocabularies. The invention of printing placed unsuspected opportunities within the power of each writer; brought every original mind, which availed itself of its aid, before an audience of intellects; multiplied, made tangible and public property, and threw into the cheapest market all the messages of genius and inspiration. The spread of books was soon wider than the Law of the Empire or the Faith of Rome. With the machinery of the Press neither the checks of official supervision nor the subtleties of spiritual direction could cope. A book could reprove and govern a life better than a magistrate, it could extort and keep a secret better than a confessor. Seen on one side of them, in what may be called their physical history, their articulation, their organisation, their grammar, the modern languages, some more, some less, were considerably

indebted to the language of Rome. This they could not help. But, as we have pointed out, they also embodied the assertion of opposition to the traditions of the Augustan age and the age of Constantine, and to consecrated Medieval Latinity. Though in one sense, though, according to the letter, Roman, the modern languages in their best moments have been quickened and revived by the spirit of Greece. It was one of the very greatest discoveries of the fifteenth century, that the life becoming then the object of desire and choice—a life of self-discipline and self-respect, of personal distinctness and personal insulation, where the family and society would be developed for the sake of the excellence, the liberty, and the growth of the individual, and where on the free and unrestrained play of the finest mental and manual activity of individuals would depend religious and political enthusiasm—that such a life had been lived before in the world, that it had been that of the Greek cities. The enfranchisement of soul produced in the individual by the consciousness of his own creative gifts in language and literature, and by the acquisition of a new tradition linking his efforts with those of Hellenic heroism and philosophy, found its sublimest expression in the Art of the Renaissance. Not for long in the contemplation of the pangs of martyrdom or of the probations of purgatory or of the last terrors of the Day of Judgment did the artist continue to seek to kindle his faculties, not for long was it his chief concern to devote his talents to illuminate the virtues and miracles of saints, and to deepen the reverence of trembling penitents. The Church might still be the principal patron of art, but to the artist the employment of his art and the service of the Church ceased to mean the same thing. It is the natural charm of youth and loveliness and sunshine, the wife or daughter of a favourite of fortune, that he depicts, the modesty of maidenhood, the happy rapture of maternity, the proud matronly enjoyment of homage and wealth. Or his curiosity broods over some man, who has gone his own way and made a title and place in this world for himself. Toil, doubt, the distant prospects of science, lurk in a student's face, or yet more frequently the painter throws his richest and mellowest lights upon the complacent and dignified features of the merchant or the senator.

Empire and Church, what meanwhile became of them?

The Emperor had fallen in with the times. His authority had gone on growing more purely nominal, its operations more palpably sluggish and ineffectual. Everywhere he was regarded and spoken of as an abstract and absent dignitary. Since the middle of the fourteenth century he had scarcely ever appeared in Italy. The Cæsar of Dante's treatise and poem, Henry the Seventh,

Seventh, had an exceptional ambition and a turbulent progress. The sight of him awakened revolt at Milan and at Brescia. He had to fight for his passage through the streets of Rome, the approaches to St. Peter's were kept against him. The journey was fatal to him. He died at Siena, as the tale runs, of that poisoned cup with which Italy has so often paralysed the mailed arm of her conquerors. He found a quiet grave in the one constantly Imperialist city, Pisa. And, since the middle of the fifteenth century, the Emperor had been a stranger also to Germany. Bohemia or Hungary was the residence of the so-called King of the Romans. Albert II., as Emperor, never set foot in the German Imperial territories. Frederick III. was not once seen in them during seven-and-twenty years. The Imperial title had plainly lost its significance, as much to the man who bore it as to the world at large. The emperors themselves were mastered by the local attachments and the home ties, which, as we have observed, were gaining such strength in politics as in letters; they lost their special conscience, the sense of an impartial, universal, sacred relation, and they gave themselves up to the acquisition of patrimonial estates and the foundation of families. The Emperor Charles IV., the most generous ruler and the shrewdest and most strenuous statesman in the interval between the fall of the Hohenstaufen and the election of his greater namesake, Charles V., was occupied primarily with the management of his hereditary domains. Within specific limits, as a petty sovereign, and for circumscribed and personal objects, he made for himself an enviable and durable place. He is surnamed 'the Father of Bohemia.' He has besides been styled, though the phrase carries with it no adequate description of the callousness and indifference of his demeanour, 'the Step-father of the Empire.' The Emperor Maximilian I., Charles IV.'s successor, a sympathetic and cultivated man, a soldier full of the knight-errantry of the bygone middle ages, a prince connected by marriage and diplomacy with the South and West more than with the East of Europe, who by himself and by others was supposed to care more for ideal position than for definite profit, who affected to be the pacificator of Germany and the arbiter of Europe, yet, after all, never looked out upon universal Christendom except to look after the affairs of the ducal line of which he came, and to get endowments and to obtain votes for his grandson, its heir. He was prepared at any time to sacrifice his Empire to his House, he was altogether swayed and permeated by a domestic and selfish motive, his mind had always the drift which, on a memorable occasion—in an address to the Imperial Diet at Freiberg in 1498—he once allowed to rush into words.

words. Lombardy, he said, had betrayed, and Germany had forsaken him. There might come an instant when he would take himself to be released from the oath he had sworn at Frankfurt. He had obligations toward the Empire, but his first duty was toward the Line of Austria.

Europe and Germany could do and did do without such emperors. Anyhow, the shadow was more desirable and even more serviceable than the substance; when the more majestic emblems of Imperial power had long been classed among curiosities and encumbrances, there remained a certain legal and conventional, if antiquarian, usefulness in the Imperial seal.

The Teutonic race in its original home, in the immense and formless Germany, has appreciated in all ages more readily and thoroughly than any other race noble conceptions and great men, and it has often lent its whole self for a generation to the projects of a religious or military hero. But it has never worked together long, it has never worked together at all, except with the breath upon it of some great champion of liberty in thought or action; the bond of a common speech and literature is usually sufficient for it; it has no abiding incentive or need in the direction of national unity or political uniformity. It was already the most subjective race in Europe. Its theology had already unlinked itself from shrines and dogmas; its poetry had left the castle and the presence-chamber for the town-hall and the thoroughfare. The true life of Germany in the fourteenth century, and in those which follow, is the life of the cities on her chief rivers—of Mainz, Augsburg, Strassburg, Kolmar, Nürnberg, Ratisbon, Ulm; it took voice in Master Eckhart, in John Tauler, in the writer of the 'Deutsche Theologie,' and in the songs, in the metres and harmonies more than in the words, of the Mastersingers. The German philosopher or divine was even then a Mystic; and in lower and ordinary circles, in workshop and wineshop, Music had even then, as a fine instinct and an intricate art, attuned the temperament and invaded the fancy of an entire people.

What had been the fate of the Papacy? What survived as the products of the vigilance and the supremacy of a Gregory VII. and an Innocent III.? Where, in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, shall we look for some footprints of that strange and exalted figure, the Medieval Pope? Where are the old labours performed and the old titles approved? Where are successors to the friend of Damiani and the pupil of Bernard? Where is the lofty preacher—to whom God himself bears witness in the soul and by the mouth of assembled Europe—of a Holy War, by which the Sepulchre of Christ is to be regained and the kingdom

kingdom of his Redeemed set up? Where is the Patriarch of the West, the blameless shepherd of the chosen flock, the Missionary of the Gentiles, thirsting for conversions and welcoming martyrdom, the pattern of charity and humility, 'the Servant of the Servants of God'? In those times such a personage was sought for as vainly as we might search for him now. As an effective force and principle in European life, the monastic and apostolic Papacy was gone as absolutely as the military and chivalrous Empire.

It is not difficult to trace the various stages of the changes in the character and impressiveness of the See of Rome. The first stage is marked by its conflict with the Swabian emperors and kings. In this struggle the popes placed no particular reliance on the sword of the Spirit, they fought like temporal princes with the weapons furnished by political craft and from well-stored arsenals. They fomented animosities of race, dynastic hatreds, personal jealousies; they proclaimed campaigns, bestowed provinces, bartered kingdoms. They were implicated in all the intrigues of Italian factions; their eminence among the republics and principalities of the peninsula was enhanced by concession to and arrangement with the unscrupulous avarice of France. To maintain his prerogatives and privileges, the head of the Church stooped to the worst devices of malignant despotism, to cruelty, rapacity, treachery. He could even persuade himself, and soon there were sufficient facts to bear him out, that his free action, on behalf of Christianity and in the room of the Apostles, depended upon there being racks and dungeons for those who were committed to his own immediate episcopal care. Rome, as an estate or a revenue, rather than as the centre of the evangelisation of the world; Italy, as a tempting appendage to the landed wealth of the See, absorbed his interest, snatched away the revelation so dear and distinct to his predecessors, of the isles waiting for their coming, of the priceless heritage of the heathen.

The second stage in the degradation and impotence of the Holy See is fixed in the course of its political rivalry with the French monarchy, in one generation the confidant and helpmate, in the next the foe of Rome. The advantage fell to the French Crown. The memory of Boniface VIII. was blasted, the array of the Church Militant, the Order of the Temple was disbanded, a habitation was allotted to the Supreme Pontiff on this side of the Alps near the confines of the King of France's dominions, under the control of his family authority. The gilded exile in Avignon is branded in the shamefullest pages in ecclesiastical history; a group of voluptuous and venal old

old men lived like the reprobate votaries of some obscene Asiatic cult. But there was still a lower and more ignominious descent reserved for the Papacy. After the Babylonish Captivity came the Schism. The last days of the old downfall of civilisation in Europe had their parallel, the vices of the degenerate Cæsars, the contentions of Imperial Pretenders. There were two, there were three Popes at once.

More than a century is taken up with the history of the Popes of the Secession and of the Division. And when again there was a single Pope and he had returned to Rome, it was to introduce nearly immediately another and scarcely less scandalous phase of priestly misrule and self-seeking. The Chair of St. Peter was henceforth mainly indebted to senatorial and princely Italian houses for its traditions, its morals, and its occupants; to, for example, the line of the Colonna, that of Savoy, and that of the Piccolomini. The era soon began of what might be styled Macchiavellian Sacerdotalism: of pontificates of unblushing nepotists such as Sixtus IV. and Alexander VI., or of men like a Julius II., patron of sculptors and painters and captain of mercenaries.

Thus, though names remained, had the spirit departed from the Roman Empire and the Roman Church; the Church had indeed decayed further than the Empire, if we consider how as an institution it had been planned and how in the early times administered. What stronger proof could be given of the tendency to localise and individualise, and of the lengths to which that tendency had gone, than is afforded by the spectacle, not merely of an Emperor, who is practically turned into a national sovereign, but of a Pope, who is a sceptic, whose tastes are in the way of military engineering or of elegant luxuries, who is a political adventurer, not shrinking on an emergency to use drug or poniard, with an eye mainly to marriages and independences for his kindred, for his own offspring. From the progress of Christianity—the observation might seem hardly necessary—the Papacy had long been dissociated. To develop this at length historically would be a most interesting task, but one which would lead us too far astray from our main inquiry. It is sufficient to state that we should have to follow the history of that progress not at Avignon, not at Rome, but in the universities of Paris, Oxford, and Prague, in the representative assemblies of national churches, in the expression of national convictions and creeds at great European Synods. Not names of Popes, but, we write them advisedly, names like those of Wiclif, Gerson, and Huss express the religious faith of Christendom in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. 'The voice of' such a man's 'words

was

was as the voice of a multitude;' it spoke out of the depths of a people's premeditated resolve, it was big with warning and prophecy concerning the further course of Christian corporate existence.

At this halting-spot in our inquiry, the consideration which to us presents itself most forcibly is one which, as we have already hinted, appears to have been much lost sight of, especially by our English Protestant historians, to whom every modern ecclesiastical and religious sentiment appears to spring up for the first time at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Our own feeling, if we allowed ourselves to put it into a rather paradoxical form, might prompt the assertion that the sixteenth century, so familiar to us under the term the Century of the Reformation, could with equal, if not with more, appropriateness receive the title of the Century of the Reaction. As a moment in general history, as a moment in the growth of politics and of Christianity in Europe, its peculiar aspect is, we repeat, the result of an unexpected and violent attempt to suppress and overwhelm the continuous evolution of national life and the advance of the individual in freedom of intellectual and social self-reliance. Charles V. and Leo X., in relation to several preceding centuries of European opinion, dogma, and statesmanship, are great reactionary leaders; the opposition to them is consistently, as we should say now-a-days, not revolutionary but constitutional.

Charles V. and Leo X. were embodiments of novelty, disturbance, and danger. Let us recall, at a hasty glance, the personality and the circumstances of each of them.

In an hour when luxury and ornament and costly gems and precious metals had their fullest meaning in Italy, a son of a well-known Florentine house of patrician merchants had reached the Papal throne. For a hundred years this house had been creeping up the ascent to power at Florence and at Rome. Giovanni de' Medici was the banker of Pope John XXIII., at Constance during the Council he had established a world-wide mercantile connection, at Florence he had ingratiated himself with the lower orders of the populace. Cosmo, Giovanni's son, succeeded to his fortune and maxims. Banished for a while from Florence, the business of the city departed with him to Venice. He was sent for back. Though outwardly an unconcerned spectator of public transactions, he thenceforward held the rudder of the State. Unruly intellects he turned into the paths of literature and art. His money and the soldiery of his friend, Francesco Sforza, the leading condottiere of the epoch,

epoch, maintained the balance of power in the Peninsula; checked now Venice, now Milan, now the Pope, now Naples. Cosmo's grandson was Lorenzo the Magnificent. To the second son of Lorenzo—who bore an ancestral name, Giovanni—was promised in his thirteenth year a Cardinal's hat. This Giovanni became the Pope Leo X. He was the typical man of his race. The age in which he lived is often called after him. He was the featliest and the luckiest of a family, in all departments second to none in dexterity of eye and touch, plied and exercised from one end to the other of the continent. Not only was there a patronage of art, but there was notably also a skilled and far-reaching diplomatic facility, to which no fitter description may be attached than the epithet 'Medicean.' Witness here—out of many—two more names, that of Pope Clement VII., whom England and Henry VIII. consulted and at length defied, and that of Queen Catherine of France, who swayed the deliberations of three kings in whom her blood ran, making of them princes of the stock of the Medici rather than of that of Valois. Giovanni de' Medici is not far from being as original and inscrutable a character among popes as Cosmo de' Medici among bankers, and Lorenzo de' Medici among demagogues. According to what a large scheme did he rule, and how considerable were, after all, his achievements! He was invited to arbitrate between the Empire and Venice. Leo X., unarmed and unprotected, went out and met Francis I., a victorious and elated enemy, as calmly and as auspiciously as Leo I. had met Attila and Genseric. He acquitted himself as the acutest politician of his day: the Pope was once more a powerful hierarch beyond the Alps; a fundamental law of Francis' kingdom, the Pragmatic Sanction, the bulwark of Gallican liberties, was abrogated; the concordat of 1516 between the King and Rome gave back to the Holy See its supremacy, while it overrode the decisions of recent councils; the Pope was to have again appellate, unimpeachable jurisdiction over the churches of France. Leo had further and grander designs; not indeed of extending the Faith (for the evidence is precarious enough that he had any knowledge of the Faith or that he put any trust in it), but of making more popular and monumental, and of everywhere preaching, the fame of Rome and its Lord. A similar ambition to his has once or twice repeated itself in history. The same attribute of discernment distinguished, the same hope of everlasting renown fired, and the same Nemesis awaited Pope Leo X., the Emperor Justinian, and King Solomon of Israel. Under the successor of the wisest of mortal monarchs the Jewish kingdom was parted asunder. Three years after Justinian's death the Lombards overswept Italy,

aly, where, for an instant, he had restored Imperial prestige; and ıe church Justinian had erected at Constantinople and dedicated › the Divine Intelligence, in which he flattered himself he had stablished the Patriarchate of an undivided empire and the isible centre of the true religion, is now a Turkish mosque. he building of the temple of the Church Catholic and of t. Peter at Rome by the pre-eminently cautious, judicious, ılightened, and happy among all the Popes of the Renaissance, ›r whose purposes Providence might have been thought to have ranted peculiar gifts to such architects as Rafael and Michael .ngelo, was the direct and immediate occasion of the most ›mplete and irretrievable in the whole series of political and :clesiastical disruptions.

When the stranger from Germany or England in this nineenth century—this century of so many reconciliations and combinations—visits Rome, he can rouse within himself someing responsive to the half Periklean, half Hildebrandine dayeams of Leo X. For miles, whether he comes or goes, by the ay of the sea and by the way of the heights, he has, catching s first and departing look towards, over-arching his first and parting recollection of, the Eternal City,

Michael Angelo's Dome, that had hung the Pantheon in Heaven.'

He can understand somewhat the Medicean project of gorgeous lgrimages to a shrine of classical and philosophic culture, a rine to which would haply still cling faint odours of medieval ısterities and primitive sanctity, and where a worship, almost hristian, would be due to wonders of artistic genius, produced r the hands of the great masters of the brush and chisel to hom had been vouchsafed to see, at the last moment and in ınscendent beauty, the phantoms of all the old and new vinities embracing each other and then together vanishing away, ıd who thus had been enabled to embalm and to bequeath ese rare and only relics of long-spent religious emotions, which, ıce upon a time, had refreshed the world. When the traveller turns to his own country, when he takes up the German Bible the plays of Shakespeare, he comprehends how it was that e nations of Northern and Western Europe rebelled against e Pontificate of Leo X. and his gospel of the Renaissance. etzel was proclaiming indulgences, on behalf of the works at . Peter's and at the Vatican, far away from Italy in Saxony, hen he came into the neighbourhood of a comparatively small ıd retired society of humanists and scholars, the young, vigorous, ıd industrious university of Wittenberg. A lecturer and eacher there, Martin Luther, posted up on the 'Schloss Kirche'

Kirche' his ninety-five theses; and a controversy began, of which the first notes had only to be struck, and they were echoed on and on through all the high schools and students'-quarters of Europe, till they filled every gathering of gossips, and resounded to national assemblies and royal consciences.

Notwithstanding, however, the judgment which was to be pronounced, in a certain sense, by contemporaries, and decisively by posterity, until we have passed some years beyond the termination of Leo X.'s rule, the most significant facts to be remarked are those, which bring out the strength in which he had resuscitated obsolete ideas concerning the extension and interests of the Church and the penetrating and sovereign authority in and over it of the See of Rome. Before him, what an age had elapsed since there had been popes of other than Italian extraction, since there had been popes whose ideals had not been those of an Italian domestic reputation, whose horizon had not been bounded by an Italian principality, at the furthest by the frontiers of Italy! When Leo X.'s death left the Papal chair empty, the vacant dignity engaged the eye and thrilled the heart of the whole European clerical community. An Englishman by birth and training, a royal favourite, a prime minister, the Cardinal of York, Thomas Wolsey, was the disappointed candidate now, and a second time at the next election. The choice fell upon the Cardinal of Tortosa, a native of Utrecht, who had been a professor at Louvain, the preceptor of the Emperor, a high official of the Spanish government, who arrived at Rome some months after the conclave as the head of the Catholic Church, who in Rome itself was an innovator, a foreigner, a recluse; to the Romans, to the Italians a 'Pontefice barbaro.'

To interweave family narrative and nomenclature with political destiny can run easily into mere foolish and fantastic play. But here historians and critics are not the worst offenders. The temptation is hard to resist in the case of the princes, who represented the line of Maximilian at the date of his decease; two brothers, two successive emperors. When Maximilian died, Charles, the elder brother, born in the first year of the century at Ghent, was about nineteen, Ferdinand, born at Alcalá de Henares, about sixteen years of age. These lads had rights, apart from the claim to the empire, over an enormous territorial accumulation, to match which one must turn over map after map back to the possessions of Charles the Great or Lewis the Pious—the five Austrian duchies, well secured expectations to Hungary and Bohemia; the kingdom of Spain, with the dependent kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; the islands of Majorca

Majorca and Minorca; the rich Burgundian dowry, which his first bride had brought to their Habsburg grandfather. In Africa the arms of their house were feared and respected; the Indies of the Old and New World formed part of their patrimony.

With Mary of Burgundy, the familiar names in her pedigree passed to that of Maximilian. Her son Philip brings back to memory Philip the Good, that lusty, gallant, affable duke, the hero of Philip of Comines' first chapter, whose palace in its gaiety, its sumptuousness, its ostentation, its breeding, was the model of fifteenth century manners; its observances and precedents guided the later ceremonial of Madrid and Vienna. The heir of the ancient duke Philip had been christened Charles, and Charles was the word given at the font for the heir of the later Archduke and King Philip. And even the Imperial Majesty of Charles V. does not step out from the page of memoirs, of romance, of tales of manifold military and geographical vicissitudes, more boldly than his ancestor, whose relations to England, to Spain, to Italy, to France, so closely prefigured subsequent connections; whose wild clutches after honours and crowns, when gazed upon from amid the realities of the sixteenth century, show like the outbursts of a prescient and envious rage, grudging the laurels that were actually to accrue, in a future generation, to another Charles of Burgundy. With a far wider meaning—a meaning taking in a larger scope than that of Europe—the hypothesis put by Comines, supposing all had gone well with Charles the Rash in his battles with the Swiss, came true of the great-grandson who was his namesake—'il desiroit grant gloire . . . et eust bien voulu ressembler à ces anciens princes dont il a esté tant parlé après leur mort . . . Si ces choses fussent advenues, il tenoit de pays en son obeyssance depuis la Mer de Ponant jusques à celle de Levant.'

The elder boy might be held to stand for the pride and perseverance—in a more vague and less aware attitude, also for the bearing toward the Gaul, the Magyar, and the Alpine Uplander—of his progenitors; Imperial, Regal, Ducal. The younger boy was called after persons who had, from an obscure station and round a small nucleus, succeeded in the work an emperor, if there at all existed space for an emperor, should undertake. When, in the year 1410, the throne of Aragon was disputed between five competitors, that one of them who did not appeal to force, but to the requirements of the State and the solemnities of a legal tribunal, who, moreover, had probably, and to modern eyes, much the least substantial ground for his suit, was the brother of Henry III. of Castile, the Infant Ferdinand. He gained the day. As monarch, he was the first to

to firmly cement the union between Aragon and Sicily, the continuance of which union had issues of moment for the civil progress, the military life, and the moral development of each country. His son carried on the work of incorporation. In the course of his reign, the acquisition of Navarre was attempted and well-nigh effected: the conquest of Navarre on the far side of the mountains, as distinguished from the Navarre which, through the houses of Foix and Albret, fell ultimately to the Bourbons, was not absolutely and finally accomplished until 1512, near the close of the next reign. As grandson to the first, comes a second Ferdinand. Prince of Aragon, he married the heiress of Castile. The two preponderating and rival sovereignties were under him and his queen united. The old term 'of Spain,' laid aside in the Iberian kingdoms after the fall of the Goths, had a revived force and usage. Let us suppose —and the historic accounts of the sway of Habsburg are full of reminiscences of the nursery and school beyond the Pyrenees— the junior of the two archdukes, who were about to enter as chief actors upon the stage of Europe, to have been set to reflect upon the rule of the grandfather, after whom he had been baptised, whose darling he had been, who had directed his education, who had detected in him talent and capacity and had desired to make for him much ampler provision than the advisers of his dying moments would permit him to execute. What a pattern and promise to live by might not be drawn from the star of the Ferdinand, under whom Castile, Leon, Aragon, Granada, Navarre, almost Portugal—and the comprehension of Portugal was but a short while delayed—had been merged into one dominion, under whom the Spanish monarchy had been made compact and harmonious, the Spanish empire had become as indefinite and as rich as a realm in fairyland—an empire, which the hills, the Mediterranean, the Atlantic, would defend, but which they could neither bound nor contain! For many ages the Spaniards had dwelt alone, aloof from the rest of the continent, fully occupied with constitutional struggles and with a fight against Islam which had been waged incessantly in the very heart of their country from the first raising of the standard of the False Prophet down to the end of the fifteenth century. An imagination must have been indeed torpid, which was not arrested, which was not electrified by the poetry of that long, slow, desperate warfare, and then of the swift and dazzling splendour of the late reward. It was as if a visible halo had on a sudden illumined, before all the world, some secluded and saintly monk or crusader. A nation was transfigured under 'los Reyes Católicos.' In one reign the Moor was driven out, Africa

Africa was attacked, Oran and the Canaries became the outposts of invaders, the coast of the unexplored south as far as the Cape of Good Hope was discovered and colonised by Spanish and Portuguese mariners. In Europe, a Spanish nobleman and general carried all before him; 'el príncipe de los caballeros, il Gran Capitano,' in the history of chivalry and of the art of war these epithets still belong to Gonsalvo de Cordova; the same man, who for his knowledge of the Arabic language and courtesy was selected to receive the capitulation of Granada, knelt years after in the Vatican to accept the golden rose with the Pope's kiss and blessing, while the streets rang with the acclamations of the multitude to 'the Deliverer of Rome.' Further,—and surely this is the most singular and mysterious among all the fulfilments of human longing and inquietude!—a derided and visionary sailor, who, so legend and his biographers affirm, could never, do what he would, rid himself of the burden of his name (his Christian name came from his patron St. Christopher, the tall simple-hearted ferryman, who, roused at night by a babe's cry, had carried, not knowing it, although nearly drowned beneath the weight, his Saviour through the floods; in his surname he traced other similar reference to the ark of Noah, the dove, the olive-branch)—who in the camp before Granada had obtained his commission as admiral and viceroy, reached a New World. So was the Crescent banished from the West, Infidelity menaced in Africa and Asia, the Cross borne to another hemisphere. Three years before the end of the reign Vasco Nuñez de Balboa had crossed the Isthmus of Darien, had climbed the Cordilleras, had, as he supposed, beheld the rest of all troubled voyagers, the pleasant, delicious spice islands, had seen the still waters of the Pacific Ocean. A telling phrase of Robertson, in which he concludes his sketch of Cardinal Ximenes, has often recurred to us as admirably illustrative of the fervid and enthusiastic temper of the Spanish nation at this highest flow of their prosperity. Ximenes had the chief authority under the crown over Church and State for many years while Ferdinand and Isabella lived, and, down to his death, through the early years of Charles their successor. 'He is,' says our English historian of Charles V., 'the only prime minister mentioned in history, whom his contemporaries reverenced as a saint, and to whom the people under his government ascribed the power of working miracles.'

Imbued with these household and patriotic traditions, and with the lessons and commentaries drawn from such traditions which an Adrian of Utrecht or a Ximenes would supply, the Archdukes Charles and Ferdinand, while yet in their first youth, found themselves emancipated from tutelage and guardianship,

ship, in possession of the Burgundian, the Spanish, and the Austrian inheritance, and on the steps of the Imperial throne. They were themselves, it ought to be stated, exceptionally susceptible and sensitive to the Spanish spirit, even in morbid and unnatural extravagance. To understand the personal qualities of these princes and of the house of which they were fresh founders, one other relative of theirs demands passing mention. Strictly speaking, Charles was not King, but Regent of Spain. He held power on behalf of his mother, who had gone mad out of ill-requited love for her handsome, volatile husband. She lived on, weaving gloom over the minds of her children, past the middle of the century, until 1555. Her melancholy taint changed the current which had rushed boisterously and recklessly in the veins of Maximilian and Philip; there is a distinction of race and demeanour between the Habsburgs before and after Joanna of Castile.

What will happen when Germany and England, when Italy and France, come into collision with a Neo-Platonic Papacy and a Neo-Carolingian Empire, when the theology of Wiclif, Huss, Thomas à Kempis, Melanchthon, meets the principles of Leo X., when the countrymen of Macchiavelli, Comines, Erasmus, Ulrich von Hutten, Rabelais, discuss the programme of Charles V.?

The appearance which the Imperial authority assumed, when such a candidate as Charles of Spain was in the field, was recognised at once. The Empire presented itself to kings and statesmen in that lately unaccustomed view, in which, as we noticed, the Papacy will, at the death of Leo X., commend itself to the consideration of foreign cardinals and prelates, to whom the succession to the Roman See would heretofore have been a matter of no private consequence. Francis I. of France, Henry VIII. of England, Lewis II. of Hungary and Bohemia, hankered after the tempting prize; ruminated each of them, more or less seriously, upon his chance of intercepting it. There were two other potentates whose pretensions were discussed, princes then of inferior power and with less weighty credentials; but we may conjecture that, if either of them had been promoted to the Empire, the history of Western Europe would have been written for our perusal in very different type. One was the Elector of Brandenburg, on account of his eloquence and part in council styled the Nestor of Germany, the founder of the University of Frankfurt; the other was Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony, in his career to this point the antagonist of the policy, which Brandenburg had propped, of Habsburg. The Frankfurt professors continued, amid coming controversies, strictly orthodox. Frederick was the founder and the

the firm friend and patron of Wittenberg and its teaching. Neither of these would have come near Charles V.'s station in the history of the world: on the other hand, had either of them been chosen, there would, in all likelihood, have been established, under Imperial auspices, a great North-German monarchy, for which there was then reasonable place, though the creation of such a state was fated to be postponed for some hundred and eighty-two years longer. To record the enterprises, to enumerate the acts of Charles V., one must write in bulky volumes; and it would be vain for us to attempt any examination of them here. He was, if you like, a great Emperor; that is to say, he was fully equal to the highest position, he had vast territories, vast ability, vast energy, vast influence. But there was no Empire, nor could he restore it. It would not thrive, neither in Germany nor in Italy. And out of Germany and Italy the anti-Imperial policy kept its footing; sometimes it was discontented and disconcerted, it was never dejected and distressed; it ought to have held the undisputed present, it already, beyond all doubt, could feel its hold upon the future. In what contrast to the reign of Charles V., to all the conduct of it from election to abdication, oppose themselves such reigns as those of Francis I., Henry VIII., and—it is the most noteworthy of all, but our space forbids our pointing its moral—Gustavus Wasa!

It may be asserted, and with truth, that Francis I., in camp and cabinet, was the beaten and thwarted rival of Charles. But let the grasp be noted he had on the mind of France, and see what a pillar he became in the structure of the monarchy! His subjects, nor they alone, pointed to Francis as the man with the real spirit and mien of royalty. In him, not in Charles, had Cæsar returned. How fine a captain, how thorough a soldier! He had broken his sixty lances a day among his gentlemen, he had lain all night in the open among the troops, he had fought till dusk, he fought again at dawn in the foremost ranks. On his part, how faithful to his crown, how devoted to his country, how identified with it was the king! His very weaknesses and faults, when they seemed abroad least pardonable, were expounded for his benefit and at once forgiven him in France. When he was a prisoner, in the power of the defender of Christianity—of Charles—in the midst of recollections sacred to martyrs steadfast for the Cross and the verities of religion—at Madrid—Francis, alive only to his absence from France and his bad want of allies, started negociations with the Mohammedans. He became, to the scandal of Europe, a partner with Sultan Suleiman, the tyrant and scourge of civilisation. The

French were delighted at his elastic intrepidity and his supple diplomatic talent. He had made promises to his captor, not intending to abide by them; he had sworn, knowing that an oath against the good of France could not bind a French king; he had signed a document, but, before signing, he lamented the constraint put upon the quill between his fingers. His release having been procured, France—she was to have parted with a province—was declared one and indivisible, and that fundamental principle in the law of nations was re-affirmed which pronounces that a king of France can make neither oath nor compact, except at his own free will, and on behalf of and for the behoof of his people. Who and what, it was scornfully asked, was Charles V.? Who could say whether he was most a Spaniard or a German, whether the Flemings ought to call him theirs or the Austrians, whether it was Castilian haughtiness or Aragonese, which had a sluggard after-life in his countenance and deportment? But where was such a Frenchman as the king? Italy delighted him, but his love of foreign art and taste was always second to his love of home. He languished, and his friends, when they had got to know her, away from France. He transplanted his Italy; the gracious Italian painters came to feast with him and to work for him at Fontainebleau, and were pleased to pass the last years of their decline near Amboise and the Loire. Polite literature and correct taste were altogether in the pay of France and Francis; he was 'le père des lettres.' Round the later Renaissance there swam a French atmosphere.

Here is a general, nay more, it is the special mark of the sixteenth century, on which we have alighted—this solidarity between kingdom and king. It is not only in France—there this is always the case—it is everywhere, in the North and West of Europe, in England, in the German and Scandinavian territories, the same. The Sovereign is the keystone of the State. The national life thinks, acts, speaks, through him. Not the capital, not the boundaries distinguish and describe a kingdom, but the king. There were not as yet cities, in which the royal residence was permanent or looked for as a thing of course, and the larger towns, in which fermented a certain republican and particularist leaven, had not yet determined to throw in their lot with either dynasty or country. The European waters, the Mediterranean Sea and the German Ocean, were still in the hands of oligarchical corporations; towns stared on Venice and Lübeck, or saw no further than Antwerp and Bruges, wondering how far there was room for imitation, for confederacy. Even Paris, in the early sixteenth century, is no exception; it is a kind of Babel; the listener, far off in the nineteenth, catches echoes of the voice of

of the university, of the trades, of the law courts, of the exchange, but, notwithstanding Lewis XI. and Lewis XII., the court and aristocracy have not begun at all to give colour and tone to metropolitan politics, and the royal name does or does not resound above the hubbub, according as it does or does not suit the strife of civic partisanship. The interest of town and country was never more widely severed. Not only did it remain for the king to fix the opinion and the relation of the capital, he had also to fix the extent and borders of the land. The king on the shifting and gradually settling frontier—the king on the marches, a figure in the guise, as we first descry him, of one tentative, dubious, irresolute, turning his purpose hither and thither, snuffing the air, stamping the ground, moving the line backward and forward, like the mathematician, engineer, and architect of the political works of a nation—this is the royal labourer, these are the royal functions, when the curtain rises, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, on the scene of Western Europe. How the king of France towards the North, the East, and the South, tries and makes his way, acquires confidence and craftiness, inspires provincial loyalty, fills his own brain and soul with a wider idea, conveys nationality to an army and to peoples from which his army was raised, finally has learnt the geographical and tribal limits to his sway. Of supreme interest for the history of France under this aspect are the Italian campaigns, not destined, hardly designed, for wars of conquest, but expeditions, in which, half out of the training, half out of the spoil, the king secured his kingdom and the kingdom realised its need and duty toward its king. As in France, so in England. What pains does it cost the dynasty to discover and to define the limits of the British empire and of the true and real influence of England? Shall a fresh endeavour be made to gain extensive possessions on the mainland? With what object and for what period are Calais and Boulogne to be retained? Shall England be not only the maritime but a continental bulwark of Protestantism, undertake the Protectorate of Denmark and the Baltic, or accept the Sovereignty of the Netherlands? Or shall every magnanimous disposition be strained, every terrible risk hazarded, to push up the Northern frontier, and so to unite the island? Shall England stand alone, seek her old foes and new subjects far away from Europe, at any price maintain her single estate, her solitary policy, her separate faith, the ally everywhere of freedom, left to grow as circumstance and Providence might permit, but nowhere the champion of a Catholic and uniform creed, even of Liberty? These were questions which in their plainest form were put, in the sixteenth century, but to persons rather than populations, to

be decided on the responsibility of one individual judgment rather than by universal suffrage: they got their answer from the lips and the lives of a Tudor King and a Tudor Queen.

For a short while the accession to the Empire of Charles V. drew—we have above directed attention to the fact—Henry VIII.'s eyes off from England and fastened them on Europe. Henry had frequent interviews both with Francis and Charles to consider general affairs, and, after hostilities had broken out between France and the Emperor, there was a moment when the combatants agreed to allow Thomas Wolsey, as Henry's nominee, to arbitrate. A little later was conceived a plan, in which are mirrored Emperor, King, and Cardinal, at the giddiest summit of their hopes, intoxicated by a landscape in which the whole expanse of civilisation was spread beneath their feet. From Windsor Castle their vision extended to Rome and Constantinople. Henry VIII. had at that time, as the offspring of his marriage, one child, a daughter, Mary. Charles was to be betrothed to Mary. Henry, for his life, would have been King of England and France, with the connétable Bourbon for Lieutenant abroad. At Henry's death Charles would inherit France and England, and would govern the world. The distinction which a couple of years before Pope Leo had bestowed on Henry, 'Defender of the Faith,' would be the most illustrious of those commemorated by posterity, which would record how his minister had been collated to Rome, and his son-in-law had consolidated Europe and hunted the infidel from the Bosphorus. The surveillance over this domestic contract between Charles and Henry would belong to its evident author, the future pontiff. We may presume to guess that if Wolsey had become Pope, he would have assumed the style which the actual successor of Leo X. did, by a picturesque coincidence, bear. Was there a spice of malicious wit, at the Archbishop of York's expense, in Adrian of Utrecht's sticking to his baptismal name? Cardinal Wolsey would have taken the title of the one Englishman who has hitherto occupied the Papal chair; who was said to have wandered forth, a poor scholar, from that very St. Alban's, the income of which formed one of Wolsey's perquisites; who had been the friend of another Henry, another sovereign, in effect, of England and France, another master in imperialist and matrimonial scheming, Henry II., the Angevin. Was Wolsey's mind entirely occupied with the monuments which he, the projector of Christ Church, would leave behind him at Rome, where Julius and Leo were to be reached or eclipsed? He might catch several allusions in the name Pope Adrian. And did he, one wonders, often muse on the story of a certain Thomas of Henry II.'s reign, like himself

ın Archbishop—like himself a royal favourite and Chancellor? Politics are mostly earth-bound and prosaic, and Wolsey's Utopia went away upon the winds. A few years and he was disgraced.

The king had soon stepped out of the clouds. He betook ıimself to the old grooves of English statesmanship, and speedily he Englishman had outstripped the Frenchman. Not, indeed, hat Henry VIII. allied himself with the Turk. But he dared ıs much, or more. He set absolutely and unreservedly at nought he whole Imperial and Papal system, disregarded and denied t in all the details—in respect to family ties, ecclesiastical de-retals and dispensations, Biblical interpretation, connection of Church and State, and what not besides. He repudiated and vas divorced from his Aragonese Queen, the aunt of the Em-ıeror. Katharine's daughter, that Princess Mary, thought of just ıow as heiress of France and England and bride of Charles, was tigmatised as illegitimate, and declared incapable to succeed her ather. He asserted the emancipation and independence of him-elf and England—Parliament and Convocation confirmed the ssertion—in view of the whole public and private jurisdiction of Rome, Imperial and Apostolic. It is astonishing what little diffi-ulty he had in the particular quarrel between him on the one art, and the Papal authority and the Imperial power on the ther, in enlisting a general adhesion to his side. He entrenched imself behind legal and theological learning. The most ancient eats of law and divinity, Bologna and Paris, gave sentence for im, as well as his own universities of Oxford and Cambridge. He was in terrible earnest. He proceeded to execute a former ord Chancellor of England and a Roman Cardinal, men beloved hroughout England, More and Fisher, who refused to express heir unqualified acquiescence in the royal and national will. It s not at all at present our concern either to judge or to justify Henry VIII., for whose effigy, in sooth, both mud and white-rash, long enough ago, did their utmost. But, whenever we eopen his reign, we are struck afresh and above all things with he way in which—in spite of his tempestuous temper, and the ouches in him as of Eastern and old-world kings, so that he is om childhood upward imaged to us a very Nebuchadnezzar and Ahab of English history—his presence in his own days is in-ariably popular and his most audacious ventures are quite sure f success. There was no man in the country so English. He ras bound up with England. His people were prepared for his cts, prepared to obey him, to back him up; there was nothing trange or unintelligible to them about his methods; strong mea-ures were necessary. His reign was not a break, but a new link n the chain of English history. With him had come the right

leadership,

leadership, a hot wave of restless blood, a vista of a renewed life, where there had been a pause and a fear, lest the pulses were beating out of time, were going to flag altogether. The reigns of three of the Henrys before him—Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI.—had fallen into a hapless and dreary period in our annals, filled with crooked designs, wicked foreign wars to stave off peremptory home questions, trials for witchcraft, aristocratic feuds and butcheries. The fifteenth century in England had worn the livery of a time when a late frost stays and partly blights the bursting of the spring. The nation had been waiting and watching for some such sovereign as Henry VIII. He might have followed straight upon Richard II.; a Hugh Latimer might have caught, as it fell, the mantle of a John Wiclif. When Fox, Bishop of Hereford, spoke, at Schmalkalden, of the Pope as Antichrist, he was not so very far in advance of the soundest English Episcopal opinion of pre-Lollard, of quite the olden days; the position that the then Pope Innocent IV. was an obstinate heretic had been substantiated, according to all the logic of the schools, in half-bitter, half-whimsical irony, on his deathbed, while his friend, the pride for knowledge of medicine and theology of the Dominican Order, stood by and reverently listened, by the foremost English Bishop in the, until the sixteenth, finest century of English life, by Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln. Henry VIII. took up, where it had been left, the work of the Third and of the First Edward, his statutes followed in the wake of the Great Charter * and the Constitutions of Clarendon, and of the proud words of the Conqueror and his sons. The English spirit was throughout consentient with the dim oracle of primitive tradition and poetic legend, the tale of an unyielding retreat into and defence of an island fastness by Alfred or by Arthur.

So far we have been seeking to suggest what it was we intended —the attempt has taken up more of our space than we expected —when we said that the sixteenth century might be called the century of the Reaction as well as the century of the Reforma-

* Innocent III.'s condemnation of Magna Charta has a curious look for us Englishmen now. Here is a sample: 'Wherefore forasmuch as the Lord hath spoken unto us by the prophet; "behold thee have I set over the nations and over the kingdoms, that thou mightest root up and destroy, that thou mightest build and plant," and again in another place: "Loosen the bonds of wickedness, undo the heavy burdens," we will not cloak the hardihood of such malignant enterprise, contemptuous of the See of the Apostles, derogatory to the rights of the crown, shameful to the English people, menacing gravely the great cause of Him crucified. . . . . We, on the part of God Almighty, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, by the authority of His Apostles Peter and Paul, and by our own, and by the common counsel of our brethren, reprobate utterly and condemn such document, and forbid under anathema the king from presuming to observe, the barons with their accomplices from urging him to observe it, and the charter and its guarantees and all things passed through it or for it, we make of no effect, and cancel, that never at any time should it be established.'

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tion. We have been seeking to show that it is, at the commencement, the history of a severe and unseasonable curb on the growth of that mingled religious and political life which goes on, as one whole, in a nation, which combines the members of a nation or, in fact, of any association, expanding outward from the original germ of the family. We have been seeking to show how scholarship, philosophy, theology, statesmanship were perplexed and petrified at the reappearance—as if the evil genii of children's fables were to stride bodily into our streets—in the plenitude of power of the Empire and Papacy, vampire-like, thirsting to suck the life-blood out of letters, belief, freedom, adventure, ambition. We have been seeking to show that what we style the Reformation is only part of a formation in process before and after that particular century, subject also, so far as we see, in that century to oscillation and counteraction as much as in any other. Once more, we have been seeking to show that the sixteenth century, like all history, is to be read, on the one hand as the history of states, on the other hand as the history of individuals. Nor do we think, though here we may not demand nor count upon any unanimous approval of our readers, that any advantage is to be derived from the study, apart from the history of states and individuals, of the history, as such, of the medieval Church. Religion seems to us to owe an incalculable debt to the inspiration, the valour, the indomitable spirituality of individuals; to owe a most insignificant debt to its ecclesiastical organisations, imitated after, and never, under accurate analysis, differing from, the organisations of States; to owe, moreover, wondrous little, considering at once the unselfishness, the devotion, and the tools at the disposal of such champions, to the efforts, however heroic and sustained, of men of special political genius, who have seemed to gain for the ecclesiastical system independence among, or supremacy over, civil societies. The noblest part of individual life is the religious part, lies in the faith and hope and charity, of which the last is greatest, of the individual; the most ignoble part of ecclesiastical life is its quasi-religious part, lies in the extinction and extermination of faith, hope, and charity, beyond a certain so-called organisation of religion. Leo X. and his Bulls could never banish Luther from the history of religion. In any true history of the successors of the Apostles, the Pope Alexander Borgia has no place at all; the Sacred College of Cardinals, which admitted into their body John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, was an oddly constituted circle of diplomatists, the martyr cardinal himself was—not by their vain breath or dictate—doubtless a prince of the Church militant and triumphant.

ART.

ART. IX.—*England and Russia in the East.* A Series of Papers on the Political and Geographical Condition of Central Asia. By Major-General Sir Henry Rawlinson, formerly Envoy and Minister at the Court of Persia. London, 1875.

UP to a year or two ago few things were apt to strike the typical 'intelligent foreigner' as more remarkable than the general indifference of the English public to the affairs of Central Asia.

The Russian newspapers had long teemed with articles on the subject; but it was rarely noticed by the leading English journals, and Englishmen otherwise well informed on all matters of foreign policy, generally showed a strange ignorance of the details and bearing of many questions likely to lead to misunderstanding between the two great Christian empires of the East.

Latterly this seeming indifference has given place to a rather restless anxiety, and since it has become apparent that Russia either could not or would not withdraw from the position she had acquired by her success at Khiva, not only has much more attention been given by our own countrymen to the proceedings of Russia in Asia, but the general tone of the Press has become more or less alarmist, and men of experience and reflection may be found arguing in favour of measures which could hardly be adopted without at once bringing us into direct antagonism with the great Power which has thus made such rapid strides towards close neighbourhood with our own Indian Empire.

It is observable that ever since we have possessed an empire in India, we have rarely been without some question of the kind occupying our attention; some rivalry of a European Power for Asiatic Empire, which disturbed us. At one time it was the French who contended with us for supremacy, on pretty equal terms, in India itself. Subsequently when we had clearly taken the lead of all other European Powers in India, we were troubled, and not without reason, lest the French should attack us from the Mediterranean, and impel upon our ill-consolidated possessions in the East a fresh invasion of semi-barbarian Powers—Turks, Persians, Afgans, and Arabs. That this was a very real and proximate danger in the judgment of many leading statesmen from the days of Pitt till the end of the revolutionary war, is clear from the great exertions they made to avert or meet it. It would not be amiss if we were now to consider what were the French designs, why they were laid aside, and what Pitt, and Dundas, and Lord Wellesley, and the sagacious men who then directed the policy of the India Company

any did, while they thought the danger of a Franco-Oriental ıvasion imminent.

There is abundant evidence to show that Napoleon's expeition to Egypt was by no means such a crack-brained scheme as : has appeared to many, even of his later historians. To occupy :gypt, to destroy the effete Mamluk dynasty, and to rule the 'ellaheen so as to make the country pay for a French occupation, 'ere not more difficult exploits in those days than Mehmet Ali's stablishment of his own dynasty, or the French occupation of ılgiers have been in later years. Napoleon could have had but general idea of the difficulties attending further progress east-'ard; but he knew that men then alive remembered Nadir Shah ıarching an army from Persia to Delhi; that the Afgans had ıbsequently performed a very similar exploit, and that the 'urks in their better days had found no difficulty in maintaining formidable fleet in the Red Sea and Persian Gulf. To one 'ho was master of Egypt, the conquest of Syria and a march to ıe bank of the Euphrates was no impossible dream, as Ibrahim 'asha showed a generation afterwards; and once on the shores f the Persian Gulf the French conqueror would have been in a osition to command and direct such aid as the Persians, Afgans, : maritime Arabs could afford. None of them would have bjected to an expedition to plunder the unbelievers in India, ith a French force to aid in meeting the English. If Turkey ıd Russia could have been induced to join, success would be l the more certain; but, even if he had been left single-handed, ith a fair force of French troops freed from all religious preju-ices in fraternising with Moslems, there was no impossibility ı the dreams which led the young Gallic Alexander to Egypt ıd Syria.

What he did *not* adequately allow for was the naval power of ngland. But it must be remembered that when he first began is expedition, the English superiority at sea was by no means ıquestioned; and in both the Mediterranean and the Indian 'cean the French fleets and squadrons maintained a not unequal ›ntest, which at any time by the fortune of war or by aid from her maritime Powers, such as Spain and Turkey then were, ight have been converted into at least a temporary superiority.

All these visions were dissipated when Nelson's victory at the ile gave the English a decided superiority in the Mediterranean, ıd cut off the French troops in Egypt from their own country. : then became evident that much must be done in Europe ɛfore any onward move could be attempted from Egypt, and apoleon abandoned the enterprise, bequeathing to his succes-›rs, in the idea of the Suez Canal, one of the most important steps

ps in any renewed attempt to establish a French Empire i
e East.

But Lord Wellesley and his successors did not rest content wit
he knowledge that our naval supremacy in the Mediterranea
as well as the Eastern seas was for the time unquestioned, a
would form for many years an all-sufficient defence agai
overland invasion. They sent embassies and formed allianc
as strict as circumstances would admit with Persia
Afganistan, with Sind, and with Muscat which was then growing
into importance as a considerable naval power on the Arabian
African coast. They entered into treaties, whenever they could,
with the greater native Powers in India, binding them to make
the Indian Government their confidant in all matters of foreign
policy, and to abstain from all diplomatic intercourse with any
European Powers except the British. They reformed and
greatly increased and strengthened the Indian local marine as a
fighting service, organised a regular postal service which was
kept up during the whole French war *viâ* Bagdad and the
Persian Gulf, and established a fact of no small importance to
the defence of India when they sent an expedition, partly com-
posed of native troops, to Cosseir on the Egyptian coast of the
Red Sea, marched them across the desert to the Thebaïd, and
let the Indian sepoy taste the waters of the Nile.

From the peace of 1814 Indian statesmen seem to have f
little anxiety regarding any interference in India by Europe
Powers till about 1830, when the advances of Russia in
direction of Herat and Cabul roused the Indian Governm
from their dreams of security, and caused a real and perm
alarm, which was not lessened by the distance of the dan
the general ignorance of its real character and dimensions
There was at that time no lack of men well acquaint
Persia and Afganistan, whose advice might have direc
Government of India to a wise policy in meeting t
danger. But unfortunately an able clique of Calcutta s
surrounded Lord Auckland, and prevented his exerc
natural good sense and right judgment on such advic
have been given him by men who knew the Afgans
did, and who estimated as wisely as Sir Henry Fane t
perils of our then military position in India.

The story of our subsequent proceedings towards
and what befel us, from the time we invaded their
we quitted it, has been well told in the eloquent pag
Kaye's 'Afgan War.' The avowed and more ob
of our policy, and our manifold mistakes, are the
perfectly as may be by a contemporary. Anot

will remove the seal of secrecy from much that is not now accessible to the historian. But our main errors are sufficiently clear; and there were many at the time who pointed out that a military enterprise, in itself by no means difficult or dangerous, became extremely hazardous when our troops were far separated from any secure base of operations; when powerful and warlike nations, independent of us, whose loyalty as allies depended on the life of Runjeet Singh, an old and worn-out man, were interposed between India and the British forces pushed forward into Afganistan: when the military was subordinated to the civil element in the administration of our conquest; when no more care was taken in the selection of the military commanders than if they were to succeed by routine to commands in the United Kingdoms; and when no stricter discipline was enforced than if our troops had been in their own cantonments in India.

The greatest mistakes of all, *i.e.* entangling ourselves with a pretender to the Afgan throne, and resorting to the hypocrisies of the Tripartite Alliance of Sikhs and English with the Afgan Shah Sooja, in order to give a false appearance of justification to our proceedings, and to excuse our attack on Dost Mahomed, the able and energetic leader who had made himself the accepted ruler of the Afgans, were from the first self-evident. But it was not generally known till long afterwards how gladly Dost Mahomed would have undertaken all we required Shah Sooja to do for us; how little he was inclined to sell himself to be the vassal of any power, English or Russian; and how effectually judicious support to him would have enabled him to assure us of that friendly but independent power in Afganistan, which it has always been our true interest to secure.

It was probably the sense of how much had been wrong in the conception as well as in the execution of our enterprise, which prevented an outburst of popular feeling at its disastrous results, such as might have led to attempts to re-establish ourselves permanently at Cabul. The temporary re-occupation of the capital sufficed to satisfy popular feeling in England at the time, and the difficulties we had ourselves experienced assured most of our political and military authorities that, for some years to come, we had not much to fear from Russian interference at Cabul.

This was not at the time an unnatural or unwholesome state of public feeling. But it must ever remain a subject of sincere regret that, for many years after the return of Dost Mahomed to Cabul, nothing was done on our part to obliterate the traces of the contest into which we had forced him and his subjects. They had little cause to love us, and the manner in which he

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was released and sent back to a desolated, distracted, and impoverished kingdom, said little for our sense of generosity, or even of justice. But mutual injuries, which among civilised nations would not be forgotten or forgiven for many generations, do not produce any lasting effect on a people whose usages in their own civil wars are so sanguinary, and in foreign war so barbarous, as those of the Afgans. Our troops, even in the first flush of victory after exasperating reverses, everywhere behaved far better than Afgan victors would have done, or than Afgans vanquished would have expected. The Dost himself had seen enough of us in our own dominions to know that we were, on the whole, a kindly and generous people; that we were not likely again to burn our fingers by attempting an invasion of Afganistan; that we did not really desire to extend our frontier over his rugged mountain-frontier till we reached his distant and sparsely-scattered fertile valleys; that in all essentials his interests and ours were identical as regards his western neighbours, and that to this, and not to any lust of further conquest, he might safely attribute our interest in his affairs.

There can be little doubt that, under such circumstances, a generous, manly policy which offered him our friendship, and such aid as we could offer and he receive without a sense of humiliation, would have made him our fast friend, and in time have given us a very preponderating influence among his people.

But the opportunity was lost, and few things can be imagined more galling to Afgan pride than the studied affectation of indifference with which we treated a people whose affairs a few years before had absorbed public attention. The evil was not confined to the effect of this kind of treatment on the Afgans. It more or less affected the larger portion of our frontier political service, and often perverted the views and vitiated the proceedings of men who, under better guidance, might have done much to heal the breach between us and our neighbours. Enterprising political officers soon found that it was not wise in anyone who valued his own advancement in the public service, to look too much across the frontier. To cultivate friendly relations, or any relations at all, with our frontier neighbours, was dangerous; to recommend any measure which might make men over the border more inclined for neighbourly intercourse was to risk the suspicion of unpatriotic leanings, and a defect of devotion to and belief in the superior wisdom and excellence of our own Government; whilst to hint at danger from any foreign influence in the councils of our neighbours was to forfeit all claim to any character for sober sense or political insight.

The consequence was a wilful and often affected blindness in all

all frontier affairs, and the assumption of a tone of supercilious disregard and contempt for all beyond our own frontier, more worthy of Chinese mandarins than of English officials.

These results were not fully developed for many years after our evacuation of Afganistan. In the mean time our frontier had advanced from the Sutlege to the foot of the Suleiman range. The Punjab and Sind had been annexed; our western frontier was conterminous with the eastern frontier of Afganistan throughout its whole length; our position in Beloochistan extended the relation along the southern frontier of Afganistan; for the Khan of Khelat, subsidised by the British-Indian Government, was the nominal suzerain of the whole of the Belooch tribes up to the Persian frontier.

But though we and our subsidised allies were thus neighbours of the Afgans along the whole of their eastern and southern frontier, the Government of India, and their representatives on the Punjab frontier, studiously discouraged any renewal of relations of good neighbourhood with the Government or subjects of Dost Mahomed. Why and how it was managed that for fourteen years from our evacuation of Afganistan, up to the eve of the Persian war in 1856, our Government, as though unconscious of the existence of the Afgan nation, kept up a policy of apparent indifference and absolute abstention from all diplomatic intercourse, is in itself a curious chapter of Indian history, which well deserves separate attention. For the present, it is sufficient to note that in 1856, mainly through the influence of the late Sir Herbert Edwardes, the Government of India once more resumed its intercourse with the Amir of Cabul; and the useful results of the change of policy were abundantly evident, both during the Persian War of 1856–7, and the Mutiny of 1857–8. But it can hardly be said that there was much of generosity or frankness in our renewed intercourse up to the time of Lord Mayo's arrival in India as Viceroy. He infused an entirely different feeling into our transactions with our neighbours, in Afganistan, as elsewhere; but nowhere were the effects more notable than in his dealings with the successor of Dost Mahomed.

Let us now note the changes which have taken place in public opinion in England regarding our relations with the Afgans, subsequent to our evacuation of their territory in 1842.

After the first paroxysm of popular anger at the reverses we met with had passed away, all questions connected with Central Asia were shelved, as Englishmen are apt to shelve subjects which are not in themselves pressing or agreeable. Men persuaded themselves that Russia was not advancing in our direction; or that, if advancing, it was so slowly that generations must

must elapse before she came near us; and that when her outposts approached ours it would be time to think of meeting her. The various pleas on which the subject was put aside were not very consistent with each other or with well-known facts; but the Press, as a body, and the Public, were resolved to hear nothing on the subject; attempts to discuss it were resolutely discouraged, and when persisted in were met with the assertion that the highest authorities in India had no apprehension, and were resolved to do nothing. This determination to see nothing to apprehend, to treat danger as non-existent, and to justify, on the grounds of such presumed non-existence of danger, a determined inaction, was in later years raised to the dignity of a policy and explained and lauded as 'the policy of masterly inactivity' in articles written with much ability, and attributed to authors whose position gave a kind of official sanction to their opinions.

But, from time to time, facts transpired which showed that the Russians were rapidly extending their outposts in the direction of India, and the studied indifference and refusal of the public to listen to any rumours of danger threatening India from the north-west have been succeeded by a rather startled alarm—a feverish disposition to believe that danger is very imminent, and that 'something must be done.'

There is apparently no very clear idea of what that 'something' is to be; but when influential public writers—not to say high officials—in their sober senses talk of urging Her Majesty's Government to send the English fleet to the Baltic or Black Sea, or to move armies far beyond our Indian frontiers to the north-west, there seems some risk that like all men who at last perceive a danger, to which they have long been blind, they may rush, panic stricken, in some wrong direction.

The general abandonment of the policy of 'masterly inactivity' by those who were formerly its warm advocates is the one new feature in the facts of the case. The rest are but a continuation of what has been going on for many years past—of what has been often detailed and foreseen by all who studied the subject, and by none more clearly than by Sir John McNeill, in a pamphlet published so long ago that it had reached its third edition at the time of the Crimean War.

As we write, a fresh and most important contribution to the permanent literature of this question is offered in Sir Henry Rawlinson's work on 'England and Russia in the East,' the title of which heads our article. It consists in part of Essays, written at various intervals during the last twenty-five years, with notes and addenda bringing up the review of events to the present time, with illustrations from ample stores of more recently

recently acquired knowledge, political, historical, and geographical.

The opening Chapter, originally published in 1849, contains a masterly sketch of our relations with Persia during the first half of the present century, from the time when England and the French Republic were rivals for the favour of the young and ambitious King Futteh Ali Shah, through the tangled story of the rival Missions of Sir John Malcolm and Sir Harford Jones; the negotiations and treaties of Ouseley, Morier, and Ellis, of Macdonald and Sir John McNeill; the rupture with Persia regarding Herat, and the Afgan War in the next reign of Mahomed Shah, concluding with a sketch of our relations with Persia, as they stood in 1849, after the accession of the present king.

In the second chapter the narrative is continued up to the present time, including our relations with Persia and Afganistan during the Crimean War and Indian Mutiny; our various arbitrations, with a view to a peaceful settlement between Persia and Turkey on the west, and Persia and Belochistan and the Afgans on the east; the Reuter concession; the Shah's late visit to Europe, and a review of the present prospects of Persia, and of the policy of England towards her; which contains the matured opinions of the accomplished author on a subject regarding which few men are better qualified to speak.

The next two chapters are reprints, with many important additions, of articles which appeared in this 'Review' in October 1865, and October 1866, the former describing the progress of the Russian conquests in Central Asia, and the latter summarising our geographical knowledge of Central Asia, and the countries adjacent between the Russian and Indian frontiers, and exposing some remarkable apocryphal travels which have exercised undeserved influence on the political views of diplomatists. These chapters are followed by a survey of the political positions held respectively by Russia and England in the East in 1868. This Essay was sketched as a speech to precede a motion in the House of Commons, and, though never spoken, must have had some effect on those officials in India and in England to whom it appears to have been confidentially communicated, and it may be regretted that it was not earlier placed before the public.

The last chapter brings up the sketch of Central Asian affairs and the position of England and Russia to the present date. Its main object is to show 'that if Russia should overstep certain limits in her approach to India, she must be checked by an armed resistance, even at the risk of producing war between the

two

two countries.' Sir Henry Rawlinson claims for this part of his argument that it is put forward essentially in the interests of peace, to prevent that 'uncertain sound' as to the intentions of England, which led Russia into the Crimean War. The work is full of information not easily to be found elsewhere, and nowhere in so intelligible and readable a shape. It abounds also in weighty and well-considered opinions, which deserve the best attention of Englishmen, and, we may add, of Russians also, whether we look to the author's character and position, or to the unequalled opportunities he has enjoyed for forming a sound and impartial judgment on the subject.

The Essays might have gained in popularity if they had been re-written throughout from existing points of view; but they would by such a process have lost one of their characteristic and most important features. Reading them now as originally written, we are constantly struck by the rapidity with which events, appearing as distant possibilities to the author as he wrote, have become to the reader of to-day facts of the past. What appeared at the time daring and somewhat speculative forecasts, are already historical events; and in the case of the Russian conquests they are events of no small importance to the rest of the human race, and especially to those under the sovereignty of Great Britain.

We must refer to chapters iii. to vi. for details as to the advances of Russia during the present century; merely noting that since Sir John McNeill's pamphlet was first published (just twenty years ago) Russia has completed her conquest of the Caucasian territory and its tribes, and the annexation and assimilation to her older dominions of a strip of territory between the Black and Caspian Seas, widening from 50 miles of Black Sea coast, to more than 200 miles of coast on the Caspian. The greater part of this large area was acquired more than fifty years ago; but the completion of the conquest, so as to render the Caucasian territory no longer an obstacle to an advance southward or westward is among the measures which the Russian Government has effectually carried out since the Peace of Paris. A glance at the map will show its strategic and commercial importance. It lays the whole of the north of Persia and the Eastern provinces of Asiatic Turkey open to Russian commerce, or to Russian military invasion.

The Russian advance of frontier east of the Caspian during the last twenty years embraces a far greater area. A strip of country, of various width from north to south, bounded on the west by not less than 500 miles of the eastern shore of the Caspian, and running eastwards for at least 1400 miles in a direct

direct line to the Chinese outposts, has been gradually annexed to the Russian Empire. Much of this vast territory is waterless desert—but there are within its boundaries districts of great natural fertility—two large rivers, with a considerable length of navigable channel, and the inland Sea of Aral, which may one day become a most valuable link in the chain of water communication between the Volga and the Afgan border. The extension of Russian dominions along the shores of the Caspian has made that sea virtually a Russian lake, and the steam flotilla now on its waters has enormously increased the facilities for transport between the old provinces of the Empire and its advanced frontier.

Moreover, the character of the recent Russian conquests has been quite as remarkable as their extent. A generation ago, the Circassian mountaineers were traditionally regarded as even more invincible in their own fastnesses than the Swiss or Tyrolese; but they have been surrounded, defeated, and forced to submit to Russia. The rulers of Khiva and Bokhara were, in like manner, regarded as absolutely inaccessible in their strongholds of barbarism. But both have been defeated, effectually conquered, and forced to sue for peace in their own capitals. As mere military exploits the Russian conquests in Asia have been no inconsiderable achievements.

But what has roused the Anglo-Indian public from its lethargy, and created real alarm in the minds of many of our least excitable statesmen, is not so much the extent or character of the Russian conquests, as the obvious unwillingness or inability of the Russian Government to check or prescribe bounds to the onward movement.

The English public has been ready enough to believe that Russia had no designs upon India, and did not contemplate an invasion of Hindostan. But as often as alarm was excited by some fresh conquest, and allayed by a recapitulation in some peace-loving public journal, or in diplomatic despatches, of the reasons why Russia herself should wish to restrain her own advance, so often fresh victories were sure to be reported, which again raised anxieties regarding the object of our ally in such continuous annexations of kingdoms and provinces which in themselves were certainly not worth holding. The effect of these repeated instances of what might be regarded as proofs of Russian aggressiveness was enhanced by two instances of misunderstanding regarding Russian intentions. The effect of the misunderstanding was in both cases aggravated by an unaccountable misconception on our part of what the Russians had avowed to be their objects and intentions.

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In the first case some diplomatic discussion had taken place regarding the establishment of a zone of neutral territory between us and the Russians, on which zone neither party was to trespass. The outside public had persuaded itself that Russia had acquiesced in this arrangement, and we were very sore when told in effect that Russia had regarded the notion of a neutral zone as a very pretty idea, but did not contemplate binding herself to it as a practical solution of the questions between the two Powers.

Again, the Russians thought it necessary to march on Khiva. India and England were both alarmed, and in rather a hesitating fashion, as if doubtful of our right to inquire, asked questions as to what the Russians meant to do. Russia assured us that the Emperor had no intention of letting his troops occupy Khiva permanently. There is no reason to suppose that there was any insincerity in this assurance as far as the Emperor's Cabinet was concerned. But circumstances proved too strong for the Emperor. Having subdued Khiva, he could not, if he would, shake himself free from the responsibilities of a conqueror. In Ashantee or Abyssinia we may escape from the consequences of our victories; but in Central Asia it is not so easy, as we have found, and Russia has found, as often to the detriment as to the profit of either nation.

Nevertheless, when we heard of the occupation of Khiva, of a treaty with Khiva, and of cessions of Khivan sovereignty to Russia, and of discussions regarding an advance on Merv, we were more than alarmed, we were affronted and distrustful, and the loftiest assurances of the ordinary leaders of public opinion to the effect 'that people who knew all about it, and had almost a monopoly of information and judgment on the subject, saw no cause for apprehension,' failed to allay the instinctive popular distrust; and this frame of mind—a rather puzzled combination of alarm, annoyance, and distrust—continues (barring such diversions as are afforded by discussions of Vatican Decrees, or of the municipal government of London) very much to characterise the temper of nine-tenths of those who think or write on the subject of Anglo-Indian affairs in Central Asia.

It is impossible to say that such feelings are void of any foundation in reason. It is equally difficult to find in any of the measures generally suggested as the 'something' which 'must be done,' any solution which promises to place our relations with our neighbours north and west of India on a more permanently satisfactory footing.

Without pretending to any knowledge of official proposals, let us examine a few of the suggestions which have found most favour with influential public writers here and in India.

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A very favourite formula is that we are to intimate to the Court of St. Petersburg that any further advance by Russia—say on Merv—will be held to be a declaration of war against the Anglo-Indian Government. A threat of this kind is supposed to be justifiable on the ground that Merv is a step towards Herat, any occupation of which by Persia, or by any Power in the interest of Russia, has been long and justly considered so threatening to India that the English Government has repeatedly expressed its intention to resist any attempts on Herat by an appeal to arms.

But before we make or threaten such an appeal, let us consider what Merv is. It is undoubtedly a great step in advance from the present Russian frontier towards Herat; though by no means an essential preliminary to an investment of Herat. Its great immediate importance to Russia is the command it would give to whoever held it over the Turcoman Deserts and the lawless tribes inhabiting them. Its occupation may indeed be said to be an essential element in any arrangements for putting an effectual stop to the forays of the Turcomans, and controlling the hordes which have so long been equally the terror of Persians and Afgans, and of all the Tartar tribes of Turkestan. It is of quite as much importance to any northern power, which confined itself to protecting and ruling the Kirgis Steppes, as to one which meditated an advance on India *viâ* Balkh and Cabul, or *viâ* Herat and Candahar.

Apart therefore from any question of the invasion of India, the occupation of Merv by the Russians would be a great service to humanity. It is, of course, conceivable that in the interests of India we might be justified in resisting or resenting such an occupation; but in the interests of humanity we are bound to make it very clear to ourselves, and to all the world, that this is the case; and if we object to the extirpation by Russia of such a refuge for frontier robbers and manstealers, it seems an obviously consequential duty that we should either ourselves undertake the work, or get it done by some Power to whose interference the same objections do not apply. Neither alternative seems, at present, a practical, or even a possible one.

Altogether it seems more than doubtful whether any threat of the kind we are considering could be justified. But there can be no doubt that, whether justifiable or not, it would be quite ineffectual to stop any advance of Russia. Supposing Balkh or Herat to be the ultimate object of such advance, the actual occupation of Merv may well be deferred to a more convenient season, whilst the influence of Russia is quietly spreading up the Valley of the Oxus or the Attreck; so that, if the Russians

regarded our threat at all, it would merely postpone the one step of the actual occupation of Merv, till, as in the case of her disregard of the obnoxious clauses regarding the Black Sea in the Treaty of Paris, Russia chose a moment for taking the step when we could not go to war with any chance of fighting to good purpose.

But supposing Russia met our threat by pointing out that the question of occupying Merv was really one which she must consider as affecting Russian and not Indian interests. That we—the English or Indian Government—had no relations, friendly or otherwise with the place or with any of the tribes around it; that our only *locus standi*, as claiming an interest in the affairs of Merv, rested on a distrust of Russia, and on the imputation to her of some distant ulterior designs on India; that to Russia, on the other hand, and to all inhabitants of the Russian frontier, from the Caspian to the confines of Badakhshan, the conduct of the tribes round Merv was a matter of vital and immediate interest, involving questions of peace and war, of commerce or no commerce, of freedom or slavery for peaceful travellers and pastoral tribes within the Russian territory; that the present condition of the Turcoman tribes was a curse to their neighbours on every side, whilst they kept large provinces of Persia and Afganistan, as well as Turkestan, in a state of permanent desolation and savagedom; that we could not possibly, in reason, expect Russia to tolerate such a state of things by postponing an advance which no more necessarily threatened the peace of India than our advance from Delhi to Lahore, or from Lahore to Peshawar threatened Asiatic Russia; that we might have urged equally valid objections to every step which the Russian Government had taken southwards or eastwards, from Orenburg during the past century, and that Russia must claim the sole right of judging when and how to act in matters which directly and vitally concern her interests and dignity, and which she could not, unless admitting ulterior and unfriendly designs of her own on India, regard as in any way affecting us. If, in short, Russia declared her intention of regarding our threat as utterly unreasonable, what could or ought we to do? Of course the English Ministry would be reminded by irresponsible advisers on all sides, in the Press and in Parliament, how Chatham and Cromwell and Queen Elizabeth acted, when they wished to restrain a foreign Government from any step which they deemed inimical to English interests. But sober-minded Englishmen would probably remember that the great statesmen and sovereigns of our best days were not wont in their most unbending moods, to utter threats which they were

were not prepared to enforce, nor to enforce any which were not worth fighting for; and that we should find some difficulty in making it very clear to ourselves, or to any one else, that to stop Russia in routing out such a nest of robbers and savages as the Turcomans was justifiable on any ground of self-interest or of higher motive. What has been said of making a Russian advance on Merv a *casus belli* is equally true of any Russian advance in any other direction, at least till the frontier of Afganistan is reached, when our interest in the matter, and right to remonstrate with an invader, stand on a different footing, to which we shall refer hereafter.

But in any case, whenever the question comes to so grave an issue as peace or war between England and Russia, Englishmen, at least, could hardly avoid asking themselves what is it that impels Russia to advance her frontier southwards in Asia? It is easy to assign a variety of motives, all more or less connected with a desire to obtain the empire of India. No one can doubt the attraction which such a prospect must offer to any assemblage of northern nations which saw such a prize within possible reach, however distant. But the more the question is studied, the less will any reasonable man be able to convince himself, that lust of Indian empire alone could induce the rulers of so vast and ill-consolidated an empire as Russia to embark on an enterprise so full of hazard to her older possessions; and he will probably arrive ultimately at the conclusion that the impulse, which drives the Russian frontier southwards and eastwards in Asia, is very much the same as that which impelled ourselves from Calcutta to Peshawar, and has finally made us masters of the whole Peninsula. Ambition and love of empire doubtless had their share in impelling us; but they could not have carried us on in our career of conquest so far or so fast, had we not been a strong, united, aggressive, and growing power, full of life and energy, more trusted and worthy of trust than the great native Governments. Such being our character, we everywhere came in contact with States so effete, disunited, and demoralised, that whatever power they possessed was paralysed: few of them had any inherent vigour and capacity for resistance, still less for growth; and they who possessed some vitality were as ready as their weaker fellows to join the Western invader, in any enterprise for enriching themselves at the expense of their neighbours. Save in Rajpootana few of the great dynasties ruled over national governments. The great rulers were rarely men of the same race as their subjects; many of them were foreigners, and very recent conquerors, with little hold over the affections or traditional loyalty of their subjects, beyond that they were genuine Orientals

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of some kind, less widely separated from their subjects than Western conquerors could be. But in few other respects did our rule contrast unfavourably with the dynasties we replaced, and the first impression made on subjects, who had long since become callous to changes of dynasty, was usually one of intense relief from oppression and misrule. Under such circumstances State after State invariably gave way and crumbled before us. The few which retained some power of resistance were for the most part governed by men so shortsighted or so faithless, that in a few years they gave us some fair cause for quarrel, and were worsted in fight, paying the penalty of defeat in loss of independence. There were doubtless, in many cases, wars of ambition and lust of conquest; many annexations of territory, of which posterity will find scant justification save on the plea that might makes right, and that it is always difficult, sometimes impossible, to restore, after complete overthrow, a government which was in no sense national, and had no ties of kindred or sympathy of race with the people under its sway. But, as a rule, we had generally a fair case to state for ourselves; and, as so stated to our own people at home, there was rarely much difficulty in obtaining the national ratification of Indian conquest. Sometimes the verdict of the public at home was little more than acceptance of what was inevitable and past recall; but even in the cases where the abstract equity of the war seemed most doubtful, there was always a halo of genuine heroic patriotism and self-devotion round the actors, which compensated for much doubtful observance of international law in the eyes of a people like the English, who are fairly desirous of dealing justly by their neighbours, but who love in their inmost hearts nothing more than an uphill fight, and are too apt to forget the rights of the quarrel if the smaller force win by steady fighting and undaunted pluck.

But whether the home authorities and public approved or disapproved, the conquerors of India never stopped in their career of conquest from consideration of home policy, or in obedience to orders from London. Some of our greatest acquisitions were made, in our own generation, by men who came out from England sincerely determined to avoid extension of boundary. But the course of conquest never was stayed till we got to the mountain barriers which surround India everywhere on the landward side. Conquest went on, in spite of the most incessant and positive orders from home, and even in spite of the most sincere wish on the part of men at the head of affairs in India to obey those orders.

If this is no unfair picture of the course of our own conquests in

in India, it is not easy to see in what essentials it differs from what has been the course of Russian advances in Central Asia. There is, indeed, one essential point of difference; for instead of public opinion in Russia being, as in England, strongly and sincerely pronounced against further extension of territory on distant frontiers, a vast majority of Russians are inclined to applaud every extension of the Czar's dominion, without much reference to the intrinsic value of the acquisition. There are, indeed, two parties among those who aim at influencing the policy of the empire. Neither of them objects on any moral ground to extensions of empire. It is the destiny and duty of Russia to conquer and command, to diffuse the blessings of the Imperial Government as far and as fast as the ability given by God permits, and to bring all infidel nations to the faith of Holy Russia; and no conquest of Turk or Tartar can be wrong, as long as it results in their annexation to the Russian empire. Such is the creed of nine-tenths of those who admit any moral or religious element into their political calculations; and, in Russia as elsewhere such men are, in proportion to their numbers, the most powerful party in the State. It is on grounds of expediency alone that there is any division of opinion. The smaller party, including, it is said, the Emperor himself, some of the best and ablest financiers and most enlightened politicians, and even the most enlightened soldiers, is strongly opposed to any present extension of territory in Central Asia. They consider that it must entail financial embarrassment, without any but a most distant prospect of repayment; that it must weaken the empire, which needs consolidation rather than extension, and expose it to the risk of military disaster in the event of any combination of European Powers to attack Russia whilst engaged in serious hostilities in Central Asia. But though strong in reason and argument, this party is numerically weak.

The party of aggression, on the other hand, embraces a large and influential majority of the military and ultra-national politicians, especially those who, unhampered by official responsibility, look to ultimate conquests in India without any necessity for counting the cost; it includes most of the Russianised Germans, often more Russian than the Russians, and large numbers of the mercantile class, who are generally strong protectionists, and who see in the extension of the empire access and subsequent monopoly in many markets now closed to them by English competitors. This party is also strong in popular sympathy, and is on the whole by far the more powerful.

If we English, with our strong political discipline—with the earnest desire of Viceroys and frontier officials to obey orders, and

and with a still more earnest desire on the part of the nation at large to avoid conquest—if we, so favourably situated for abstention from aggressive warfare, found circumstances too strong for us, and were unwillingly forced on from the sea to the Himalayas, what chance has the Russian Government, or that party in it which dreads further conquest, of resisting the pressure similar in kind, but much greater in degree, which forces them to break up and annex the savage hordes intervening between them and India? Great as is the power of the Czar, and rigid as is the discipline he enforces, it may reasonably be doubted whether he is better obeyed on the banks of the Oxus than our Government is on the banks of the Indus; and our home authorities probably learn at least as much of the truth of frontier affairs as the Imperial Government does on their side. We need not, therefore, wonder if the Czar has not succeeded better than we ourselves did in old times in enforcing on his frontier officials a policy of rigid abstention from extension of territory.

How the annexation of frontier neighbours and extension of frontier comes about, needs no detailed description. We have had innumerable instances in India up to a few years ago, and the history may be read more or less daily by any one who studies the proceedings of the Russians on the Turkestan frontier. The civilised power—be it Russian or English—naturally and unavoidably puts its best men on the frontier, in contact with the uncivilised neighbour. If the frontier commander is ambitious, his uncivilised neighbours give him constant and apparently justifiable cause for hostilities, which in the end must of necessity lead to the victorious advance of the stronger and more civilised power. If the frontier commander is conscientious or unambitious, and strives heartily to obey the orders of moderation received from St. Petersburg, the uncivilised neighbour gravitates to the stronger power by a process less violent than in the former case, but even more certain—the savage despot fades and shrivels, and changes either into a Russianised soldier noble, or into a titular princeling, who trembles at the frown of a Russian frontier commandant. In any case, when by any means forcible or gradual the half-savage 'Humpty Dumpty' gets his fall, 'all the King's horses and all the King's men' are utterly unable to set him up again. There is life and power of recovery, after the most damaging defeat and disaster, in the most mismanaged branch of civilised power. There is nothing but death and decay in the uncivilised—the limb lopped off never reunites—the slightest wound is apt to be mortal. The civilised power is insensibly and by internal vigour urged to grow and aggress. The uncivilised has no inherent life, no natural force of resistance,

ance, unless by giving up antiquated arms and indiscipline, and adopting the powerful weapons and military array of the civilised nation. But these are of no avail; in fact they cannot exist, unless with his old armour the barbarian abandons his barbarous habits, his impolitic finance, his tyrannous internal administration—unless, in a word, he too enters the ranks of civilised nations. But such lessons are not learned in a day, and before they can be learned the weaker power succumbs to the stronger, the lesser is absorbed by the greater, and the barbarous kingdom or khanate ceases to be more than a frontier province of the great civilised European Power. This is as true of Russia in the present generation as it was of England in the past; and whilst Russia is a civilised living and growing power, the will even of the all-powerful Czar and the instructions of his ablest councillors will be equally impotent to stop her career of growth and conquest amongst the less civilised races of Central Asia.

But the Russians have one source of impulse which moves them more powerfully than it does any other European nation, though we too feel something of it. This is the religious crusading element. It visibly affects the policy of nations like France and Germany, but it cannot be said to be in either a popular element of political action. Among ourselves this kind of impulse at times strongly moves the great mass of our people; but it is, as a rule, studiously discouraged, and generally mistrusted by our professed politicians of both great parties. There is a decided missionary impulse in many classes of the community, sufficiently strong to ensure outwardly respectful treatment even from those who do not share it among the governing classes; but it is by no means a fashionable and hardly even a popular impulse, as moulding our foreign policy. Most Englishmen have a genuine feeling of toleration for any belief which does not affect parish or county affairs, or elections. Even amongst the least reflecting, this feeling is not the result of indifference so much as of an innate love of independence and fair play, and a real desire that other people should be as free from tyrannical control in such matters as ourselves. 'Every man has a right to his own religion.' 'Every man is the best judge of what religion suits him best.' These are the popular axioms of most Englishmen on the subject. Among the more educated classes, there is little of bitter hostility to other than Christian creeds. Even divines, of the broader and more fashionable type, are apt to seek relief from repetition of Biblical illustrations by borrowing from the moral teachings of Hindoos and Buddhists, to an extent which says more for their reading,

reading, than their knowledge of the practical results of the religions thus laid under contribution. As for Mahomedanism, the Turks are its popular exemplar. That 'the real Turk is always a gentleman' is an accepted fact; especially among the classes, members of which occasionally see him at home in his own country. He is the 'traditional friend of the English nation,' and always pays his debts when he raises a fresh loan. Altogether, apart from his polygamous habits, there is little alteration needed to make him 'a much better fellow than most foreigners.' In a mild way, religious English people will subscribe to societies for the voluntary conversion of the Turk; but as for a war on genuine crusading principles, to turn him out of Europe or Syria, it would meet with infinitely less sympathy than a war to secure him free toleration of his own religion in his ancient conquests.

But it is quite otherwise in Russia. There, whatever of national feeling, or of real loyalty to the throne exists, is inseparably bound up with religion; and whatever is religious is actively propagandist and hostile to non-Christian Powers. To a modern religious Russian, the prospect of a war with a Mahomedan or idolatrous prince has the same aspect and excites the same feelings as a crusade did among religious Englishmen in the Middle Ages. Every feeling of patriotism and loyalty, as well as of religion, is enlisted in the contest. This is one of the great Russian political forces, of which we either habitually ignore the existence, or take less account than it deserves. It is, in many ways, a source of strength to Russia far beyond her own borders. Take, for instance, the religious feeling which animates the declared purpose of Russia to spare no pains to put down slavery, wherever Russian influence extends, such slavery as is prevalent among Turcomans and throughout Central Asia. There can be no doubt that a feeling that it was a part of their mission to abolish slavery, gave elevation and religious fervour to many a soldier engaged in the expeditions to Khiva, and reconciled many a simple Russian taxpayer to the imposts necessary to carry on so holy a war. But its influence went much further. Many a pious and intelligent Englishman or American, who had little sympathy with wars of mere conquest, wished the Czar 'God speed' in an enterprise, of which the philanthropic motives were at least as apparent as the political advantages; and men old enough to remember hearing what Stoddard and Conolly suffered, without any effort on the part of England to relieve or avenge them, felt that the Russians had good reason to be proud of a Ruler who directed the national energies to so worthy an object as the extirpation

extirpation of the horde of barbarians at whose hands our countrymen suffered so cruel a death.

This may give us some faint idea of the sense of national credit, of national duty bravely performed, and the strong impulse to do more, which patriotic and loyal Russians must feel when they think over what their Czar is doing in Central Asia. The work may not be very perfect, but Russian national feeling regarding it reckons for much in weighing political forces, as compared with the half-hearted shilly-shally of ordinary English proceedings in such questions, when we have no Treaty or Act of Parliament to guide us.

But perhaps the most potent motive which actuates the non-military classes of Russians in desiring enlargement of empire in Asia, is a wish for commercial extension. This makes Asiatic military expeditions generally as popular among the moneyed and commercial as among the military classes, and reconciles them to burdens of growing empire which might otherwise cause discontent. Two generations ago Lord Malmesbury reported that the jealousy of England, which he found so rife at Berlin and St. Petersburg in the days of the Empress Catherine, was commercial, not political, and so it is to a great extent now. With very rare exceptions, the Russian commercial and manufacturing classes are stout protectionists, and believe their interests opposed to ours in Asia. The line of almost prohibitive delays and import duties, protecting Russian manufactures, moves forward with the conquering columns, and sometimes in advance of them; every fresh annexation of territory is a new market, which is supposed to be secured exclusively to Russian industry. It is true that Russian packages and trade-marks often cover the products of British, as well as Russian, looms and workshops, and that the smugglers created by a prohibitory tariff along a vast line of frontier have no feeling of patriotism; but the suspicion, that the laws intended to protect the native artisan, enrich chiefly the foreigner and the contrabandist, does not lessen the bitter feeling of the Russian producer against his commercial rivals, nor abate his interest in the distant conquests of the Czar which, it is hoped, are to shut out the foreigner, and secure the exclusive rights of a valuable trade to the Emperor's own subjects.

Again, every class which has anything to say to the foreign policy of Russia feels the one great want, which since the days of Peter the Great has cramped the energies of the empire—the want of an ocean base on an unfrozen sea. It is this which urged on the great Czar and his successors to ceaseless efforts to secure a footing in the North Sea. This forms the substantial charm

charm of Stamboul, more alluring as the key of the Bosphorus and Mediterranean, than as the traditional seat of empire. This attracts Russian enterprise and ambition to the shores of China and Corea, at the distance of half the globe from the capital, and this, no doubt, as much as the riches of India, attracts the attention of Russian soldiers, diplomatists, and commercial men to the seas of Persia and Arabia. In any of these directions, a good port, on the open ocean, not liable to be closed in winter, would be something more than a fresh outlet, a sea base, or the root of a great naval power. It would be a point whence the consolidating forces applied to a too extended empire could act efficiently; like the holding ground of an anchor, or the point of attachment of a constricting muscle.

Thus impelled by a variety of forces, many of them of a kind which in other countries indispose the nation to extension, Russia *must* go on in her career of Asiatic conquest, whether her Government wishes it or not, till something stops her; and it is difficult to see what obstacle can check her till she encounters some almost impassable barrier, such as we, in India, have found in the Himalayas, or some political barrier—a frontier which she cannot pass without coming into collision with an equally powerful nation on the other side—and that nation must be as civilized as Russia herself—able and willing to give her honest hearing and reasonable redress in all frontier discussions, and able to require equal justice from her.

It is obvious that neither China nor Turkestan, Afganistan nor Persia, standing alone, fulfil all these conditions. No one of them, nor all combined, could successfully oppose Russia in the field. None are likely to abstain long from some act, which would give plausible excuse for war to a strong military power prompt to take up any challenge; and all are liable to chronic visitations of internal strife and weakness, which almost invite aggression from any neighbouring Power.

Not long ago it was proposed to raise a barrier to future Russian advance in the direction of India, by establishing a 'neutral zone,' comprising the dominions of the Ruler of Afganistan and some of his neighbours, forming an intermediate independent territory into which neither England nor Russia were to trespass, and this project was said to have found favour with some leading diplomatists in both countries.

But a very little reflection would show that such a barrier, if comprising the territory of unsettled or ill-governed States like Afganistan, between two great civilised Powers like England and Russia, must be wholly ineffectual and worse than useless, as a check to either of its neighbours who wished to aggress.

aggress. The uncivilised or unsettled power must, by the nature of things, occasionally act in a way which gives to its civilised neighbour—if aggressively inclined—plausible ground for advance; or, if the civilised power is sufficiently strong and determined to abstain from advance, the weaker and less civilised power must gravitate towards the stronger body, and become in time an integral part of it, without formal aggression or annexation. Any way, the so-called 'neutral zone' must disappear. Till it disappears, its neutrality will be respected or ignored, according to the inclination or interest of the great Powers on either side. If one be advancing and aggressive, whilst the other is passive, the neutral zone must gradually yield to the aggressive power; and this is at the present moment the condition of the region which it was proposed to neutralise.

For similar reasons it will be no check to Russian advance for Russia to find herself on the frontier of an uncivilised power under the influence or protection of England, unless the relations of all parties are so well ascertained and defined that we can use our influence to direct our less civilised protégé in all its relations with its neighbour. We must be prepared not only to support the protected state when right, but to enforce its making satisfaction when wrong, otherwise we shall not close the opening for interference by Russia, the civilised Power on the other side, because we can offer no effectual guarantee that our uncivilised neighbour will not repeat the provocation; and therefore can raise no valid objection to Russia on the opposite border exacting efficient guarantees for her own security.

For a Protectorate it is necessary that the protected state should be willing to be guided by the advice of its protector in all matters of foreign policy. It is clear, from what little we know of the present state of affairs in Afganistan, that our present position there is not favourable either to an alliance on equal terms, or to a simple protectorate.

Is there, then, no alternative but to sit with folded hands, and watch the gradual but certain approach of Russia, till her agents appear on the frontier towns on the Indus?

Before attempting to answer this question, let us glance back for a moment at the character of the danger to be guarded against.

A very few years ago, many men who had the means of correctly appreciating the probable results of Russian approximation towards India, and all the less reflecting portion of the public, were glad to believe the optimist assurances of those authorities who maintained that there was no danger to be apprehended from the Russian advance.

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'The difficulties in the way of advance were too great to make the danger one which practical men need regard. Our position in India was too assured to be assailed with any chance of other result than disaster to the assailant.'

But, as already noticed, the experience of the last few years has shown the essential unsoundness of this view; the difficulties supposed to exist in the impregnable barbarism of Khiva and Bokhara, and in the desolation of the Turkestan Steppes, have disappeared before the steady advance of the Russians. If Merv is not a Russian garrison, if her outposts are not entrenched on the Attreck, it is simply because Russia believes such occupation would bring matters to an undesirable crisis with England, and not from any strategical difficulty in the necessary movements on the part of Russia. Both positions can be easily occupied whenever the Czar wills it, and the Russian outposts will then be conterminous with the Afghan and Persian frontiers. Russia will then be in the position which, ten years ago, it was said by so many well-informed persons she could never possibly attain during the present generation.

The natural consequences of recent Russian proceedings have been considerable excitement in the native population of many parts of India, and a very decided panic among our own countrymen. The panic is by no means least marked in those quarters where the policy of 'masterly inactivity' had a few years ago the warmest supporters.

The present position of affairs is certainly worthy the gravest consideration of English and Indian statesmen; but there is some risk of its character being considerably misapprehended; and it may be well, in the first instance, to consider what is the real nature and extent of danger to our empire in India from Russian advance.

People talk of a Russian invasion of India. If this means an expedition, like the expeditions to Khiva and Bokhara, formally prepared by the Russian Government with Russian forces, and marching from the Russian frontier to attack British India, the danger may be taken as somewhat remote. It would not be by any means a difficult enterprise for a Russian general regardless of everything but success in the expedition before him. He might easily secure the temporary neutrality of the rulers through whose states he would have to pass, because he might rely on the active co-operation of the great mass of their troublesome and well-armed subjects. The war-cry of 'Death to the idolaters and infidels,' the promise of pay from the plunder of Lahore and Delhi, would suffice to carry the whole armed and ablebodied native male population along with the invader, obedient

obedient to any leaders he might appoint to direct their march on Hindostan.

But no Russian statesman in his senses, with any regard for the position of the Russian Empire in Europe, would, as matters now stand, dream of sanctioning such a movement. Russia has neither the money, the men, nor the organization necessary to make such an invasion more permanent than the plundering inroad of Nadir Shah in the last century, as long as the defence of India is in the hands of a great European naval power like the British, able to worry Russia in the Baltic and Black Seas, and capable of harassing the Russian advance along the whole line from the Caucasus to the Indus. Many British officers could at this moment be named who, once free from the trammels of incessant instructions from home, might be trusted to stop such an expedition, or, at any rate, cut it off from its Russian base, without moving a single British regiment. Some command of money to pay levies raised in the countries invaded, and a few good subordinate young officers to lead and direct such levies, would go far in harassing the flanks, and cutting off the communications of the invading force. Any check might turn the arms of the Turcoman or Afgan auxiliaries on their Russian allies, and send them back to their native steppes or mountains well content with the plunder they had got from the Muscovite, without the trouble of facing the British-Indian forces in the burning plains of Hindostan.

It may be doubted whether any but a first-class naval power, with a fleet prepared for distant aggressive warfare, could, single handed, attempt with any chance of success to wrest from England the empire of India. Combinations may be imagined, which might supply such a requisite for successful invasion; but such combinations are only possible during a general European war, or with the certainty of involving all the great European Powers in such a war; and, whatever the result to England or India, it may safely be predicted that Russia would, in such a contest, risk the results of ages of diplomacy and warfare in Europe—would cease, in fact, to be a great European Power.

We in England know something of the cost and burden of Indian Empire. It is not the first conquest which is difficult, nor the problem of ruling the generation of men, who have experienced what native rule meant in such anarchical times as the last century. The trial comes a generation or two later. We cannot settle in the country and become Indianised, as Moguls and Tartars did, without losing the ties which bind the Indian Empire to Europe. India is too large, and the nations

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comprising it too numerous, too varied, and too strong to be subjected to a perfectly selfish colonial system like that under which Java is made so profitable a possession to Holland. Sound policy concurs with our national instincts and inclinations in endeavouring to give to our distant conquests as good a government as we have at home. But to protect life and property, to develop and improve long-neglected provinces, to give equal and just laws to a population of 200 millions of men, of divers religions, nations, and languages, is no easy task. The demand it makes on the best of the national mind and muscle is felt to be heavier than any mere money-tribute could represent. Every now and then, at those seasons of national depression which occasionally visit us, faint-hearted prophets are to be heard preaching that we should be better and happier without any Indian Empire at all.

Such doctrine, however, does not find many disciples among us. We manage, on the whole, to bear our load bravely, and often feel a little pardonable pride in the ease with which we walk under it. But we never fail to be sensible that it *is* a burden, however honourable, however well-adjusted and stoutly borne. Sometimes we feel that, at a pinch, our whole strength may have to be put forth, to enable us to carry it worthily. Possibly, if set before us for the first time, with the option of declining it, we should think twice before putting our shoulders to the task.

Yet we have many facilities for undertaking such an enterprise which are scantly enjoyed by other nations.

The most gloomy of military pessimists, when deploring the difficulties of recruiting, never supposes for a moment that the necessity of keeping up our English army in India detracts from our aggregate military strength as a nation. It is not from military critics that any suggestion ever comes to throw India overboard. Our naval resources enable us to send annually ten or, if need were, twenty thousand of our soldiers backwards or forwards from India in a few weeks, with less expenditure of life or health than if they were in quarters at Aldershot. Our annual earnings and savings in a thousand different forms of industry furnish the sinews of war in abundance, and the means of executing all sorts of public works, whether military or industrial; and, in the latter case, of making the outlay at the same time a good commercial investment.

We have no lack of skilled mechanics or engineers, and we have an abundant supply of educated trustworthy agency for every branch of administration. Our great middle-class, whence *most* of our official civil and military are drawn, is sufficiently linked

linked with an old and proud aristocracy to share many of the advantages incidental to birth, wealth, and social position, whilst trained from youth to look on work of some kind as a necessity of existence, and work such as abounds in India as the most desirable of any. Above all, notwithstanding our party divisions and jars of rival classes, as well as provinces, we are, on the whole, an eminently united people. In any common national danger, the number of those who could think with complacency of any national disaster or disgrace would be found infinitesimally small.

Contrast with all this the difficulties which Russia would have to encounter to garrison India, supposing all the obstacles to conquest were overcome. Vast as are her armies, the numbers needed would be no inconsiderable addition to those who must be kept to garrison the Baltic and Black Sea provinces and Circassia. To recruit and relieve a Russo-Indian army, even in peace, and with the utmost conceivable facilities from railways, would, in so long a land journey, cause a great expenditure of life and health, whilst the drain of money, of skilled workmen, and, above all, of trustworthy officials, would starve European Russia in the three most essential elements of her present development and prosperity. Probably at no time since Russia was an empire has the general progress of the nation been so rapid as during the past twenty years. But the improvement has been attended with an amount of fermentation, which renders continued peace for some years to come almost essential to avoid revolutionary changes in all the great elements of society. If something has been done to weld together discordant nationalities, and to heal old divisions, fresh causes for anxiety are to be found in the altered position of the aristocracy, of the peasantry, and of the educated classes; in the rapid growth within the empire of new ideas not always favourable to stability; and in the equally rapid growth, outside her western border, of great Powers, where Russia was, till lately, the umpire Colossus. We may fervently hope, in the interests of civilisation and human progress, that all the diverse, and sometimes conflicting, agencies which have worked these changes within the empire may combine to form a united people, such as may hold its own on the Polish and German frontiers, maintain its influence on the Danube, and in the Caucasus, and continue to be a Power respected and courted in Vienna, Berlin, Paris, London, and Washington, as well as on the banks of the Volga and Amour. But the more the subject is considered, the clearer will be the assurance of any impartial observer, that nothing worse for the European influence of Russia, nothing more injurious

jurious to her growth and progress as a nation could possibly be devised, than schemes of conquest in Southern Asia.

It may be admitted, then, that such a Russian invasion of India as we are now considering is so full of risk to the invaders that every credit may be given to the sincerity of Russian statesmen and far-seeing soldiers, when they disclaim any idea of such designs, at least during their own generation.

But the danger to be apprehended is not of this kind; it may be described as twofold.

First, there is the danger which Dost Mahomed so well described to Burnes as like that you apprehend when you see a stranger looking over your garden-wall. He may be on his own side of the fence, and he may make no apparent attempt to climb over; but you are uneasy, because you know he is there for no good; you do your best to dislodge him, and do not rest till you have made him retire and leave you in unwatched possession of your own property.

If we suppose Afganistan no further Russianised than that Russian travellers freely move about the country; that Russians not necessarily in the pay of the Russian Government, but deserters possibly, or outlaws from Russia, drill the Amir's troops, cast his cannon, coin his rupees, prescribe for his sick, do, in fact, all those civilised offices which wanderers from Europe have done in every Asiatic Court from Kublai Khan's time down to our own, what would be the effect in India? No man in his senses, who knows anything of Indian or general history, can doubt that the effect now, and for many years to come, must be to disquiet everyone in India except that great majority of the cultivators who, if not over-assessed, will go on cultivating, without talking politics, till the crack of doom. Every Englishman, from the Governor-General downwards, will be disquieted, feeling that a great foreign Power has almost as much to say to the proceedings of the disaffected and troublesome classes as the English Government and its officials. Every native prince and chief, small or great, will see in Russia a possible and proximate alternative claimant for empire in India. All the disaffected dangerous criminal classes will be on the *qui vive*, ready to stir at the slightest symptom of local disturbance. All the millions, who have still the old martial spirit left, in Oude, and the Punjaub, in the Mahratta country and Central India, will furbish any old weapons they can find, and believe that another era of fighting and spirit-stirring contest for plunder and renown is again at hand. All these elements may be stirred into activity any moment by a Russian proclamation issued at Cabul, or even by a false report of one; for

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t is not necessary that the report should be true, to set most of hese restless elements in motion.

Now this danger, to be reasonably and certainly apprehended rom a Russian agent established in Afganistan, and Russian ubjects quietly permeating the country, is a danger never many weeks removed from the present time. No doubt the good feeling and loyalty of the existing Government in Russia would prevent their taking any steps towards it if we seriously remonstrated with them. But we must recollect that the more material steps in such action may be taken at any moment by a daring Russian frontier official, who chooses to run the risk of formal disavowal and recall; and that, once taken, the step might be truly said to be irrevocable.

If the Amir of Cabul invites a Russian official to discuss their frontier difficulties, if he affords friendly protection to Russian travellers, in what form could we put our complaint, and what could we say in answer to the obvious Russian reply to our remonstrances, that 'The Russian frontier being now conterminous with Afganistan, it is absolutely necessary, in order to avoid disputes and complications, that Russia should have a trusty accredited agent at the Amir's right hand. Russia sees no other way of avoiding grounds for continual discussion and possible offence, of enabling her to observe the moral obligations of good neighbourhood to the Amir, and his friends the British Government of India?'

Once driven or led by an over-zealous subordinate into such a position, it would not be easy for the Russian Government to recede. The difficulty would be increased with every day of delay spent in diplomatic negotiations, and, if the Russians remained immovable, what is our next step? We should, of course, hear popular demands for fleets to the Baltic and Black Sea; but large numbers of our own English people would hesitate to declare war on Russia merely because the Russians had obtained from our semi-civilised ally an amount of friendly protection for their representatives and subjects, which we have been unable to obtain for ours. Many very patriotic English people, who do not in the least undervalue our Empire in India, would be apt to ask, 'Why should we declare war against Russia because blundering Indian politicians have left us in a worse position at Cabul than the Russians? Why are not we as much feared and respected and courted there as the Russians, who have less real identity of interest with the Afgan Government than we have?'

This, there can be little doubt, would be the state of affairs if a Russian agent were established either formally or informally

in Afganistan, and if openly friendly relations prevailed between Russians and Afgans whilst there was peace in Europe.

But in the second place the position would be far worse if there were a great war in Europe, even if we were not engaged in it; and who can tell how far we may be from a position—either as parties, neutrals, or arbiters in such a war—when anxious Continental politicians might think that the prospect of such an alternative as a great war on our Indian frontier might induce us to do or forbear some act in Europe, and thus to justify pressure put upon us in the East?

We have only to reckon up the discussions which have occupied our diplomatists during the last ten years regarding Denmark, Spain, Luxemburg, Switzerland, and Italy, discussions in which we were not directly interested, but in which the part we took was of more or less interest to the great Powers concerned, and we shall then be able to estimate how important it may be to Russia to give us a strong additional motive to support her actively, or to neutralise our voice against her. A totally false report got up by our enemies, and subsequently proved to our satisfaction to be groundless, that the Russian agent in Cabul was urging the Amir to prepare for war, might cause very serious results in India. And this, be it remembered, might occur without our having any real breach with Russia, or any good reasons in Europe for mistrusting her.

But the case would be far more serious if matters went a little further. We are not more loved by restless spirits in Central Asia than in Europe, and they who know those countries best see least difficulty in impelling upon us, in India, hordes of Asiatic barbarians more or less disciplined by renegade European and Indian soldiers, drilled perhaps in our own Indian army, and followed by a vast train of undisciplined marauders, such as accompanied Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah almost within living memory. When people talk of the difficulties of such a move, of want of commissariat, &c., they speak in entire ignorance of the mode in which an Asiatic marauder, or even the regularly paid soldier of an Asiatic power habitually travels; the sole difficulty is want of money to buy food and secure the pack-cattle needed to carry the food which cannot be stored in the horseman's saddle-bags or the foot-soldier's wallet. Assured of this for the number of marches necessary to reach a cultivated food-producing district, the Asiatic invader habitually trusts to war supporting itself. His people live on the country till it is exhausted, and unless he intends permanently to occupy and tax the country, no mode of supporting his men more refined than allowing them to supply themselves when and how they can,

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from the people of the country, ever enters his head. Of course such a force would be met as soon as it appeared in India, and we may reasonably hope would be speedily annihilated, but what would take place meantime? What expense would be incurred in repelling the invasion? How many outbreaks would occur in India itself, and who can tell what would happen when once the rolling stone is put in motion? All this might come to pass without Russia committing herself in the least or being in any way actively unfriendly. Indeed an assurance of real Russian neutrality might do much to favour such a move; for among the doubts which continually perplex the Afgan mind a suspicion that Russia and England are in concert, and intend to divide the Afgan valleys between them is never far distant, and a thorough assurance that Russia was simply sulky with England, and would not be displeased to see her troubled in India, would remove one strong motive which keeps the Afgan quiet, between his two gigantic neighbours, and makes him hesitate to give either of them serious offence.

We are always sure of having in the Russian councils an influential party sincerely opposed to any attempt to favour such inroads on India; but we are also sure of finding an opposite party, at least as large if not as influential, intent on Russian extension, regardless of consequences, and capable of doing much mischief before any effectual check can be applied.

The recent explosion of Russian ill-humour, because we would not join in the proposed renewal of the Brussels Conferences at St. Petersburg, illustrates the ease with which our north-western neighbours in India might be persuaded that the Russian Government were not disposed actively to interfere, in order to prevent a little humiliation of British arrogance in India.

Briefly, it may be said, that the establishment of recognised Russian agents, and the toleration of Russian travellers and traders in Afganistan, while our agents and travellers are systematically excluded, means war establishments instead of peace establishments on our north-western Indian frontier.

What, then, is the barrier proposed to protect India against the necessity for a large immediate increase to our present heavy military estimates?

Before attempting to answer this question, let us consider the essential difference of British and Russian policy, using the word less in the sense of a design for political action, which may be changed from time to time, than as the result of national instincts and tendencies, and the expression of national interests which are less variable. Used in this sense, Russian policy in Asia has long

long been and is, as we all see still, positive, active, aggressive. Whatever the professions or wishes of Russian statesmen, the exigencies of her frontier position, render it impossible for her to stand still unless she meets some physical or political obstacle, such as certainly does not exist at this moment, between her frontier and ours. The question, when the two frontiers will be conterminous, is, as far as Russia is concerned, simply one of more or less time.

Our policy, on the other hand, is purely defensive and stationary, and by the nature of our position it must so continue, unless we are inclined to enter the lists as rivals to Russia, and embark on indefinite schemes of further Asiatic conquest. For this the British nation is clearly not prepared; nor likely to be prepared if it has due warning, is aware of the consequences, and knows that, once on the move, we may not find it easy to stop, nor to fix our own limits to our conquests.

But our policy hitherto has been not only stationary and nominally, though imperfectly, defensive. It has been also purely negative. We are ready enough to say what we will *not* do, but all efforts of our Asiatic allies have hitherto failed to elicit from us any declaration of what we *will* do, under any given combination of circumstances.

This feature in our policy will at once explain to anyone who knows mankind, but especially to one who knows Orientals, the inherent weakness of our policy as compared with that of the Russians. We, every day, find in Europe that negatives do not satisfy any of the smaller Powers who can possibly need a good word or friendly act from us. How, then, can they satisfy the Shah, the Amir, or any other Oriental who understands and may trust a positive promise, but who can neither understand nor trust a vague assertion that, 'when the time comes and the event happens, we will think seriously about it;' and who cannot estimate, as a European diplomatist can, what, from a variety of motives, we may do in the event of a weak European Power being threatened by a strong one? If it is once understood that nothing will move us till the Russians appear on our frontier, we shall certainly hasten that event by a great many years.

But a defensive policy is not necessarily inactive, nor merely stationary, still less is it necessarily weak. On the contrary, a true defensive policy for India seems to require now more than ever, much active exertion in many ways. Our great danger, greater than anything we can fear from foreign aggression, seems to be on our own side, in the Indian belief that we are indifferent to, or afraid of, or connive at, the Russian conquests; in our English insouciance and distaste for the subject. This is certain,

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sooner or later, to end in a sudden rude awakening to the dangers of our position; and there is always in such cases, especially where the popular will is strong, risk of passionate, ill-considered, violent action, more dangerous to peace than the ambitious designs of despotic autocrats.

What, then, ought to be the character of our present action? One class of advisers is for making an advance upon Merv by Russia a *casus belli;* but, as already pointed out, the proposal will hardly bear examination. We can hardly state an objection to the Russian occupation of Merv, which might not, with almost equal force, have been urged against the expedition to Bokhara, or Khiva, or the extension of frontier to the Attreck —all are steps towards our Indian frontier. The main importance of Merv to us is that it is a step towards Herat and Cabul; but it is not a necessary step towards either point. To prevent the Russians from occupying Merv, might oblige them to turn it by moving up the Attreck or the Oxus, and thus delay for some time the subjugation of hordes of ruthless robbers and manstealers, whose intervention between Afganistan and Russia must be a fruitful source of misunderstanding. Till the Turcomans are effectually subdued, Russia will not, more correctly speaking, she *cannot*, stop, for any mere threats or promises of ours.

The Russians are now committed to the occupation of posts on the lower portions of valleys which lead upwards into the heart of the Afgan country. They cannot recede without a loss of character, which, apart from all considerations of policy or ulterior views of conquest, would preclude the consideration of such a step by any great military power, except as the penalty of defeat after an exhausting war. There is no well-defined physical boundary to stop their advance, and they must move onwards till they reach a clearly marked frontier, with the officers of a civilised government on the other side, exercising effective control over the races which front the Russian advance, and able in frank diplomatic communication to give, as well as to demand, explanations, and arrange all international differences.

It is clear that no Afgan-frontier official is likely, unaided and unsupported by European influence, to possess all the qualifications needed either to check the Russian advance, or to enable the Russians themselves to check it, if so inclined.

Dost Mahomed himself, in his best days, could not have secured the services of such a body of men as would be required for such frontier service between Herat and the Pamir; men who could be trusted to intrigue neither against the Amir nor his northern neighbours, to put down plundering, and to give no asylum

asylum to criminals, to abstain from oppressing the people or traders, and from giving offence in any of the numberless ways in which frontier feuds are so likely to occur.

All this might doubtless be done by Afgans, supported by British officers or influence. But there is now no British officer, and but little British influence, nearer than the Indus Valley, and the most pressing question just now is—Shall we rest where we now are and await the Russians on the banks of the Indus? or shall we take steps to meet them on the northern and north-western frontiers of Afganistan?

The risks of waiting for them on the banks of the Indus have already been pointed out. It may be a few years, it may only be a few weeks, ere we hear of the reception given to a Russian envoy by the Amir of Cabul; but whenever we do hear of such an event, whether the envoy comes to cement friendship or to demand redress, we may bid adieu to peace establishments on the Indus; our military arrangements on that frontier will need to be recast, and will assume proportions which must add sensibly to the item of frontier defence in our future Indian budgets.

In fact, every consideration of sound policy and future economy points to the wisdom of our officers meeting those of the Russian Government on the north-western rather than on the south-eastern frontier of Afganistan. It would not be difficult to prove that, in this respect, as in many others, the real permanent interests of Russia are identical with our own. But for the present it may suffice us, if we are satisfied that it would be well for British interests to await the advent of the Russians as far westward as possible from the valley of the Indus.

But how is this to be effected without military expeditions, of which no man can foresee the probable end or the possible expense?

One thing only is abundantly clear, that nothing of the kind can be attempted with any chance of success unless we have a much clearer and better understanding than now exists with the Amir of Afganistan; a better knowledge of the state of affairs in his country, and, we may add, a similar understanding with Russia, and a similar knowledge of what passes on her side of the border.

How this understanding can be brought about, and this knowledge be obtained, seems one of the most important, and not the least difficult, of the problems which can occupy the attention of our English and Indian statesmen.

As regards Afganistan, much was done by Lord Mayo to place our relations with the Amir on a more satisfactory footing. The frank and generous spirit in which he acted went far to remove

remove from the Amir's mind many a bitter recollection of the past, and to encourage hopes of a better understanding for the future. But such personal impressions cannot be transmitted by succession or bequest even of an autocratic Viceroy; and we may have to wait till Lord Northbrook has had an opportunity, like that presented to Lord Mayo by the Amballa Conference, of personally impressing on the Amir his sense of the identity of our interests, and his desire to aid the Amir to the utmost in preserving his independence, as a barrier to all encroachment from the north and west.

But events will not wait in Central Asia any more than in other parts of the world; and if any one doubts how rapidly the situation there is changing from month to month, we would advise him carefully to study Sir Henry Rawlinson's volume, with the map spread before him; but especially the last chapter, which deals with 'the later phases of the Central Asian question,' from the Amballa Conference in March, 1869, up to the present time.

Sir Henry is careful to tell us that he appeals only to published documents, and speaks with no official authority; but no one could have written so voluminous a review of transactions so complicated and so imperfectly known to the outside public, unless his vision had been cleared by long official acquaintance with the subject, and habituated to guide the accomplished diplomatist in the half-lights and the obscurities of Oriental intrigue.

Beginning with the events which led to Lord Mayo's memorable interview with the Amir, Sir Henry sketches the discussions which took place at the conference, the divergence of view between the Viceroy and the Amir as to what the latter might reasonably expect from us, and the final result due, in a great measure, to the personal influence and bearing of Lord Mayo, which 'obliterated for the time all remembrance of previous disappointment; so that Shir Ali returned to Cabul, not only satisfied, but deeply impressed, with the interview; and so completely identified with our political interests, that he was immediately suspected by Russia and Persia of aggressive designs in support of them' (p. 298).

At the time, the approval of Lord Mayo's language by the English Cabinet was not very hearty; and then followed what is justly called Lord Clarendon's 'remarkable correspondence' with St. Petersburg on Central Asian affairs, which has lately (1873) been submitted to Parliament. It is clear that the conditions of the situation were very imperfectly appreciated at the time by statesmen in England; and the details incidently given

by

by Sir Henry Rawlinson of the mistakes and omissions in the geographical and other information on which we relied, show how persistently those officially responsible for the conduct of our relations with Russia and Afganistan must have ignored the subject since it had engrossed our attention during the Afgan campaigns thirty years previously.

Fortunately Lord Mayo and the Indian Foreign Office were somewhat better informed. They successfully objected to the project of a 'neutral zone,' laying down the sound maxim that 'we should be responsible to no foreign potentate for any of our dealings with the peoples who inhabit our frontiers' (p. 302). And though their alternative project of a double margin of independent states—one along the Russian, the other along the Anglo-Indian frontier—is justly designated as 'hardly practical,' there can be no doubt that it saved us from pledging ourselves to engagements which would have seriously hampered our free agency on the Indian frontier, without removing any one of the causes which are impelling the Russian Asiatic frontier southward and eastward. It also ultimately led to the definition of the Oxus as the northern boundary of Afganistan, and to a prolongation of the frontier westward from where the road from Balkh to Bokhara crosses the Oxus to the Persian frontier near Sarakhs. This line, when surveyed and better defined, may be of material service in preventing the Afgans from being hereafter involved in any difficulties which their Turcoman neighbours may have to settle with Russia and Persia. In its present ill-defined state it is not only a weak point in the Russian frontier line, but a possible cause of discussion and misunderstanding between the powers on both sides.

Sir Henry Rawlinson's account of our present relations with Afganistan contains matter for very grave reflection. He describes the process by which 'the Amir of 1873' has become 'a very different individual from the Amir of 1869. His four years of unchallenged rule had relieved him from all apprehension of competitors, and had made him proud and self-reliant; it had also given him an insight into foreign politics, which rendered him not only extravagant in his demands, but stubborn in pressing those demands, and sullen when they were negatived.'

If this is—as we have no reason to doubt—a correct description of the Amir's temper, the change is ominous, especially as we are assured that the Viceroy was 'fully prepared to support Lord Mayo's policy, earnestly desired to strengthen the Afgan alliance, and announced to his envoy at Simla, in 1873, a programme of unexampled liberality.' The details given of the assistance

assistance afforded, or promised, fully justify this description; but when Sir Henry observes that, 'if the Amir had been actuated by no other feeling than one of genuine alarm at the advance of Russia, and a desire to be shielded from danger, it is hardly conceivable but that this implied promise of protection would have satisfied and reassured him;' we think more weight must be given to the utter invalidity in the eyes of an Afgan, or indeed in the eyes of almost any Oriental, of an *implied* promise. The Amir might trust the good-will of a man whose character he thought he had thoroughly gauged, as he had Lord Mayo's; he might rely on a written promise or treaty, or on any act which he said clearly committed us to support him; but in the absence of all these securities, an *implied* promise, from a man he did not personally know, would carry no weight at all. It would be simply impossible for him to estimate, as the English or Russians might, the measured expressions of so watchful and farsighted a statesman as Lord Derby, when, in his speech in the House of Lords, on May 8th, 1874, he uttered those remarkable words: 'That any interference with the national independence of Afganistan would be regarded by Her Majesty's Government as a very grave matter, requiring their most careful and serious consideration, and as one which might involve serious danger to the peace of India. I think, if such an interference occurred, to put the matter mildly, *it is highly probable that this country would interfere.*'

To us these words carry more weight than an ultimatum coming from a less prudent Foreign Minister. But it would seem that nothing of corresponding definiteness to an Afgan comprehension can have been conveyed to the Amir. We are told that the assurances given to his Envoy seem 'to have entirely failed in restoring the Amir's confidence and good feeling towards us. His envoy left Simla disappointed and complaining; and from that time to the present our relations with Cabul have become daily more strained and disagreeable.' Sir Henry enumerates a succession of slights and rebuffs which justify this description, and considers that the recent arrest of the Amir's son Yacub Khan, 'summoned to Cabul under a promise of safe conduct, shows a reckless disregard of our good opinion which augurs most unfavourably for the maintenance of even formal relations of amity. Finally,' he says, 'the British agent at Cabul does not occupy that position of independence and authority to which he is entitled as the representative of the Government of India, being unable, it is believed, either to obtain or to communicate any trustworthy information of a confidential character.'

Assuming

Assuming this to be an accurate picture of our representative's position at the Capital, it seems to us to afford a very sufficient explanation of what appears, even to so experienced a diplomatist as our author, the inexplicable conduct of the Amir. Our only representative and channel of communication with the Amir is a native gentleman of Afgan origin, who has indeed given substantial proof, in his past service, of his devotion to the British Government, but who cannot be expected to occupy in any sense the position which ought to be held by an English envoy in Afganistan. We are, in fact, in a somewhat worse position than if we had no representative or envoy at all in the country; and we may cease to wonder that we can neither make out what is really passing in the Amir's mind, nor give him an adequate impression of what is passing in ours. The first requisite towards establishing a more satisfactory position is that we should have, within reach of the Amir, an English officer as envoy who, whilst enjoying the entire confidence of the Viceroy, should be able to secure equal confidence from the ruler to whose Court he would be accredited.

It is seldom that any questions in our Foreign Policy, of equal moment to those now before us, are discussed with such clearness and knowledge of all the facts as in the last seventeen pages of this remarkable volume; where, after describing peculiarities of the Afgan confederacy, its lack of the cohesion of a regular monarchical Government, and its other elements of weakness, the Author points out the probable mode in which Russian pressure will be brought to bear upon Afganistan. We know of no subject more deserving of careful attention in the present somewhat ominous lull of political action abroad as well as at home. It is evident that whenever the need for action arises, as it may any day, unless Sir Henry Rawlinson and all our best authorities on the subject are utterly mistaken, there will be little time for discussion or preparation; and unless the question be looked to in time it may prove one of the utmost gravity in the relation between ourselves and Russia, and we may be hurried far beyond what would now be necessary to make our position one of permanent security.

What then, it may be asked, do we consider the main requisites for a condition of stability and peace on our north-western Indian frontier as permanent as can be reasonably expected in an era and a region of such constant changes?

We should assign the first place to a thoroughly frank and clear understanding with Russia as to the objects and interests of both Governments in Central Asia. It is clear that the explanations exchanged between Lord Clarendon and Prince Gortchakoff

Gortchakoff at Heidelberg were much misunderstood on both sides, possibly owing to the subject being one which had not of late years attracted much attention, at all events from our own statesmen. We may admit that much was done by Lord Granville, and, still more, by Lord Derby, to correct any misapprehension. But there appears much reason to suppose that both parties are still in a state of uncertainty as to what the other may or may not wish or intend. Shall we add that the uncertainty sometimes seems to extend to what they themselves desire, and what is really for their own interests?

This uncertainty admits of easy removal by discussion and explanation; but whilst it remains it is, no doubt, an element of possible and dangerous misunderstanding.

Up to what point are the movements of the Russians in Central Asia really free from any disturbing influence on our Indian empire? To what extent and by what measures do we contemplate meeting such disturbance when it occurs? Have we any plan for rendering the occupation of Merv unnecessary to the Russian position in her recent conquests? How do we intend to provide for the independence of Herat so as to prevent its occupation by such a force as would possess the option of threatening an invasion of India at any time?

All these are questions which it would be well to ask ourselves, so as to settle the answers definitely in our own minds. But there seems no reason why we should not, and every reason why we should, frankly discuss them with the Russians, so that we might at least clearly understand one another's views and intentions.

In the second place, having made up our own minds as to the limits at which we would wish the Russian advance should be checked, with regard for our own interests in India, it is of great importance to define those limits by something better than a pencil-line on a map; so that Russians, Persians, and Afgans, as well as ourselves, may know when and where we wish the Russian advance to stop. This may seem a simple matter to any one who does not know the untrustworthy character of the best geographical information we possess regarding those regions, and the difficulty of obtaining better information even relating to the physical features of the country. Such a demarcation of boundary as we require would probably task the energies of some of our ablest engineers and diplomatists for more than one season. Nor will our difficulties end when the line is drawn. Persian vanity and Afgan suspicion will join with the inevitable intrigues and delays of all such inquiries in the East to retard the attainment of a satisfactory settlement. But tedious as the

task

task may be, it is absolutely necessary to learn when and where we ought to put down a foot and say, 'Thus far and no farther,' to any whose restless ambition may lead them to transgress what may be justly termed the external frontier of our Indian interests.

The third requisite for peace seems to us to be that we should understand ourselves, and learn the views of others concerned, relative to the position of those States which will intervene between the Russian frontier and our own in India.

Regarding Persia, we have treaties to guide us; and we apparently are not disposed to imitate Russia in the kind of pressure she puts on Persia with respect to railway concessions, and other matters of internal administration. It may be that our statesmen see no reason why Persia should not become more and more a vassal of Russia; but if it is so, it might be well that our intentions were made a little clearer to ourselves, as well as to our neighbours. At present few things can be considered more irritating and unsettling than the apparent absence of any definite purpose in our dealings with Persia, alternately inclining to hot fits of patronage and protection, and cold fits of neglect and abandonment to ruin. Which course may be the wiser we will not now discuss; but either, if definitely adopted and steadily followed, would entitle us to more respect than is now felt for our policy by those whom it most affects.

With Afganistan and Belochistan the case is very different. They bound our Indian Provinces, and holding each of them more than one of the usual gates of access, we cannot, with any regard for our own safety, allow any other European Power to possess an influence superior to our own in those territories. But this by no means implies any consequent interference with the independence or self-government of Afganistan. It seems impossible that we should any longer permit our relations with the Amir to remain in their present strained and unsatisfactory state, whereby British agents and representatives are excluded from the country as completely as they ever were from Japan or China; and we are left dependent for our information, as to the acts and views of our neighbours, on sources whose fidelity or friendliness is by no means assured.

How better relations can be brought about is a problem which we have no doubt will in time be solved by Lord Northbrook. Meantime let us point to the two inevitable alternatives indicated in Sir Henry Rawlinson's pages, namely, an expedition to occupy and defend Herat on our own account, or doubled garrisons throughout our Indian frontier.

Let it not be supposed that we advocate interference with the independence of any State beyond our present border. We should

should be glad to see Afganistan occupy exactly the same position as an European State, where we claim no more than that our subjects and envoys should be received as friends and good neighbours, but where we should not be inclined to regard our exclusion as compatible with continued peaceful relations. In Europe we have no desire to interfere with the freedom of any State. There are some for whose independence we might ourselves be inclined to make the greatest sacrifices, but there is none from which we should receive with equanimity a message that the ruler would not receive an English Minister, nor permit an English traveller to set foot in the country.

In the fourth place, we would note as essential to a continued good understanding that, in dealing with Russia, we should limit ourselves to full discussion and clear explanation, and be careful lest we bind ourselves by any of those inconvenient conventions or common understandings which we so often find tie our own hands, but leave the other party free to act in any manner which may seem convenient; how narrowly we have sometimes escaped this position is shown in more than one of Sir Henry Rawlinson's chapters.

There is no necessity for our pointing out that an ostentatious declaration of our unwillingness or inability either to defend Herat in the manner suggested by Sir Henry Rawlinson, or to increase our garrisons on the Indus as an alternative, is not the way to give point or force to what we may say to other Powers in any discussion on the subject; but it may not be out of place to note that now, as in all our previous Indian difficulties, a powerful navy is one of the first requisites to the safety of the Empire. We sometimes fear that the importance of our navy to India, and the changed conditions of naval supremacy in the Eastern Seas since the Suez Canal was opened, are hardly sufficiently recognised by our Admiralty and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It is a favourite mode of shelving all such questions for the Session, for India to say that the Empire should pay, and for the Admiralty to retort the obligation on India. But if difficulty arises from inadequacy of naval power in defending India, the country will ask few questions as to which treasury should pay; and we are glad to infer from Lord Northbrook's demand for a qualified Naval Secretary that he recognises the fact that India is as much interested as any other part of the Empire in the maintenance of our naval supremacy.

Let us add one word more on the question whether the discussion raised by Sir Henry Rawlinson is, as he considers it, in the interests of peace? We believe that it is so, not only for the

the reasons he assigns, but because we believe that in Europe the maintenance of anything like the existing *status quo* of the political map depends greatly on a thoroughly good understanding between Russia and England, and that this fact is at least as patent to the Russian Government as to ourselves. As regards old causes of jealousy in Europe, it is clear that in resisting any attempt to encroach on European Turkey we may now trust to other Powers, not forgetting the nascent Christian nationalities within the Turkish frontier, to maintain that which it cost the English, French, and Italians, so much to vindicate in the Crimean War. It is in Asia alone that there is any practical possibility of our interests clashing with those of Russia; and it is more than probable that if Russia were satisfied that we had no jealousy of her attempts to dominate and civilise the countries east of the Caspian, as far south as the Attreck and the Oxus, she would be only too glad to know that we considered that frontier as fixed as her own is in Eastern Europe, and to find our officers, as her frontier neighbours, prepared to use the vast moral influence at our command to ensure to her reasonable satisfaction in the event of just cause of offence being given by the tribes and Powers to the south of the border.

But for all this, more accurate knowledge than we now possess of the border line and its relations is needed, and a much better and more intimate understanding with Persians as well as Afgans. England cannot conceal from herself that the situation is a critical one, but it would be difficult to name two ministers in whose hands these questions will be safer than Lord Salisbury and Lord Derby; and the Viceroy of India will have every assurance that neither want of appreciation of the facts, nor want of spirit in dealing with them, on the part of our Foreign or Indian Ministers, will cripple his efforts to maintain the outworks necessary for the defence of our Indian Empire.

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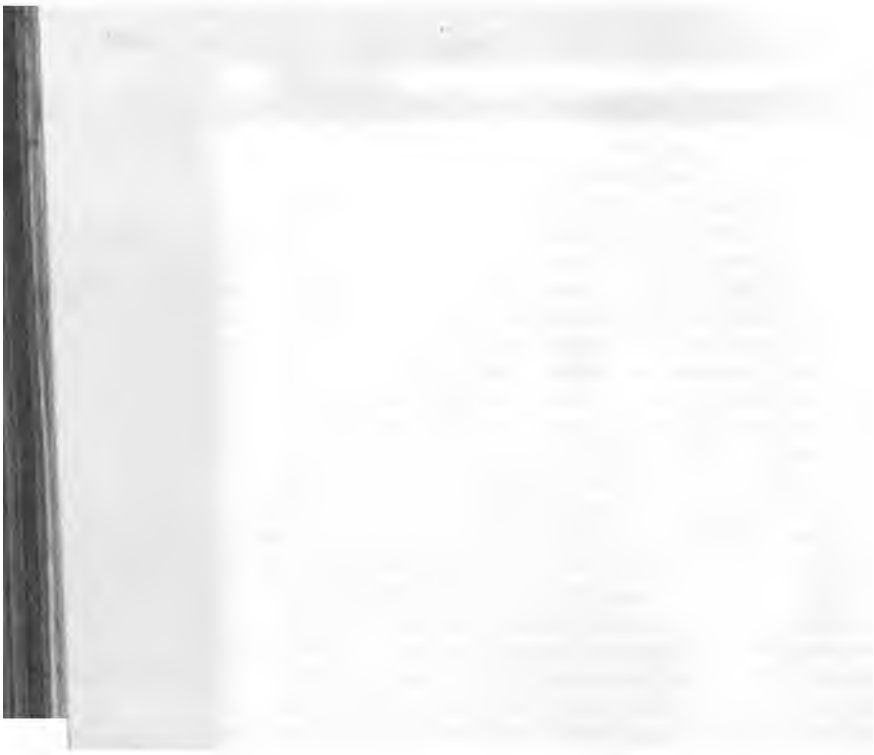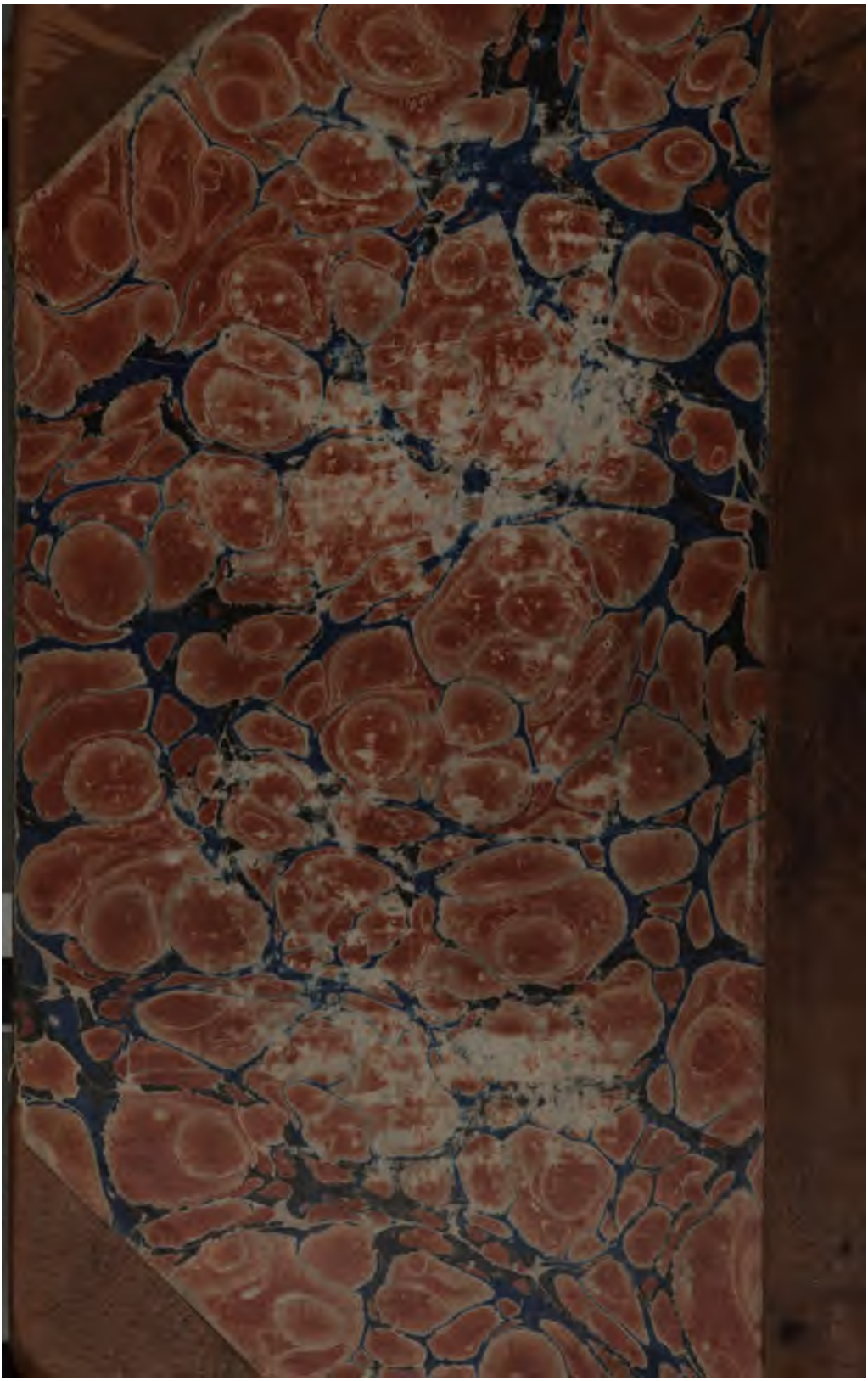
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